CVDWORTH
C
ATHECS

1678

19241/C

ADD





Frederick Bennett, M.A.
CANON OF SALISBURY,
VICAR OF SHREWTON CUM MADDINGTON,
WILTS.

I.S.P. 22.III.95.

H
7/12/05
676

14793





φέρε δὴ, πῶς ἄν τις μὴ θυμῷ λέγοι περὶ θεῶν ὡς εἰσίν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν
καὶ μισεῖν ἐκείνους οἱ τύτων ἡμῖν αἴτιοι τῶν λόγων γεγενηνται καὶ γιγνονται. Plato. L. 10. de leg.

Ἐάν τις φιλομαθὴς ἐσῃ πολυμαθὴς

THE
True Intellectual System
OF THE
UNIVERSE:
THE FIRST PART;

WHEREIN,

All the REASON and PHILOSOPHY
Of ATHEISM is Confuted;

AND

Its IMPOSSIBILITY Demonstrated.

By *R. CUDWORTH*, D. D.

Origenes,
Γυμνάσιον τῆς ψυχῆς Ἡ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΗ ΣΟΦΙΑ,
Τέλος δὲ Ἡ ΘΕΙΑ. ——a

LONDON,
Printed for *Richard Royston*, Bookseller to His most Sacred MAJESTY, MDCLXXVIII.

Sum Richi. King Exoniensis.
1594.

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

To the Right Honourable

HENEAGE

LORD *FINCH*, BARON of *Daventry*,

Lord High CHANCELLOUR of England,

and one of His MAJESTIE's most

Honourable Privy Council.

MY LORD,

THE many Favours I have formerly Received from You, as they might juſtly challenge, whenever I had a fit opportunity, a Publick and Thankfull Acknowledgment; ſo have they encourag'd me at this time, to the Preſumption of this Dedication to Your Lordſhip. Whom, as Your Perſpicacious Wit, and Solid Judgment, together with Your Acquired Learning, render every way a moſt Accompliſh'd and Deſirable Patron; ſo did I perſuade my ſelf, that Your Hearty Affection to Religion, and Zeal for it, would make You not Unwilling, to take that into Your Protection, which is written wholly in the Defence thereof; ſo far forth, as its own Defects, or Miſcarriages, ſhould not render it uncapable of

the ſame. Nor can I think it probable, that in an Age of ſo much Debauchery, Scepticiſm, and Infidelity, an Undertaking of this kind, ſhould be judged by You, Uſeleſs or Unſeaſonable. And now, having ſo fit an Opportunity, I could moſt willingly expatiate in the large Field of Your Lordſhip's Praiſes; both that I might doe an Act of *Juſtice* to Your ſelf, and provoke others to Your Imitation. But I am ſenſible, that as no Eloquence, leſs then that of Your own, could be fit for ſuch a Performance; ſo the Nobleneſs and Generoſity of Your Spirit is ſuch, that You take much more pleaſure in Doing Praiſe-worthy things, then in Hearing the Repeated Echo's of them. Wherefore in ſtead of purſuing Encomiums, which would be the leaſt pleaſing to Your ſelf, I ſhall Offer up my Prayers to Almighty God, for the Continuation of Your Lordſhip's Life and Health; That ſo His MAJESTY may long have ſuch a Loyal Subject and Wiſe Counſellour; the Church of *England*, ſuch a Worthy Patron; the High Court of Chancery, ſuch an Oracle of Impartial Juſtice; and the whole Nation, ſuch a Pattern of Vertue and Piety. Which ſhall ever be the Hearty Deſire of,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Moſt Humble and

moſt Affectionate

Servant,

R. Cudworth.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THOUGH, *I confeſs, I have ſeldom taken any great pleaſure, in reading other mens* Apologies, *yet muſt I at this time make ſome my ſelf. Firſt therefore, I acknowledge, that when I engag'd the Preſs, I intended onely a Diſcourſe concerning* Liberty *and* Neceſſity, *or to ſpeak out more plainly,* Againſt the Fatall Neceſſity *of all* Actions *and* Events; *which upon whatſoever* Grounds *or* Principles *maintain'd, will (as We Conceive) Serve The* Deſign of Atheiſm, *and Undermine* Chriſtianity, *and all* Religion; *as taking away all* Guilt *and* Blame, Puniſhments *and* Rewards, *and plainly rendring a* Day of Judgment, *Ridiculous: And it is Evident that ſome have purſued it of late, in order to that End. But afterwards We conſider'd, That this which is indeed a* Controverſy, *concerning The* True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe, *does, in the full Extent thereof, take in Other things; the* Neceſſity *of all* Actions *and* Events *being maintained by Several Perſons, upon very* Different Grounds, *according to that* Tripartite Fataliſm, *mentioned by us in the beginning of the* Firſt Chapter. *For Firſt, The* Democritick Fate, *is nothing but The* Material Neceſſity of all things without a God: *it ſuppoſing* Senſleſs Matter, Neceſſarily Moved, *to be the onely Original and Principle of all things: Which therefore is called by* Epicurus, The Phyſiological; *by us, the* Atheiſtick Fate. *Beſides which, The* Divine Fate *is alſo* Bipartite; *Some* Theiſts *ſuppoſing* God, *both to* Decree *and* Doe *all things in us,* (Evil *as well as* Good) *or by his* Immediate Influence *to* Determine *all* Actions, *and ſo make them alike* Neceſſary *to us. From whence it follows, That his Will is no way Regulated or Determined, by any* Eſſentiall *and* Immutable Goodneſs, *and* Juſtice; *or that he hath nothing of* Morality *in his* Nature, *he being onely* Arbitrary Will Omnipotent. *As alſo That all* Good *and* Evil Morall, *to us* Creatures *are*

meer Theticall *or* Positive *things*; νόμῳ, *and not* φύσει, *by* Law *or* Command *onely*, *and not by* Nature. *This therefore may be called*, *The* Divine Fate Immorall, *and* Violent. *Again*, *There being other* Divine Fataliſts, *who acknowledge ſuch a* Deity, *as both ſuffers other things*, *beſides it ſelf*, *to* Act, *and hath an* Eſſentiall Goodneſs *and* Juſtice *in its* Nature; *and conſequently*, *That there are things*, Juſt *and* Unjuſt *to us* Naturally, *and not by* Law *and* Arbitrary Conſtitution *onely*; *and yet neverthelеſs take away from men*, *all ſuch* Liberty, *as might make them capable of* Praiſe *and* Diſpraiſe, Rewards *and* Puniſhments, *and Objects of* Diſtributive Juſtice: *they conceiving* Neceſſity *to be* Intrinſecall *to the* Nature *of every thing*, *in the Actings of it*; *and nothing of Contingency to be found any-where*; *from whence it will follow*, *That nothing could poſſibly have been Otherwiſe*, *in the whole World*, *then it Is*. *And this may be called The* Divine Fate Morall, (*as the other* Immorall,) *and* Naturall, (*as the other* Violent;) *it being a* Concatenation, *or* Implexed Series of Cauſes, *all in themſelves* Neceſſary, *depending upon a* Deity Morall, (*if we may ſo ſpeak*) *that is*, *ſuch as is* Eſſentially Good, *and* Naturally Juſt, *as the* Head *thereof*; *the Firſt* Contriver *and* Orderer *of all*. *Which kind of* Divine Fate, *hath not onely been formerly aſſerted by the* Stoicks, *but alſo of late*, *by divers* Modern Writers. *Wherefore of the* Three Fataliſms, *or* Falſe Hypotheſes of the Univerſe, *mentioned in the beginning of this Book*; *One is* Abſolute Atheiſm: *Another* Immorall Theiſm, *or* Religion *without any* Naturall Juſtice *and* Morality: (*all* Juſt *and* Unjuſt, *according to this* Hypotheſis, *being meer* Theticall *or* Factitious *things*, Made *by* Arbitrary Will *and* Command *onely*:) *The Third and Laſt*, *ſuch a* Theiſm, *as acknowledges not onely a* God, *or* Omnipotent Underſtanding Being, *but alſo* Natural Juſtice *and* Morality, Founded *in him*, *and* Derived *from him*; *neverthelеſs no* Liberty *from* Neceſſity *anywhere*, *and therefore no* Diſtributive *or* Retributive Juſtice *in the World*. *Whereas theſe* Three Things *are*, (*as we conceive*) *the* Fundamentals *or* Eſſentials *of* True Religion. *Firſt*, *That all things in the World*, *do not Float without a* Head *and* Governour; *but that there is a* God, *an* Omnipotent Underſtanding Being, Preſiding over all. *Secondly*, *That this* God *being* Eſſentially Good *and* Juſt, *there is* φύσει καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, *Something in its own* Nature, Immutably *and* Eternally Juſt, *and* Unjuſt; *and not by* Arbitrary Will, Law, *and* Command *onely*. *And Laſtly*, *That there is Something* ἐφ' ἡμῖν, *or*, *That we are ſo far forth* Principles *or* Maſters *of our own* Actions, *as to be* Accountable *to* Juſtice *for them*, *or to make us* Guilty *and* Blame-worthy *for what we doe Amiſs*, *and to Deſerve* Puniſhment *accordingly*. *Which* Three Fundamentals

of

of Religion, *are Intimated by the Authour to the* Hebrews, *in these Words*; He that Cometh to God, must Believe that He Is, and That He is a Rewarder of those who seek him out. *For to* Seek out God *here, is nothing else, but to* Seek *a* Participation *of his* Image, *or the* Recovery *of that* Nature *and* Life *of his, which we have been* Alienated *from. And these* Three Things, *namely, That all things do not Float without a* Head *and* Governour; *but there is an* Omnipotent Understanding Being Presiding over all: *That* this God, *hath an* Essentiall Goodness *and* Justice, *and That the Differences of* Good *and* Evil Morall, Honest *and* Dishonest, *are not by meer* Will *and* Law *onely, but by* Nature; *and consequently, That the* Deity *cannot* Act, Influence, *and* Necessitate *men, to such things as are in their* Own Nature, Evil: *and Lastly, That* Necessity *is not* Intrinsecall *to the* Nature *of every thing*; *But that men have such a* Liberty, *or* Power *over their own* Actions, *as may render them* Accountable *for the same, and* Blame-worthy *when they doe Amiss*; *and consequently, That there is a* Justice Distributive *of* Rewards *and* Punishments, *running through the World*; *I say, These* Three, (*which are the most* Important Things, *that the Mind of man can employ it self upon*) *taken all together, make up the* Wholeness *and* Entireness *of that, which is here called by us,* The True Intellectual System of the Universe; *in such a Sense, as* Atheism *may be called*, *a* False System *thereof: The Word* Intellectual, *being added*, *to distinguish it from the other, Vulgarly so called,* Systems of the World, (*that is, the* Visible *and* Corporeal World) *the* Ptolemaick, Tychonick, *and* Copernican; *the* Two Former *of which, are now commonly accounted* False, *the* Latter True. *And thus our Prospect being now Enlarged, into a* Threefold Fatalism, *or* Spurious *and* False Hypothesis of the Intellectual System, *making all things* Necessary *upon several* Grounds; *We accordingly Designed the* Confutation *of them all, in Three Several Books. The* First, *Against* Atheism, (*which is the* Democritick Fate) *wherein all the* Reason *and* Philosophy *thereof is Refelled, and the* Existence *of a* God *Demonstrated*; *and so that* ὑλικὴ ἀνάγκη, *or* Material Necessity *of all things, Overthrown. The* Second, *For such a* God *as is not meer* Arbitrary Will Omnipotent, Decreeing, Doing, *and* Necessitating *all Actions*, Evil *as well as* Good; *but* Essentially Moral, Good *and* Just; *and For a* Natural Discrimen Honestorum & Turpium; *whereby another Ground of the* Necessity *of all Humane* Actions *will be Removed. And the* Third *and* Last, *Against* Necessity Intrinsecall *and* Essentiall *to all* Action; *and for such a* Liberty, *or* Sui-Potestas, *in* Rational Creatures, *as may render them* Accountable, *capable of* Rewards *and* Punishments, *and so* Objects *of* Distributive *or* Retributive Justice:

by

by which the now onely remaining Ground, *of the* Fatal Neceſſity *of all* Actions *and* Events, *will be Taken away. And all theſe* Three *under that One* General Title, *of* The True Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe. *Each Book having beſides, its own* Particular Title: *as, Againſt* Atheiſm; *For* Natural Juſtice *and* Morality, *Founded in the* Deity; *For* Liberty *from* Neceſſity, *and a* Diſtributive Juſtice *of* Rewards *and* Puniſhments *in the World. And this we conceive may fully ſatisfy, concerning our* General Title, *all thoſe, who are not extremely* Criticall *or* Captious, *at leaſt as many of them as have ever heard of the* Aſtronomical Syſtems *of the World: ſo that they will not think us hereby Obliged, to Treat of the* Hierarchy *of* Angels, *and of all the Several* Species *of* Animals, Vegetables, *and* Minerals, *&c. that is, to write* De Omni Ente, *of whatſoever is Contained within The* Complexion of the Univerſe. *Though the Whole* Scale *of* Entity *is here alſo taken notice of; and the* General Ranks *of* Subſtantiall Beings, *below the* Deity, (*or* Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes) *Conſider'd: which yet, according to our* Philoſophy, *are but* Two; Souls *of ſeveral Degrees,* (Angels *themſelves being included within that Number*) *and* Body *or* Matter: *as alſo the Immortality of thoſe* Souls *Proved. Which notwithſtanding is Suggeſted by us, onely to Satisfy ſome mens* Curioſity. *Nevertheleſs we confeſs that this* General Title, *might well have been here ſpared by us, and this* Volume *have been Preſented to the Reader's View, not as a* Part *or* Piece, *but a* Whole Compleat *and* Entire *thing by it ſelf, had it not been for* Two Reaſons; *Firſt, Our beginning with thoſe* Three Fataliſms, *or* Falſe Hypotheſes *of the* Intellectual Syſtem, *and Promiſing a Confutation of them all, then when we thought to have brought them within the Compaſs of One Volume; and Secondly, Every other Page's, throughout this whole Volume, accordingly bearing the* Inſcription, *of* Book the Firſt, *upon the Head thereof. This is therefore that which in the Firſt place, we here* Apologize *for, our Publiſhing* One Part *or* Book *alone by it ſelf; We being ſurprized in the Length thereof; Whereas we had otherwiſe Intended Two more along with it. Notwithſtanding which, there is no Reaſon, why this Volume ſhould therefore be thought* Imperfect *and* Incomplete, *becauſe it hath not All the* Three Things *at firſt Deſigned by us; it containing All that belongeth to its own* Particular Title *and* Subject, *and being in that reſpect no* Piece, *but a* Whole. *This indeed muſt needs beget an Expectation, of the* Two *following* Treatiſes, (*eſpecially in ſuch as ſhall have receiv'd any Satisfaction from this* Firſt;) *concerning thoſe* Two other Fataliſms, *or* Falſe Hypotheſes *mentioned; to make up our Whole* Intellectual Syſtem Compleat: *The One, to Prove, That* God *is not meer* Arbitrary Will Omnipotent, (*without any* Eſſential Goodneſs *and* Juſtice) Decree-

ing

ing *and* Doing *all things in the World, as well* Evil *as* Good; *and thereby making them alike* Neceſſary *to us*; *from whence it would follow, that all* Good *and* Evil Moral, *are meer* Thetical, Poſitive, *and* Arbitrary things, *that is, not* Nature, *but* Will; *Which is the* Defence of Natural, Eternal, *and* Immutable Juſtice, *or* Morality: *The Other, That* Neceſſity *is not* Intrinſecal *to the* Nature *of Every thing*, God *and all* Creatures, *or* Eſſentiall *to all* Action; *but, That there is Something* ἐφ' ἡμῖν, *or, That we have ſome* Liberty, *or* Power *over our own* Actions: *Which is the* Defence *of a* Diſtributive *or* Retributive Juſtice, *diſpenſing* Rewards *and* Puniſhments *throughout the whole World. Wherefore we think fit here to advertize the Reader concerning theſe, That though they were, and ſtill are, really intended by us; yet the Compleat Finiſhing and Publication of them, will notwithſtanding depend upon many* Contingencies; *not onely of our* Life *and* Health, *the Latter of which, as well as the Former, is to us very Uncertain; but alſo of our* Leiſure, *or* Vacancy *from other Neceſſary Employments.*

In the next place, We muſt Apologize *alſo, for the* Fourth Chapter; *inaſmuch as, though in regard of its* Length, *it might rather be called a* Book, *then a* Chapter; *yet it doth not* Anſwer *all the* Contents *Prefixed to it. Here therefore muſt we again, confeſs our ſelves Surprized; who when we wrote thoſe* Contents, *did not ſuſpect in the leaſt, but that we ſhould have Satisfied them all within a leſſer Compaſs. And our Deſign then was, beſides Anſwering the* Objection, *againſt the* Naturality *of the* Idea *of* God, *from the* Pagan Polytheiſm, *(we having then ſo fit an Occaſion) to give ſuch a further Account of the* Idolatry *and* Religion *of the* Gentiles, *as might prepare our way for a* Defence of Chriſtianity, *to be ſubjoyned in the Cloſe: it being not onely agreeable to the Senſe of Ancient* Doctors, *but alſo expreſly declared in the Scripture, That One Deſign of* Chriſtianity, *was to aboliſh and extirpate the* Pagan Polytheiſm *and* Idolatry. *And our Reaſons for this Intended* Defence of Chriſtianity, *were.* Firſt; *Becauſe we had Obſerved, that ſome Profeſſed Oppoſers of* Atheiſm, *had either incurred a* Suſpicion, *or at leaſt ſuffered under the* Imputation, *of being meer* Theiſts, *or* Natural Religioniſts *onely, and no hearty Believers of* Chriſtianity, *or* Friends *to* Revealed Religion. *From which either* Suſpicion *or* Imputation *therefore, we thought it* Juſtice *to free our ſelves, we having ſo* Unſhaken a Belief, *and firm* Aſſurance, *of the* Truth *of the whole* Chriſtian Doctrine. *But,* Secondly *and* Principally; *Becauſe we had further Obſerved it, to have been the Method of our* Modern Atheiſts, *to make their Firſt Aſſault againſt* Chriſtianity, *as thinking that to be the moſt Vulnerable; and that it would be an eaſy Step for them from thence, to Demoliſh all* Religion, *and*

Theiſm. *However, ſince the Satisfying the Former Part of thoſe* Contents, *had already taken up ſo much Room, that the Purſuit of the Remainder, would have quite Excluded, our principally Intended* Confutation *of all the* Atheiſtick Grounds; *the forementioned Objection being now ſufficiently Anſwered; there was a neceſſity, that we ſhould there break off, and leave the further* Account *of the* Pagan Idolatry *and* Religion, *together with our* Defence *of* Chriſtianity, *to ſome other more convenient Opportunity.*

And now we ſhall Exhibit to the Reader's view, a Brief *and* General Synopſis, *of the whole following VVork, together with ſome Particular* Reflexions *upon ſeveral Parts thereof; either for his better* Information *concerning them, or for their* Vindication: *ſome of which therefore, will be of greater Uſe, after the Book has been read, then before. The* Firſt Chapter, *is an Account of the* Atomick Phyſiology, *as made the Foundation of the* Democritick Fate. *VVhere the Reader is to underſtand, that this* Democritick Fate, *which is One of the* Three Falſe Hypotheſes *of the* Intellectual Syſtem, *there Mentioned, is the very Self-ſame thing with the* Atomick Atheiſm; *the onely Form of* Atheiſm, *that hath publickly appeared upon the Stage, as an* Entire Philoſophick Syſtem; *or hath indeed been much taken notice of in the VVorld, for theſe* Two Thouſand *years paſt. For, Though it be true, That* Epicurus, *(who was alſo an* Atomick Atheiſt, *(as is afterwards declared) having, in all probability, therefore a Mind to Innovate Something, that he might not ſeem to have borrowed all from* Democritus,) *did by violence introduce* Liberty *of* Will, *into his* Hypotheſis; *for the Salving whereof, he ridiculouſly devized, That his* Third Motion of Atoms, *called by* Lucretius,

——————Exiguum Clinamen Principiorum:

Yet was this, as Cicero *long ſince obſerved, a moſt* Heterogeneous Patch, *or* Aſſumentum *of his, and altogether as Contradictious to the Tenour of his own Principles, as it was to the* Doctrine *of* Democritus *himſelf. There can be nothing more* Abſurd, *then for an* Atheiſt *to aſſert* Liberty *of* Will: *but it is moſt of all* Abſurd, *for an* Atomick One. *And therefore our Modern* Atheiſts *do here plainly diſclaim* Epicurus, *(though otherwiſe ſo much Admired by them;) and declare open War againſt this* Liberty of Will: *they Apprehending that it would unavoidably Introduce* Incorporeal Subſtance; *as alſo well Knowing, that* Neceſſity, *on the contrary, Effectually overthrows all* Religion; *it taking away* Guilt *and* Blame, Puniſhments *and* Rewards; *to which might be added alſo,* Prayers *and* Devotions.

And as there was a neceſſity for us here, to give ſome Account of that Ancient

Ancient Atomick Phyſiology, *with which* Atheiſm *now became thus Blended and* Complicated; *ſo do we in this* Firſt Chapter, *chiefly inſiſt upon Two things concerning it. Firſt, That it was no Invention of* Democritus *nor* Leucippus, *but of much greater* Antiquity: *not onely from that Tradition tranſmitted by* Poſidonius *the* Stoick, *That it derived its* Original *from one* Moſchus *a* Phœnician, *who lived before the* Trojan Wars, *(which plainly makes it to have been* Moſaicall;) *but alſo from* Ariſtotle's *Affirmation, That the greater part of the* Ancient Philoſophers *entertained this* Hypotheſis; *and further becauſe it is certain, that divers of the* Italicks, *and particularly* Empedocles, *before* Democritus, Phyſiologized Atomically: *which is the Reaſon, he was ſo much applauded by* Lucretius. *Beſides which, it is more then a Preſumption, that* Anaxagoras *his* Homœomery *or* Similar Atomology, *was but a Degeneration from the True and* Genuine Atomology *of the* Ancient Italicks, *that was an* Anomœomery, *or Doctrine of* Diſſimilar *and* Unqualified Atoms. *Wherefore all that is True concerning* Democritus *and* Leucippus, *is onely this, That theſe men were indeed, the* Firſt Atheizers *of this* Ancient Atomick Phyſiology, *or the Inventors and Broachers of the* Atomick Atheiſm. *Which is* Laërtius *his True meaning, (though it be not commonly underſtood,) when he recordeth of them, that they were the Firſt, who made* Unqualified Atoms, *the* Principles *of all things in the* Univerſe *without exception; that is, not onely of* Inanimate Bodies, *(as the other* Ancient Religious Atomiſts, *the* Italicks, *before had done) but alſo of* Soul *and* Mind.

And whereas we conceive this Atomick Phyſiology, *as to the Eſſentialls thereof, to be Unqueſtionably True,* viz. *That the onely* Principles of Bodies, *are* Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion, *and* Reſt; *and that the* Qualities *and* Forms *of* Inanimate Bodies, *are Really nothing, but ſeveral* Combinations *of theſe, Cauſing ſeveral* Phancies *in us: (Which excellent Diſcovery therefore, ſo long agoe made, is a Notable Inſtance of the Wit and Sagacity of the* Ancients:) *So do we in the Next place, make it manifeſt, that this* Atomick Phyſiology *rightly underſtood, is ſo far from being either the* Mother *or* Nurſe *of* Atheiſm, *or any ways Favourable thereunto, (as is Vulgarly ſuppoſed;) that it is indeed, the moſt directly* Oppoſite *to it of any, and the greateſt* Defence *againſt the ſame. For, Firſt, we have Diſcovered, That the* Principle, *upon which this* Atomology *is Founded, and from whence it Sprung, was no other then this,* Nothing out of Nothing, *in the True Senſe thereof; or, That* Nothing can be Cauſed by Nothing: *from whence it was concluded, that in* Natural Generations, *there was no new* Real Entity *produced, which was not before: the Genuine Conſequence whereof was* Two-fold;

That the Qualities *and* Forms *of* Inanimate Bodies, *are no* Entities *Really diſtinct from the* Magnitude, Figure, Site *and* Motion of Parts; *and, That* Souls *are* Subſtances Incorporeal, *not* Generated *out of* Matter. *Where we have ſhewed, That the* Pythagorick Doctrine, *of the* Præ-Exiſtence *of* Souls, *was founded upon the very ſame* Principle, *with the* Atomick Phyſiology. *And it is from this very Principle rightly underſtood, that Ourſelves afterwards, undertake to Demonſtrate, The* Abſolute Impoſſibility *of all* Atheiſm. *Moreover, we have made it undeniably Evident, That the* Intrinſick Conſtitution *of this* Atomick Phyſiology *alſo is ſuch, as that whoſoever admits it, and rightly underſtands it, muſt needs acknowledge* Incorporeal Subſtance; *which is the Abſolute Overthrow of* Atheiſm. *And from hence alone, is it certain to us, without any* Teſtimonies *from* Antiquity, *that* Democritus *and* Leucippus, *could not poſſibly be the* Firſt Inventors *of this* Philoſophy, *they either not rightly Underſtanding it, or elſe wilfully Depraving the ſame: and the* Atomick Atheiſm, *being Really nothing elſe, but a* Rape *committed upon the* Atomick Phyſiology. *For which Reaſon, we do by no means here Applaud* Plato, *nor* Ariſtotle, *in their Rejecting this moſt* Ancient Atomick Phyſiology, *and Introducing again, that* Unintelligible Firſt Matter, *and thoſe* Exploded Qualities *and* Forms, *into* Philoſophy. *For though this were probably done by* Plato, *out of a Diſguſt and Prejudice againſt the* Atomick Atheiſts, *which made him not ſo well Conſider nor Underſtand that* Phyſiology; *yet was he much diſappointed of his Expectation herein; That* Atomology *which he Exploded, (rightly underſtood,) being really the Greateſt* Bulwark *againſt* Atheiſm; *and on the contrary, Thoſe* Forms *and* Qualities *which he Eſpouſed, the* Natural Seed *thereof; they, beſides their* Unintelligible Darkneſs, *bringing* Something *out of* Nothing, *in the* Impoſſible Senſe; *which we ſhew to be, the* Inlet of all Atheiſm. *And thus in this* Firſt Chapter, *have we not onely quite* Diſarmed Atheiſm *of* Atomiciſm, *or ſhewed that the* Latter, *(rightly underſtood,) affordeth no manner of* Shelter *or* Protection *to the* Former; *But alſo made it manifeſt, that it is the greateſt* Bulwark *and* Defence *againſt the ſame. Which is a thing afterwards further inſiſted on.*

As to the Second Chapter, *we have no more to ſay, but onely this; That here we took the Liberty, to Reveal the* Arcane Myſteries *of* Atheiſm, *and to Diſcover all its* Pretended Grounds of Reaſon, *that we could find anywhere ſuggeſted in Writings; thoſe onely excepted, that are peculiar to the* Hylozoick Form, *(which is directly contrary to the* Atomick;) *and that to their beſt advantage too: nevertheleſs to this end, that theſe being afterwards, all Baffled and Confuted,* Theiſm *might by this means, Obtain the Greater and Juſter* Triumph *over* Atheiſm.

In

In the Third Chapter, *we thought it neceſſary, in order to a fuller Confutation of* Atheiſm, *to conſider all the other* Forms *thereof, beſides the* Atomick. *And here do we firſt of all, make a Diſcovery of a certain* Form *of* Atheiſm, *never before taken notice of, by any* Modern Writers, *which we call the* Hylozoick: *which notwithſtanding, though it were long ſince ſtarted by* Strato, *in way of Oppoſition to the* Democritick *and* Epicurean Hypotheſis; *yet becauſe it afterwards ſlept in perfect Silence and Oblivion, ſhould have been here by us paſſed by Silently; had we not had certain Knowledge of its being of late* Awakened *and* Revived, *by ſome, who were ſo ſagacious, as plainly to perceive, that the* Atomick Form *could never doe their buſineſs, nor prove* Defenſible: *and therefore would attempt to carry on this* Cauſe of Atheiſm, *in quite a different way, by the* Life *and* Perception of Matter: *as alſo that this in all probability, would ere long publickly appear upon the Stage, though not Bare-faced, but under a Diſguize. Which* Atheiſtick Hypotheſis, *is partly Confuted by us, in the* Cloſe *of this* Third Chapter, *and partly in the* Fifth.

In the next place, it being certain, that there had been other Philoſophick Atheiſts *in the world before thoſe* Atomicks, Epicurus *and* Democritus; *we declare, out of* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, *what that moſt Ancient* Atheiſtick Hypotheſis *was; namely, the* Eduction *of all things, even* Life *and* Underſtanding *it Self, out of* Matter, *in the way of* Qualities; *or as the* Paſſions *and* Affections *thereof,* Generable *and* Corruptible. *Which* Form *of* Atheiſm *is ſtyled by us, not onely* Hylopathian, *but alſo* Anaximandrian: *however we grant ſome probability of that Opinion, That* Anaximander *held an* Homœomery *of* Qualified Atoms, *as* Anaxagoras *afterwards did; the difference between them being onely this, that the* Latter *aſſerted an* Unmade Mind, *whereas the* Former Generated *all* Mind *and* Underſtanding, *out of thoſe* Qualified Atoms, *Hot and Cold, Moiſt and Dry, Compounded together: becauſe we Judged this Difference not to be a ſufficient Ground to multiply* Forms *of* Atheiſm *upon. And here do we give notice, of that ſtrange kind of* Religious Atheiſm, *or* Atheiſtick Theogoniſm, *which aſſerted, not onely other* Underſtanding Beings, *Superiour to Men, called by them* Gods; *but alſo amongſt thoſe, one* Supreme *or* Jupiter *too; nevertheleſs* Native, *and* Generated *at Firſt out of* Night *and* Chaos, *(that is,* Senſleſs Matter) *as alſo* Mortal *and* Corruptible *again into the ſame.*

Beſides which, there is yet a Fourth Atheiſtick Form *taken notice of, out of the Writings of the Ancients, (though perhaps Junior to the reſt, it ſeeming to be but the* Corruption *and* Degeneration *of* Stoiciſm) *which concluded the whole World, not to be an* Animal, *(as the* Pagan

Theists *then generally Supposed*) *but onely One* Huge Plant *or* Vegetable, *having an* Artificial, Plantal, *and* Plastick Nature; *as its Highest Principle*, Orderly *disposing the Whole*, *without any* Mind *or* Understanding. *And here have we set down*, *the Agreement of all the* Atheistick Forms, (*however differing so much from one another*) *in this* One General Principle, *viz. That all* Animality, Conscious Life *and* Understanding, *is* Generated *out of* Senseless Matter, *and* Corruptible *again into it.*

Wherefore in the Close of this Third Chapter, *we insist Largely*, *upon an* Artificial, Regular *and* Plastick Nature, *devoid of expres* Knowledge *and* Understanding, *as subordinate to the* Deity: *Chiefly in way of Confutation*, *of those* Cosmo-Plastick, *and* Hylozoick Atheisms. *Though we had a further Design herein also*, *for the* Defence *of* Theism: *forasmuch as without such a* Nature, *either* God *must be supposed to Doe all things in the world Immediately*, *and to Form every* Gnat *and* Fly, *as it were with his own hands*; *which seemeth not so Becoming of him*, *and would render his* Providence, *to Humane Apprehensions*, Laborious *and* Distractious; *or else the whole* System *of this* Corporeal Universe, *must result onely from* Fortuitous Mechanism, *without the* Direction *of any* Mind: *which* Hypothesis *once admitted*, *would Unquestionably*, *by degrees*, Supplant *and* Undermine *all* Theism. *And now from what we have declared*, *it may plainly appear*, *that this Digression of ours*, *concerning an* Artificial, Regular *and* Plastick Nature, (*Subordinate to the* Deity) *is no* Wen, *or* Excrescency, *in the Body of this Book*; *but a* Natural *and* Necessary Member *thereof.*

In the Fourth Chapter; *After the* Idea of God *fully declared*, (*where we could not omit his* Essential Goodness *and* Justice, *or* (*if we may so call it*) *the* Morality *of the* Deity; *though that be a thing properly belonging to the* Second Book, *The* Confutation of the Divine Fate Immoral) *There is a large Account given of the* Pagan Polytheism; *to satisfy a very considerable* Objection, *that lay in our way from thence*, *Against the* Naturality *of the* Idea of God, *as Including* Onelineſs *and* Singularity *in it. For had that*, *upon enquiry*, *been found True*, *which is so commonly taken for granted*, *That the generality of the* Pagan Nations, *had constantly*, Scattered *their* Devotions, *amongst a multitude of* Self-Existent, *and* Independent Deities, *they acknowledging no* One Sovereign Numen; *This would much have* Stumbled *the* Naturality of the Divine Idea. *But now it being on the Contrary*, *clearly Proved*, *That the* Pagan Theologers *all along*, *acknowledged* One Sovereign *and* Omnipotent Deity, *from which all their other* Gods *were* Generated *or* Created; *we have thereby not onely Removed the forementioned* Objection *out of the way*; *but also Evinced*, *That the Generality of mankind*, *have*

have constantly had a certain Prolepsis *or* Anticipation *in their Minds, concerning the* Actual Existence *of a* God, *according to the* True Idea *of him. And this was the rather done Fully and Carefully by us; because we had not met with it sufficiently performed before:* A. Steuchus Eugubinus, *having laboured most in this Subject: from whose profitable Industry though we shall no way detract; yet whosoever will compare, what he hath written, with ours, will find no Just Cause to think ours* Superfluous *and* Unnecessary; *much less, a* Transcription *out of his. In which, besides other things, there is no Account at all given, of the* Many Pagan, Poetical *and* Political Gods, *what they were; which is so great a part of our Performance, to prove them Really to have been, but the* Polyonymy of one God. *From whence it follows also, That the* Pagan Religion, *though sufficiently Faulty, yet was not altogether so* Nonsensical, *as the* Atheists *would represent it, out of design; that they might from thence infer, all* Religion *to be nothing but a meer* Cheat *and* Imposture: *they worshipping onely* One Supreme God, *in the several Manifestations of his* Goodness, Power, *and* Providence *throughout the World, together with his* Inferiour Ministers. *Nevertheless we cannot deny, that being once engaged in this* Subject, *we thought our Selves the more Concerned, to doe the business thoroughly and effectually, because of that* Controversy *lately Agitated, concerning* Idolatry, *(which cannot otherwise be Decided, then by giving a True Account of the* Pagan Religion;) *and the so Confident Affirmations of some, That none could possibly be Guilty of* Idolatry, *in the Scripture Sense, who* Believed One God the Creator of the whole world: *Whereas it is most certain on the contrary, that the* Pagan Polytheism *and* Idolatry, *consisted not in worshipping* Many Creators, *or* Uncreateds, *but in giving* Religious Worship *to* Creatures, *besides the* Creator; *they directing their* Devotion, *(as* Athanasius *plainly affirmeth of them,)* ἑνὶ ἀγενήτῳ, καὶ πολλοῖς γενητοῖς, *To* One Uncreated onely; *but* besides him, *to* many Created Gods. *But as for the* Polemick Management *of this* Controversy, *concerning* Idolatry, *we leave it to other Learned Hands, that are already engaged in it.*

Moreover, We have in this Fourth Chapter, *largely Insisted also upon the* Trinity. *The Reason whereof was, Because it came in our way; and our* Contents *engaged us thereunto, in order to the giving a full Account of the* Pagan Theology: *it being certain, that the* Platonicks *and* Pythagoreans *at least, if not other* Pagans *also, had their* Trinity, *as well as* Christians. *And we could not well avoid, the* Comparing *of these* Two *together: Upon which Occasion we take notice of a* Double Platonick Trinity; *the One* Spurious *and* Adulterated, *of some latter* Platonists; *the Other* True *and* Genuine, *of* Plato *himself,* Parmenides, *and the* Ancients. *The* Former *of which, though it be Opposed by us to the* Christian Trinity, *and Con-*

futed; *yet betwixt the Latter, and that, do we find a Wonderfull Correſpondence: which is Largely Purſued, in the* Platonick Chriſtians Apology. *Wherein notwithſtanding, nothing muſt be lookt upon, as Dogmatically Aſſerted by us, but onely Offered, and Submitted to the Judgment of the Learned in theſe Matters*; *We confining our ſelves, in this* Myſterious Point *of the* Holy Trinity, *within the Compaſs of thoſe its* Three Eſſentials *declared: Firſt, That it is not a* Trinity *of meer* Names *and* Words, *or of* Logical Notions *onely: But of* Perſons *or* Hypoſtaſes. *Secondly, That none of thoſe* Perſons *or* Hypoſtaſes, *are* Creatures, *but all* Uncreated. *And Laſtly, That they are all Three, Truely and Really* One God. *Nevertheleſs we acknowledge, That we did therefore, the more Copiouſly inſiſt upon this Argument, becauſe of our then* Deſigned, Defence *of* Chriſtianity; *we conceiving that this* Paralleliſm, *betwixt the* Ancient *or* Genuine Platonick, *and the* Chriſtian Trinity, *might be of ſome uſe to ſatisfy thoſe amongſt us, who Boggle ſo much at the* Trinity, *and look upon it as the* Choak-Pear *of* Chriſtianity; *when they ſhall find, that the Freeſt Wits amongſt the* Pagans, *and the Beſt* Philoſophers, *who had nothing of* Superſtition, *to Determine them that way, were ſo far from being ſhy of ſuch an* Hypotheſis, *as that they were even Fond thereof. And that the* Pagans *had indeed ſuch a* Cabbala *amongſt them, (which ſome perhaps will yet hardly believe, notwithſtanding all that we have ſaid,) might be further convinced, from that memorable Relation in* Plutarch, *of* Theſpeſius Solenſis, *who after he had been lookt upon as Dead for Three days, Reviving; Affirmed amongſt other things, which he thought he ſaw or heard in the mean time in his Ecſtaſy, This, Of* Three Gods in the Form of a Triangle, pouring in Streams into one another; Orpheus *his* Soul, *being ſaid to have arrived ſo far; accordingly as from the Teſtimonies of other* Pagan Writers, *we have proved, that a* Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes, *was a part of the* Orphick Cabbala. *True indeed, our Belief of the* Holy Trinity, *is Founded upon no* Pagan Cabbala's, *but onely* Scripture Revelation: *it being that which* Chriſtians *are, or ſhould be, all Baptized into: Nevertheleſs theſe things are Reaſonably noted by us to this end; That that ſhould not be made a* Prejudice *Againſt* Chriſtianity, *and* Revealed Religion; *nor lookt upon as ſuch an* Affrightfull Bugbear *or* Mormo in it; *which even* Pagan Philoſophers *themſelves, and thoſe of the moſt Accompliſhed Intellectuals, and* Uncaptivated Minds, *though having neither* Councils, *nor* Creeds, *nor* Scriptures; *had ſo great a Propenſity and Readineſs to entertain, and ſuch a Veneration for.*

In this Fourth Chapter, *We were neceſſitated by the Matter it ſelf, to run out into* Philology *and* Antiquity; *as alſo in the other Parts of the Book, we do often give an Account, of the* Doctrine *of the* Ancients: *which however ſome Over-ſevere* Philoſophers, *may look upon* Faſtidiouſly, *or* Undervalue

lue *and* Depretiate; *yet, as we conceived it often* Neceſſary, *ſo poſſibly may the Variety thereof not be* Ungratefull *to others; and this Mixture of* Philology, *throughout the Whole, Sweeten and Allay the Severity of* Philoſophy *to them: The main thing which the Book pretends to, in the mean time, being the* Philoſophy *of* Religion. *But for our parts, we neither call* Philology, *nor yet* Philoſophy, *our Miſtreſs; but ſerve our ſelves of Either, as Occaſion requireth.*

As for the Laſt Chapter; *Though it Promiſe onely a* Confutation *of all the* Atheiſtick Grounds; *yet do we therein alſo* Demonſtrate, *the* Abſolute Impoſſibility *of all* Atheiſm, *and the* Actual Exiſtence *of a* God. *We ſay* Demonſtrate; *not* A Priori, *which is Impoſſible and Contradictious; but by* Neceſſary Inference, *from Principles altogether Undeniable. For we can by no means grant to the* Atheiſts; *That there is no more, then a Probable Perſuaſion, or Opinion to be had, of the* Exiſtence *of a* God; *without any* Certain Knowledge *or* Science. *Nevertheleſs it will not follow from hence, That whoſoever ſhall Read theſe* Demonſtrations *of ours, and Underſtand all the words of them, muſt therefore of Neceſſity, be preſently Convinced, whether he will or no, and put out of all manner of* Doubt *or* Heſitancy, *concerning the* Exiſtence *of a* God. *For we Believe That to be True, which ſome have Affirmed, That were there any* Intereſt of Life, *any* Concernment *of* Appetite *and* Paſſion, *againſt the* Truth *of* Geometricall Theorems *themſelves; as of a* Triangle's *Having* Three Angles *Equall to* Two Right; *whereby mens Judgements might be Clouded and Bribed; Notwithſtanding all the* Demonſtrations *of them, many would remain, at leaſt* Sceptical *about them. Wherefore meer* Speculation, *and Dry* Mathematical Reaſon, *in Minds Unpurified, and having a* Contrary Intereſt *of* Carnality, *and a heavy Load of* Infidelity *and* Diſtruſt *ſinking them down; cannot alone beget an* Unſhaken Confidence *and* Aſſurance *of ſo High a Truth as this, The* Exiſtence *of* One Perfect Underſtanding Being, *the* Original *of all things. As it is certain alſo on the contrary, That* Minds Cleanſed *and* Purged *from* Vice, *may without* Syllogiſticall Reaſonings, *and* Mathematical Demonſtrations, *have an Undoubted Aſſurance of the* Exiſtence of a God, *according to that of the* Philoſopher; ἡ καθαρσις ποιεῖ ἐν γνώσει τῶν ἀρίστων εἶναι, Purity Poſſeſſes *men with an* Aſſurance *of the* Beſt things: *whether this* Aſſurance *be called a* Vaticination *or* Divine Sagacity, (*as it is by* Plato *and* Ariſtotle) *or* Faith, *as in the* Scripture. *For the* Scripture-Faith, *is not a meer Believing of* Hiſtoricall Things, *and upon Inartificiall Arguments, or* Teſtimonies *onely; but a Certain Higher and* Diviner Power *in the* Soul, *that peculiarly Correſpondeth with the* Deity. *Notwithſtanding which,* Knowledge *or* Science, *added to this* Faith, (*according*

ding to the Scripture *Advice*) *will make it more* Firm *and* Stedfaſt; *and the better able to reſiſt thoſe Aſſaults of* Sophiſticall Reaſonings, *that ſhall be made againſt it.*

In this Fifth Chapter, *as ſometimes elſewhere, we thought Our ſelves concerned, in* Defence *of the* Divine Wiſdome, Goodneſs, *and* Perfection, *againſt* Atheiſts, *to maintain, (with all the Ancient* Philoſophick Theiſts,) *the* Perfection *of the* Creation alſo; *or that the* Whole Syſtem *of things taken all together, could not have been* Better Made *and* Ordered *then it is. And indeed, This* Divine Goodneſs *and* Perfection, *as* Diſplaying *and* Manifeſting *it ſelf in the* Works *of* Nature *and* Providence, *is ſuppoſed in Scripture, to be the very Foundation of our* Chriſtian Faith; *when that is* Defined, *to be the* Subſtance *and* Evidence Rerum Sperandarum; *that is, Of* Whatſoever *is (by a Good man)* to be hoped for. *Notwithſtanding which, it was far from our Intention, therefore to Conclude, That Nothing neither in* Nature *nor* Providence, *could be Otherwiſe then it is*; *or, That there is Nothing left to the* Free Will *and* Choice *of the* Deity. *And though we do in the* Third Section, *inſiſt largely, upon that* Ancient Pythagorick Cabbala, *That* Souls *are* always United *to ſome* Body or other; *as alſo, That all* Rationall *and* Intellectuall Creatures, *conſiſt of* Soul *and* Body; *and ſuggeſt ſeveral things, from* Reaſon *and* Chriſtian Antiquity, *in favour of them both: yet would we not be Underſtood, to* Dogmatize *in either of them, but to Submit all to better Judgments.*

Again, we ſhall here Advertiſe the Reader, (though we have Caution'd concerning it, in the Book it ſelf) That in our Defence of Incorporeal Subſtance *againſt the* Atheiſts, *However we thought our ſelves concerned, to ſay the utmoſt that poſſibly we could, in way of Vindication of the* Ancients, *who generally maintained it to be* Unextended, *(which to ſome ſeems an Abſolute* Impoſſibility;) *yet we would not be ſuppoſed Our ſelves,* Dogmatically *to Aſſert any more in this Point, then what all* Incorporealiſts *agree in, That there is a* Subſtance *Specifically diſtinct from* Body; *namely ſuch, as Conſiſteth* Not of Parts Separable *from one another*; *and which can* Penetrate Body; *and Laſtly, is* Self-Active, *and hath an* Internal Energy, *diſtinct from that of* Locall Motion. *(And thus much is undeniably Evinced, by the Arguments before propoſed.) But whether this* Subſtance, *be altogether* Unextended, *or* Extended *otherwiſe then* Body; *we ſhall leave every man to make his own Judgment concerning it.*

Furthermore, We think fit here to Suggeſt, That whereas throughout this Chapter *and* Whole Book, *we conſtantly Oppoſe the* Generation of Souls, *that is, the* Production *of* Life, Cogitation *and* Underſtanding, *out of* Dead *and* Senſleſs Matter; *and aſſert all* Souls *to be as* Subſtantiall *as* Matter

it

it ſelf; *This is not done by us, out of any fond* Addictedneſs *to* Pythagorick Whimſeys, *nor indeed out of a meer* Partiall Regard *to that Cauſe of* Theiſm *neither, which we were engaged in, (though we had great reaſon to be tender of that too ;) but becauſe we were enforced thereunto, by* Dry Mathematicall Reaſon ; *it being as certain to us, as any thing in all* Geometry, *That* Cogitation *and* Underſtanding, *can never poſſibly* Reſult *out of* Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, *and* Locall Motions, *(which is all that ourſelves can allow to* Body *) however Compounded together. Nor indeed in that other way of Qualities, is it better Conceiveable, how they ſhould emerge out of* Hot *and* Cold, Moiſt *and* Dry, Thick *and* Thin ; *according to the* Anaximandrian Atheiſm. *And they who can perſuade themſelves of the Contrary, may Believe, That any thing may be Cauſed by any thing ; upon which Suppoſition, we confeſs, it Impoſſible to us, to prove the* Exiſtence of a God, *from the* Phænomena.

In the Cloſe of this Fifth Chapter ; *Becauſe the* Atheiſts *do in the Laſt place Pretend*, Theiſm *and* Religion *to be* Inconſiſtent *with* Civil Sovereignty ; *we were neceſſitated, briefly to* Unravel *and* Confute, *all the* Atheiſtick Ethicks *and* Politicks, *(Though this more properly belong to our* Second Book *Intended:) Where we make it plainly to appear, That the* Atheiſts Artificiall *and* Factitious Juſtice, *is Nothing but* Will *and* Words ; *and That they give to* Civil Sovereigns, *no* Right *nor* Authority *at all, but onely* Belluine Liberty, *and* Brutiſh Force. *But on the contrary, as we Aſſert* Juſtice *and* Obligation, *not* Made *by* Law *and* Commands, *but in* Nature ; *and Prove* This, *together with* Conſcience *and* Religion, *to be the onely* Baſis *of* Civil Authority ; *ſo do we alſo maintain, all the* Rights *of* Civil Sovereigns ; *giving both to* Cæſar, *the* things that are Cæſar's ; *and to* God, *the* things that are God's.

And now, having made all our Apologies *and* Reflexions, *we have no more to adde, but onely the* Retractation *or* Retraction *of one* Paſſage, Page 761. *Where mentioning that* Opinion *of a* Modern Atheiſtick Writer, *That* Cogitation *is nothing elſe but* Local Motion, *we could not think* Epicurus *and* Democritus *to have ſunk to ſuch a Degree, either of* Sottiſhneſs *or* Impudence, *as this ; whereas we found Cauſe afterwards, upon further Conſideration, to Change our Opinion herein*, Page 846. *Foraſmuch as when* Epicurus *Derived* Liberty of Will *in men, meerly from that* Motion *of* Senſleſs Atoms *Declining Uncertainly from the* Perpendicular ; *it is Evident, that according to him,* Volition *it ſelf muſt be really* Local Motion. *As indeed in the* Democritick Fate, *and* Material Neceſſity *of all things, it is Implied, That* Humane Cogitations *are but* Mechaniſm *and* Motion. *Notwithſtanding which, both* Democritus *and* Epicurus *ſuppoſed, That the World was made without* Cogitation, *though by* Local Motion. *So*

that the meaning of these Besotted Atheists, *(if at least they had any meaning) seems to have been this, That all* Cogitation *is Really Nothing else but* Local Motion; *nevertheless all* Motion, *not* Cogitation; *but onely in such and such Circumstances, or in* Bodies *so Modified.*

And now we are not Ignorant, That some will be ready to condemn this whole Labour of ours, and of others in this Kind, Against Atheism, *as altogether Useless and Superfluous; upon this Pretence, that an* Atheist *is a meer* Chimæra, *and there is no such thing any-where to be found in the World. And indeed we could heartily wish, upon that condition, that all this Labour of ours, were* Superfluous *and* Useless. *But as to* Atheists, *These so confident* Exploders *of them, are both Unskilled in the* Monuments *of* Antiquity, *and Unacquainted with the Present Age, they live in; others having found too great an Assurance, from their own* Personal Converse, *of the* Reality *of Them. Nevertheless this* Labour *of ours, is not Intended onely for the Conversion of* Downright *and* Professed Atheists, *(of which there is but Little Hope, they being sunk into so great a degree of Sottishness;) but for the Confirmation of* Weak, Staggering, *and* Scepticall Theists. *And unless these* Exploders *of* Atheists, *will affirm also, that all men have constantly, an* Unshaken Faith, *and* Belief *of the* Existence of a God, *without the least mixture of Doubtfull Distrust, or Hesitancy, (which if it were so, the world could not possibly be so bad as now it is) they must needs Grant, such Endeavours as these, for the Confirming and Establishing of mens Minds in the Belief of a* God, *by* Philosophick Reasons, *in an* Age *so* Philosophicall, *not to be* Superfluous *and* Useless.

Imprimatur

Hic Liber, cui Titulus, *The True Intellectuall System of the Universe*, &c.

Maii 29. 1671.

Sam. Parker, Reverend^mo in Christo Patri ac Domino, Domino *Gilberto*, Divinâ Providentiâ Archiep. *Cantuar.* à Sacr. Dom.

Place the Contents at the latter end of the Book.

Book I.

Chap. I.

1. *The Fatal Neceſſity of all Humane Actions and Events maintained upon three ſeveral Grounds, which are ſo many falſe Hypotheſes of the Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe.* 2. *Concerning the Mathematical or Aſtrological Fate.* 3. *Concerning the Opinion of thoſe who ſuppoſe a Fate ſuperiour to the Higheſt Deity.* 4. *The Moderation of this Diſcourſe.* 5. *The Atheiſtical Hypotheſis or Democritical Fate, being founded upon the Atomical Phyſiology; the neceſſity of giving an Account of it, and that firſt briefly deſcribed.* 6. *The Antiquity of this Phyſiology, and the account which is given of it by* Ariſtotle. 7. *A clear and full record of the ſame Phyſiology in* Plato *that hath not been taken notice of.* 8. *That neither* Democritus, *nor* Leucippus, *nor* Protagoras, *nor any Atheiſts were the firſt Inventours of this Philoſophy; and of the Neceſſity of being thoroughly acquainted with it, in order to the confutation of Atheiſm.* 9. *The Tradition of* Poſidonius *the Stoick, that* Moſchus *an ancient* Phænician *was the firſt Inventour of the Atomical Phyſiology.* 10. *That this* Moſchus *the Inventour of the Atomical Phyſiology was probably the ſame with* Mochus *the Phyſiologer in* Jamblichus, *with whoſe ſucceſſours, Prieſts and Prophets,* Pythagoras *convers'd at* Sidon. 11. *Other Probabilities for this, that* Pythagoras *was acquainted with the Atomical Phyſiology.* 12. *That* Pythagoras *his* Monads *were Atoms.* 13. *Proved plainly that* Empedocles, *who was a Pythagorean, Phyſiologized Atomically.* 14. *The ſame further convinced from* Plato, Ariſtotle, Plutarch & Stobæus. 15. *That* Anaxagoras *was a ſpurious Atomiſt, or unskilful Imitatour of that Philoſophy.* 16. *That* Ecphantus *the Pythagorean,* Zenocrates, Heraclides, Diodorus *and* Metrodorus Chius *were all ancient Aſſerters of the Atomical Phyſiology; together with* Ariſtotle's *Teſtimony that the ancient Phyſiologers generally went that way.* 17. *How* Ariſtotle *is to be reconciled with himſelf, and the credit of other Writers to be ſalved, who*

impute this Philoſophy to Leucippus *and* Democritus; *That they were the firſt Atheizers of it, or the Founders of that Philoſophy which is Atheiſtically Atomical.* 18. *That the Atomiſts before* Democritus *were Aſſerters of a Deity and Subſtance Incorporeal.* 19. *A confutation of thoſe Neotericks, who deny that Incorporeal Subſtance was ever aſſerted by any of the Ancients, and the Antiquity of that Doctrine proved from* Plato, *who himſelf profeſſedly maintained it.* 20. *That* Ariſtotle *likewiſe aſſerted Incorporeal Subſtance.* 21. *That* Epicurus *endeavoured to confute this Opinion, as that which* Plato *and others of the Ancients had maintained.* 22. *That all thoſe Philoſophers who held the Immortality of the Soul and a Deity diſtinct from the World, held Incorporeal Subſtance, and that beſides* Thales, Pythagoras *was a grand Champion for the ſame, who alſo aſſerted a Divine Triad.* 23. Parmenides *an Aſſerter of Incorporeal Subſtance, together with all thoſe who maintained that all things did not flow, but ſomething ſtand.* 24. Empedocles *vindicated from being either an Atheiſt or Corporealiſt at large.* 25. Anaxagoras *a plain Aſſerter of Incorporeal Subſtance.* 26. *Inferred that the Ancient Atomiſts before* Democritus *were both Theiſts and Incorporealiſts.* 27. *That there is not only no Inconſiſtency between Atomology and Theology, but alſo a Natural Cognation, proved from the Origine of the Atomical Phyſiology, and firſt a general account thereof.* 28. *A more particular account of the Origine of this Philoſophy from that Principle of Reaſon, That in Nature, Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing.* 29. *That the ſame Principle which made the Ancients diſcard ſubſtantial Forms and Qualities, made them alſo to aſſert Incorporeal Subſtance.* 30. *That from the ſame Ground of Reaſon alſo they aſſerted the Immortality of Souls.* 31. *That the Doctrine of Preexiſtence and Tranſmigration of Souls had its original from hence alſo.* 32. *That the Ancients did not confine this to Humane Souls only, but extend it to all Souls and Lives whatſoever.* 33. *All this proved from* Empedocles, *who aſſerted the Preexiſtence as well as the Poſtexiſtence of all Souls upon that Ground.* 34. *A Cenſure of this Doctrine; that the Reaſon of it is irrefragable for the Poſt-eternity of all Humane Souls, and that the Hypotheſis of the Creation of Humane Souls, which ſalves their Immortality without Preexiſtence, is Rational.* 35. *A new Hypotheſis to ſalve the Incorporeity of the Souls of Brutes without their Poſtexiſtence and ſucceſſive Tranſmigrations.* 36. *That this will not prejudice the Immortality of Humane Souls.* 37. *That the Empedoclean Hypotheſis is more Rational than the Opinion of thoſe that would make the Souls of Brutes Corporeal.* 38. *That the Conſtitution of the Atomical Phyſiology is ſuch, that whoſoever entertains it, and thoroughly underſtands it, muſt needs hold Incorporeal Subſtance, in five Particulars.* 39. *Two general Advantages of the Atomical or Mechanical Phyſiology; firſt that it renders the Corporeal World intelligible.* 40. *The ſecond Advantage of it, that it prepares an eaſie and clear way for the Demonſtration of Incorporeal Subſtance.* 41. *Concluded, That the ancient Moſchical Philoſophy conſiſted of two Parts, Atomical Phyſiology, and Theology or Pneumatology.* 42. *That this entire Philoſophy was afterwards mangled and diſmembred, ſome taking one part of it alone, and ſome the other.* 43. *That*

43. *That* Leucippus *and* Democritus, *being Atheistically inclined, took the Atomical Physiology endeavouring to make it subservient to Atheism, and upon what occasion they did it, and how unsuccessfully.*
44. *That* Plato *took the Theology and Pneumatology of the Ancients, but rejected their Atomical Physiology, and upon what accounts.*
45. *That* Aristotle *followed* Plato *herein, with a Commendation of* Aristotle's *Philosophy.*

THEY that hold the Necessity of all humane Actions and Events, do it upon one or other of these two Grounds; Either because they suppose that Necessity is inwardly essential to all Agents whatsoever, and that Contingent Liberty is πρᾶγμα ἀνυπόστατον, a Thing Impossible or Contradictious, which can have no Existence any where in Nature; The sence of which was thus expressed by the *Epicurean* Poet,

——*Quòd res quæque Necessum*
Intestinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis, &c.

That every thing Naturally labours under an Intestine Necessity: Or else, because though they admit Contingent Liberty not only as a thing Possible, but also as that which is actually Existent in the Deity, yet they conceive all things to be so determin'd by the Will and Decrees of this Deity, as that they are thereby made Necessary to us. The former of these two Opinions, that Contingent Liberty is πρᾶγμα ἀνυπόστατον, such a Thing as can have no Existence in Nature, may be maintained upon two different Grounds; Either from such an *Hypothesis* as this, That the Universe is nothing else but Body, and Local motion, and Nothing moving it self, the Action of every Agent is determined by some other Agent without it; and therefore that ὑλικὴ ἀνάγκη, Material and Mechanical Necessity must needs reign over all things: Or else, though Cogitative Beings be supposed to have a certain Principle of Activity within themselves, yet that there can be no Contingency in their Actions, because all Volitions are determined by a Necessary antecedent Understanding.

Plotinus makes another Distribution of Fatalists, which yet in the Conclusion will come to the same with the Former, διῃρῆς ἄν τις δέμως τοὺς ἓν τῷ ἀληθῶς ἀποτυχόντας, οἱ, μὲν δὴ ἀφ' ἑνός τινος τὰ πάντα ἀναρτῶσιν, οἱ δ' οὐ φασιν. *A man* (saith he) *will not do amiss that will divide all Fatalists first into these two General Heads, namely, That they derive all things from One Principle, or Not*; The former of which may be called Divine Fatalists, the latter Atheistical. Which Divine Fatalists he again subdivides into such as First make *God by Immediate Influence to do all things in us*; as in Animals the Members are not determined by themselves, but by that which is the *Hegemonick* in every one: And Secondly, such as make *Fate* to be an *Implexed Series* or Concatenation of Causes, all in themselves Necessary, whereof God is the chief. The Former seems to be a Description of that

very Fate that is maintained by ſome *Neoterick* Chriſtians; the Latter is the Fate of the *Stoicks*.

Wherefore Fataliſts that hold the Neceſſity of all Humane Actions and Events, may be reduced to theſe Three Heads; Firſt, ſuch as aſſerting the Deity, ſuppoſe it irreſpectively to Decree and Determine all things, and thereby make all Actions neceſſary to us; Which kind of Fate, though Philoſophers and other ancient Writers have not been altogether ſilent of it, yet it has been principally maintained by ſome *Neoterick* Chriſtians, contrary to the Sence of the Ancient Church. Secondly, ſuch as ſuppoſe a Deity, that acting Wiſely, but Neceſſarily, did contrive the General Frame of things in the World; from whence by a Series of Cauſes doth unavoidably reſult whatſoever is now done in it. Which Fate is a Concatenation of Cauſes, all in themſelves Neceſſary, and is that which was aſſerted by the Ancient *Stoicks Zeno* and *Chryſippus*, whom the Jewiſh *Eſſenes* ſeemed to follow. And Laſtly, ſuch as hold the Material Neceſſity of all things without a Deity; which Fate *Epicurus* calls τὴν περὶ φυσικῶν εἱμαρμένην, *The Fate of the Naturaliſts*, that is, indeed, the *Atheiſts*, the Aſſertors whereof may be called alſo the Democritical Fataliſts. Which three Opinions concerning Fate, are ſo many ſeveral *Hypotheſes* of the Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe. All which we ſhall here propoſe, endeavouring to ſhew the Falſeneſs of them, and then ſubſtitute the true Mundane Syſtem in the Room of them.

II. The Mathematical or Aſtrological Fate ſo much talked of, as it is a thing no way conſiderable for the Grounds of it, ſo whatſoever it be, it muſt needs fall under one or other of thoſe two General Heads in the *Plotinical* Diſtribution laſt mentioned, ſo as either to derive all things from one Principle, or Not. It ſeems to have had its firſt Emerſion amongſt the *Chaldæans*, from a certain kind of blind *Polytheiſm* (which is but a better ſort of diſguiſed Atheiſm) but it was afterwards Adopted and fondly nurſed by the *Stoicks* in a way of ſubordination to their Divine Fate. For *Manilius*, *Firmicus* and other Maſters of that Sect were great Promoters of it. And there was too much attributed to Aſtrology alſo, by thoſe that were no Fataliſts, both Heathen and Chriſtian Philoſophers, ſuch as were *Plotinus*, *Origen*, *Simplicius* and others: Who though they did not make the Stars to neceſſitate all Humane Actions here below, yet they ſuppoſed that Divine Providence (fore-knowing all things) had contrived ſuch a ſtrange Coincidence of the Motions and Configurations of the Heavenly Bodies with ſuch Actions here upon Earth, as that the former might be Prognoſticks of the latter. Thus *Origen* determines that the Stars do not Make but Signifie; and that the Heavens are a kind of Divine Volume, in whoſe Characters they that are skilled, may read or ſpell out Humane Events. To the ſame purpoſe *Plotinus*, φέρεσθαι μὲν ταῦτα ὅτι σωτηρία τοῦ ὅλου, παρέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ χρείαν τῷ τὰ εἰς αὐτὰ ὥσπερ γράμματα βλέποντας τὰς τοιαύτας γραμματικὴν εἰδότας ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκ τοῦ σχημάτων καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον μεθοδεύοντας τὸ σημαινόμενον· ὥστε εἴ τις λέγοι ἐνδεικνύναι ὑψηλὸς ὄρνις σημαίνειν ὑψηλάς τινας πράξεις· *The Motion of the Stars was intended for the Phyſical Good of the*

the whole; but they afford alſo another Uſe collaterally in order to Prognoſtication, namely that they who are skilled in the Grammar of the Heavens may be able from the ſeveral Configurations of the Stars, as it were Letters to ſpell out future Events, by making ſuch Analogical Interpretations as they uſe to do in Augury: As when a Bird flies high, to interpret this of ſome High and Noble Exploit. And *Simplicius* in like manner, σύμφωνός ἐστιν ἡ ἑμαρμένη περιφορὰ τῇ προβολῇ τῶν ψυχῶν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐρχομένῃ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, οὐκ ἀναιροῦσα μὲν τὰς τῶνδε ὀρέγεσθαι ἢ τῶνδε, σύμφωνον δὲ οὖσαν τῇ ὁρέξει αὐτῶν. *The Fatal Converſion of the Heavens is made to correſpond with the Production of Souls into Generation at ſuch and ſuch times, not Neceſſitating them to will this or that, but conſpiring agreeably with ſuch Appetites and Volitions of theirs.* And theſe Philoſophers were the rather inclinable to this Perſwaſion from a Superſtitious Conceit which they had, that the Stars being animated, were Intellectual Beings of a far higher Rank than Men. And ſince God did not make them, nor any thing elſe in the World, ſingly for themſelves alone, but alſo to contribute to the Publick Good of the Univerſe, their Phyſical Influence ſeeming inconſiderable, they knew not well what elſe could be worthy of them, unleſs it were to portend Humane Events. This indeed is the beſt Sence that can be made of Aſtrological Prognoſtication; But it is a buſineſs that ſtands upon a very weak and tottering, if not Impoſſible Foundation.

III. There is another Wild and Extravagant Conceit which ſome of the Pagans had, who though they Verbally acknowledged a Deity, yet ſuppoſed a certain Fate ſuperiour to it, and not only to all their other Petty Gods, but alſo to *Jupiter* himſelf. To which purpoſe is that of the Greek Poet, Latin'd by *Cicero*, *Quod fore paratum eſt id ſummum exuperat Jovem*; and that of *Herodotus*, τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ τῷ θεῷ. *It is impoſſible for God himſelf to avoid the deſtin'd Fate*; and ὁ θεὸς ἀνάγκης, *God himſelf is a Servant of Neceſſity.* According to which Conceit, *Jupiter* in *Homer* laments his Condition, in that the Fates having determined that his beloved *Sarpedon* ſhould be ſlain by the Son of *Menœtius*, he was not able to withſtand it. Though all theſe paſſages may not perhaps imply much more than what the Stoical *Hypotheſis* it ſelf imported; for that did alſo in ſome ſence make God himſelf a Servant to the Neceſſity of the Matter, and to his own Decrees, in that he could not have made the ſmalleſt thing in the World otherwiſe than now it is, much leſs was able to alter any thing. According to that of *Seneca*, *Eadem Neceſſitas & Deos alligat. Irrevocabilis Divina pariter atque Humana curſus vehit. Ille ipſe omnium Conditor ac Rector ſcripſit quidem Fata ſed ſequitur. Semper paret ſemel juſſit. One and the ſame Chain of Neceſſity ties God and Men. The ſame irrevocable and unalterable Courſe carries on Divine and Humane things. The very Maker and Governour of all things that writ the Fates follows them. He did but once command but he always obeys.* But if there were this further meaning in the Paſſages before cited, that a Neceſſity without God, that was invincible by him, did determine his Will to all things; this was nothing but a certain Confuſed and Contradictious Jumble of Atheiſm and Theiſm both together; or an odd kind of Intimation, that however

Lact. l. 1. c. 11. Lucian. *Jupi-Confutatus.*

the Name of God be used in compliance with Vulgar Speech and Opinion, yet indeed it signifies nothing, but Material Necessity; and the blind Motion of Matter is really the Highest *Numen* in the World. And here that of *Balbus* the Stoick in *Cicero* is opportune: *Non est Natura Dei Præpotens & Excellens, siquidem ea subjecta est ei vel Necessitati vel Naturæ quâ Cœlum, Maria, Terræque reguntur. Nihil autem est præstantius Deo. Nulli igitur est Naturæ obediens aut subjectus Deus. God would not be the most Powerful and Excellent Being, if he were subject to that either Necessity or Nature, by which the Heavens, Seas and Earth are governed. But the Notion of a God implies the most Excellent Being. Therefore God is not Obedient or Subject to any Nature.*

IV. And now we think fit here to suggest, that however we shall oppose those three Fatalisms before mentioned, as so many false *Hypotheses* of the Mundane System and Oeconomy, and endeavour to exclude that severe Tyranness (as *Epicurus* calls it) of Universal Necessity reigning over all, and to leave some Scope for Contingent Liberty to move up and down in, without which neither Rational Creatures can be blame worthy for any thing they do, nor God have any Object to display his Justice upon, nor indeed be justified in his Providence; Yet, as we vindicate to God the glory of all Good, so we do not quite banish the Notion of *Fate* neither, nor take away all *Necessity*; which is a thing the *Clazomenian* Philosopher of old was taxed for; Affirming μηδὲν τῶν γινομένων γίνεσθαι καθ' εἱμαρμένην, ἀλλὰ εἶναι κενὸν τοῦτο τὸνομα· *That Nothing at all was done by Fate, but that it was altogether a vain Name.* And the *Sadduceans* among the Jews have been noted for the same: Τὴν μὲν εἱμαρμένην ἀναιροῦσιν ὀδὲν εἶναι ταύτην ἀξιοῦντες, ὅτι κατ' αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλῳ λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τιθέντες· *They take away all Fate, and will not allow it to be any thing at all, nor to have any Power over Humane Things, but put all things entirely into the hands of Mens own Free-Will.* And some of our own, seem to have approached too near to this Extreme, attributing, perhaps, more to the Power of Free-Will, than either Religion or Nature will admit. But the *Hypothesis* that we shall recommend, as most agreeable to Truth, of a περίνοια ἱλάσιμος *Placable Providence*, of a Deity Essentially Good, presiding over all, will avoid all Extremes, asserting to God the Glory of Good, and freeing him from the Blame of Evil; and leaving a certain proportionate Contemperation and Commixture of Contingency and Necessity both together in the World: As Nature requires a mixture of Motion and Rest, without either of which there could be no Generation. Which Temper was observed by several of the Ancients; as the Pharisaick Sect amongst the Jews who determined τινὰ μὲν ἢ πάντα τῇ εἱμαρμένῃ εἶναι ἔργον, τινὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν, *That some things and not all were the Effects of Fate, but some things were left in Mens own Power and Liberty.* And also by *Plato* amongst the Philosophers, πλάτων ἐνίεται μὲν εἱμαρμένῃ ὅτι τῇ ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν καὶ βίων, συνεισάγει δὲ καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμᾶς αἰτίαν· Plato *inserts something of Fate into Humane Lives and Actions, and he joyns with it Liberty of Will also.* He doth indeed suppose Humane Souls to have within themselves the Causes of their own Changes to a Better or Worser State, & every where declares God

God to be blameleſs for their Evils, and yet he ſomewhere makes the three Fatal Siſters notwithſtanding, *Clotho*, *Lacheſis* and *Atropos*, to be buſie about them alſo. For according to the ſence of the Ancients, Fate is a Servant of Divine Providence in the World, and takes place differently upon the different Actings of Free-willed Beings. And how Free a thing ſoever the Will of Man may ſeem to be, to ſome, yet I conceive it to be out of Queſtion, that it may contract upon it ſelf ſuch Neceſſities and Fatalities, as it cannot upon a ſuddain rid it ſelf of at pleaſure. But whatſoever is ſaid in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe by way of Oppoſition to that Fataliſm of the Neoterick Chriſtians, is intended only to vindicate what was the conſtant Doctrine of the Chriſtian Church in its greateſt purity, (as ſhall be made manifeſt) and not to introduce any New-fangled conceit of our own.

V. We muſt now proceed to give a more full and perfect account of theſe three ſeveral Fates, or *Hypotheſes* of the Mundane Syſtem before mentioned, together with the Grounds of them, beginning firſt with that which we Principally intend the Confutation of, the *Atheiſtical* or *Democritical Fate*. Which as it is a thing of the moſt dangerous Conſequence of all, ſo it ſeems to be moſt ſpreading and infectious in theſe latter times.

Now this *Atheiſtical Syſtem* of the World that makes all things to be Materially and Mechanically Neceſſary, without a God, is built upon a peculiar Phyſiological *Hypotheſis*, different from what hath been generally received for many Ages; which is called by ſome *Atomical* or *Corpuſcular*, by others *Mechanical*: of which we muſt therefore needs give a full and Perfect Account. And we ſhall do it firſt in General, briefly, not deſcending to thoſe minute Particularities of it, which are diſputed amongſt theſe Atomiſts themſelves, in this manner.

The Atomical Phyſiology ſuppoſes that Body is nothing elſe but διαστατὸν ἀντίτυπον, that is, *Extended Bulk*; and reſolves therefore that nothing is to be attributed to it, but what is included in the Nature and *Idea* of it, *viz.* more or leſs Magnitude with Diviſibility into Parts, Figure, and Poſition, together with Motion or Reſt, but ſo as that no part of Body can ever Move it Self; but is alwaies moved by ſomething elſe. And conſequently it ſuppoſes that there is no need of any thing elſe beſides theſe ſimple Elements of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion (which are all clearly intelligible as different Modes of extended Subſtance) to ſalve the Corporeal *Phænomena* by; and therefore, not of any Subſtantial Forms diſtinct from the Matter; nor of any other Qualities really exiſting in the Bodies without, beſides the Reſults, or Aggregates of thoſe ſimple Elements, and the Diſpoſition of the Inſenſible Parts of Bodies in reſpect of Figure, Site and Motion; nor of any Intentional *Species* or *Shews*, propagated from the Objects to our Senſes; nor, laſtly, of any other kind of Motion or Action really diſtinct from Local Motion (ſuch as Generation and Alteration) they being neither Intelligible, as Modes of extended Subſtance, nor any ways neceſſary. Foraſmuch as the Forms and Qualities

Qualities of Bodies may well be conceived, to be nothing but the Result of those simple Elements of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, variously compounded together; in the same manner as Syllables and Words in great variety result from the different Combinations and Conjunctions of a few Letters, or the simple Elements of Speech; and the Corporeal Part of Sensation, and particularly that of Vision, may be salved only by Local Motion of Bodies, that is, either by Corporeal *Effluvia* (called *Simulachra*, *Membranæ* and *Exuviæ*) streaming continually from the Surface of the Objects, or rather, as the later and more refined Atomists conceived, by Pressure made from the Object to the Eye, by means of Light in the *Medium*. So that ὡς διὰ βακτηρίας τῷ ταθέντι ἀέρι τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀναψηλάφᾶσθαι. The Sense taking Cognizance of the Object by the Subtle Interposed *Medium* that is tense and stretched, (thrusting every way from it upon the Optick Nerves) doth by that as it were by a Staff touch it. Again, Generation and Corruption may be sufficiently explained by Concretion and Secretion, or Local Motion, without Substantial Forms and Qualities. And lastly, those sensible *Ideas* of Light and Colours, Heat and Cold, Sweet and Bitter, as they are distinct things from the Figure, Site and Motion of the insensible Parts of Bodies, seem plainly to be nothing else but our own *Phansies*, *Passions* and *Sensations* however they be vulgarly mistaken for Qualities in the Bodies without us.

VI. Thus much may suffice for a General Accompt of the Atomical Physiology. We shall in the next Place consider the Antiquity thereof, as also what notice *Aristotle* hath taken of it, and what Account he gives of the same. For though *Epicurus* went altogether this way, yet it is well known that he was not the first Inventor of it. But it is most commonly fathered on *Democritus*, who was Senior both to *Aristotle* and *Plato*, being reported to have been born the year after *Socrates*; from whose Fountains *Cicero* saith that *Epicurus* watered his Orchards, and of whom *Sex. Empiricus* and *Laertius* testify that he did ἐκβάλλειν τὰς ποιότητας, *cashier Qualities*; and *Plutarch*, that he made the first Principles of the whole Universe ἀτόμους ἀποίους καὶ ἀπαθεῖς, *Atoms devoid of all Qualities and Passions*. But *Laertius* will have *Leucippus*, who was somewhat Senior to *Democritus*, to be the first Inventor of this Philosophy, though he wrote not so many Books concerning it as *Democritus* did. *Aristotle* who often takes notice of this Philosophy, and ascribes it commonly to *Leucippus* and *Democritus* jointly, gives us this description of it in his Metaphysicks, Λεύκιππος ὁ καὶ ἑταῖρος αὐτοῦ Δημόκριτος στοιχεῖα μὲν τὰ πλῆρες καὶ τὸ κενὸν εἶναί φασι λέγοντες οἷον τὸ μὲν ὂν τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν, καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς αἰτίας τῇ ὕλῃ ἄλλων φασὶ ταύτας μέντοι τρεῖς, σχῆμά τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ θέσιν, διαφέρειν γὰρ τὸ ὂν ῥυσμῷ καὶ διαθιγῇ καὶ τροπῇ· Leucippus *and his Companion* Democritus *make the first Principles of all things to be* Plenum *and* Vacuum (*Body and Space*) *whereof one is* Ens *the other* Non-ens, *and the differences of Body, which are only Figure, Order and Position, to be the Causes of all other things.* Which Differences they call by these Names *Rysmus*, *Diathigte* and *Trope*. And in his Book *De Anima*, having declared that *Democritus* made Fire and the Soul to consist of Round Atoms, he describes those

those Atoms of his after this manner, οἷον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τὰ καλούμενα ξύσματα ἐν ταῖς διὰ τῆς θυρίδων ἀκτῖσι ὧν τὴν πανσπερμίαν στοιχεῖα λέγει Δημόκριτος καὶ ὅλης φύσεως ὁμοίως ὁ καὶ Λεύκιππος. *They are* (saith he) *like those* Ramenta *or dusty Particles which appear in the Sun-Beams, an Omnifarious Seminary whereof* Democritus *makes to be the first Elements of the whole Universe, and so doth* Leucippus *likewise.* Elsewhere the same *Aristotle* tells us, that these two Philosophers explained Generation and Alteration without Forms and Qualities by Figures and Local Motion. Δημόκριτος καὶ Λεύκιππος ποιήσαντες τὰ σχήματα τῷ ἀλλοίωσιν καὶ τῷ γίνεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ποιοῦσι, διακρίσει μὲν καὶ συγκρίσει γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν, τάξει δὲ καὶ θέσει ἀλλοίωσιν. Democritus *and* Leucippus *having made Figures*, (or variously figured Atoms) *the first Principles, make Generation and Alteration out of these; namely Generation together with Corruption, from the Concretion and Secretion of them, but Alteration from the change of their Order and Position.* Again he elsewhere takes notice of that Opinion of the Atomists, that all *Sense* was a kind of *Touch*, and that the Sensible Qualities of Bodies were to be resolved into Figures, imputing it not only to *Democritus*, but also to the Generality of the old Philosophers, but very much disliking the same: Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων ἀτοπώτατόν τι ποιοῦσι, πάντα γὰρ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἁπτὰ ποιοῦσι καὶ εἰς σχήματα ἀνάγουσι τοὺς χυμούς. Democritus *and most of the Physiologers here commit a very great Absurdity, in that they make all Sense to be Touch, and resolve sensible Qualities into the Figures of insensible Parts or Atoms.* And this Opinion he endeavours to confute by these Arguments. First, because there is Contrariety in Qualities, as in Black and White, Hot and Cold, Bitter and Sweet, but there is no Contrariety in Figures; for a Circular Figure is not Contrary to a Square or Multangular; and therefore there must be Real Qualities in Bodies distinct from the Figure, Site and Motion of Parts. Again, the variety of Figures and Dispositions being Infinite, it would follow from thence, that the Species of Colours, Odours, and Tastes should be Infinite likewise, and Reducible to no certain Number. Which Arguments I leave the Professed Atomists to answer. Furthermore *Aristotle* somewhere also censures that other Fundamental Principle of this Atomical Physiology, That the sensible *Ideas* of Colours and Tastes, as Red, Green, Bitter and Sweet, formally considered, are only Passions and Phansies in us, and not real Qualities in the Object without. For as in a Rainbow there is really nothing without our sight, but a Rorid Cloud diversely refracting and reflecting the Sun-Beams, in such an Angle; nor are there really such Qualities in the Diaphanous Prisme, when refracting the Light, it exhibits to us the same Colours of the Rainbow: whence it was collected, that those things are properly the Phantasms of the Sentient, occasioned by different Motions on the Optick Nerves: So they conceived the case to be the same in all other Colours, and that both the Colours of the Prisme and Rainbow were as real as other Colours, and all other Colours as Phantastical as they: And then by parity of Reason they extended the business further to the other Sensibles. But this Opinion *Aristotle* condemns in these words, οἱ πρότερον φυσιολόγοι τοῦτο δ' ἁμαρτάνειν ἔλεγον δοξὲν οἰόμενοι ἅτε λευκὸν ἅτε μέλαν ἄνευ ὄψεως, ἅτε χυμὸν ἄνευ γεύσεως. *The former Physiologers were generally out in this, in that they*

they thought there was no Black or White without the Sight, nor no Bitter or Sweet without the Taſte. There are other Paſſages in *Ariſtotle* concerning this Philoſophy, which I think ſuperfluous to inſert here; and I ſhall have occaſion to cite ſome of them afterward for other Purpoſes.

VII. But in the next place it will not be amiſs to ſhew that *Plato* alſo hath left a very full Record of this Mechanical or Atomical Phyſiology (that hath hardly been yet taken notice of) which notwithſtanding he doth not impute either to *Democritus* (whoſe name *Laertius* thinks he purpoſely declined to mention throughout all his Writings) or to *Leucippus*, but to *Protagoras*. Wherefore in his *Theætetus*, having firſt declared in general that the *Protagorean* Philoſophy made all things to conſiſt of a Commixture of Parts (or Atoms) and Local Motion, he repreſents it, in Particular concerning Colours, after this manner; ὑπόλαβε τοίνυν ὅτῳοὖν πρῶτον, ὃ δὴ καλεῖς χρῶμα λευκὸν μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἕτερόν τι ἔξω σοῦ ὀμμάτων μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι ἀλλὰ μέλαν τε καὶ λευκὸν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἄλλο χρῶμα ὃκ τ' προσβολῆς σοῦ ὀμμάτων πρὸς τὸ προσήκουσαν φορὰν φανῆναι γιγνομένου, καὶ ὃ δὴ ἕκαστον εἶναί φαμεν χρῶμα ὅτε τὸ προσβάλλον ὅτε τὸ προσβαλλόμενον ἀλλὰ μεταξύ τι ἑκάστῳ ἴδιον γιγνὸς: *Firſt as to that which belongs to the Sight, you muſt conceive that which is called a White or a Black Colour not to be any thing abſolutely exiſting either without your Eyes or within your Eyes; but Black and White and every other Colour, is cauſed by different Motions made upon the Eye from Objects differently modified: ſo that it is nothing either in the Agent nor the Patient abſolutely, but ſomething which ariſes from between them both.* Where it follows immediately, ἦ σὺ διισχυρίσαιο ἂν ὡς οἷόν σοι φαίνεται ἕκαστον χρῶμα τοιοῦτον καὶ σοὶ καὶ ὁτῳοῦν ζώῳ· *Can you or any man elſe be Confident, that as every Colour appears to him, ſo it appears juſt the ſame to every other Man and Animal, any more than Taſtes and Touches, Heat and Cold do?* From whence it is plain that *Protagoras* made Senſible Qualities, not to be all abſolute things exiſting in the Bodies without, but to be Relative to us, and Paſſions in us; and ſo they are called preſently after τίνα ἐν ἡμῖν φάσματα, certain *Phanſies*, *Seemings*, or *Appearances* in us. But there is an other Paſſage in which a fuller Account is given of the whole *Protagorean* Doctrine, beginning thus; Ἀρχὴ δ' ἐξ ἧς ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐλέγομεν πάντα ἥπτεσθαι ἥδε αὐτῆς, ὡς τὸ πᾶν κίνησις ἦν καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῦτο ὄφελεν, τὴν δὲ κινήσεως δύο εἴδη πλήθει μὲν ἄπειρον ἑκάτερον, δύναμιν δὲ τὸ μὲν ποιεῖν ἔχον, τὸ δὲ πάσχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτων ὁμιλίας τε καὶ τρίψεως πρὸς ἄλληλα γίνεσθαι ἔκγονα πλήθει μὲν ἄπειρα δίδυμα δέ, τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν, τὸ δὲ αἴσθησις ἀεὶ συνεκπίπτουσα καὶ γεννωμένη μετὰ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, &c. *The Principle upon which all theſe things depend is this, That the whole Univerſe is Motion* (of Atoms) *and nothing elſe beſides; which Motion is conſidered two ways, and accordingly called by two Names, Action and Paſſion; from the mutual Congreſs, and as it were Attrition together of both which, are begotten innumerable Off-ſprings, which though infinite in Number, yet may be reduced to two general Heads, Senſibles and Senſations, that are both generated at the ſame time; the Senſations are Seeing and Hearing and the like, and the Correſpondent Senſibles, Colours, Sounds, &c. Wherefore when the Eye, or ſuch a proportionate*

proportionate Object meet together, both the αἰσθητὸν *and the* αἴσθησις, *the Sensible* Idea *of White and black and the Sense of Seeing are generated together, neither of which would have been produced if either of those two had not met with the other.* Καὶ τ' ἄλλα ὃ ὅτῳ ψυχρὸν ἢ θερμὸν ἢ πάντα τὰ αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπολητέον αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὑτὸ μηδ' ἓν εἶναι, ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα ὁμιλίᾳ πάντα γίγνεσθαι, ἢ πάντοῖα ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως· *The like is to be conceived of all other Sensibles, as Hot and Cold, &c. that none of these are Absolute things in themselves, or Real Qualities in the Objects without, but they are begotten from the mutual Congress of Agent and Patient with one another, and that by Motion: So that neither the Agent has any such thing in it before its Congress with the Patient, nor the Patient before its Congress with the Agent.* ἓκ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῦ ποιοῦντος καὶ τοῦ πάσχοντος πρὸς τὰ ἄλληλα συνιόντων καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀποτικτόντων, τὰ μὲν ποῖα ἅμα γίγνεσθαι τὰ δὲ αἰσθανόμενα· *But the Agent and Patient meeting together, and begetting Sensation and Sensibles, both the Object and the Sentient are forthwith made to be so and so qualified, as when Honey is tasted, the Sense of Tasting and the Quality of Sweetness are begotten both together, though the Sense be vulgarly attributed to the Taster and the Quality of Sweetness to the Honey.* The Conclusion of all which is summed up thus οὐδ' ἓν εἶναι αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τινὶ αἰεὶ γίγνεσθαι, *That none of those Sensible things is any thing absolutely in the Objects without, but they are all generated or made Relatively to the Sentient.* There is more in that Dialogue to this purpose, which I here omit; but I have set down so much of it in the Authour's own Language, because it seems to me to be an excellent Monument of the Wisdom and Sagacity of the old Philosophers. That which is the main Curiosity in this whole business of the Mechanical or Atomical Philosophy, being here more fully and plainly expressed, than it is in *Lucretius* himself, *viz.* That Sensible things, according to those *Ideas* that we have of them, are not real Qualities absolutely Existing without us, but ἐν ἡμῖν φάσματα, *Phansies* or *Phantasms* in us: So that both the Latin Interpreters *Ficinus* and *Serranus*, though probably neither of them at all acquainted with this Philosophy, as being not yet restored, could not but understand it after the same manner: the one expressing it thus, *Color ex Aspectu Motúque Medium quiddam resultans est. Talis circa Oculos Passio*; and the other *Ex varia Aspicientis diathesi, variáque sensilis specie colores varios & videri & fieri, ita tamen ut sint* φαντασὶ *nec nisi in animo subsistant.* However it appears by *Plato*'s manner of telling the story, and the Tenour of the whole Dialogue, that himself was not a little prejudiced against this Philosophy. In all probability the rather, because *Protagoras* had made it a Foundation both for Scepticism and Atheism.

VIII. We have now learnt from *Plato*, that *Democritus* and *Leucippus* were not the sole Proprietaries in this Philosophy, but that *Protagoras*, though not vulgarly taken notice of for any such thing (being commonly represented as a Sophist only) was a sharer in it likewise: which *Protagoras* indeed *Laertius* and others affirm to have been an Auditor of *Democritus*; and so he might be, notwithstanding what *Plutarch* tells us, that *Democritus* wrote against his taking away

way the Abſolute Natures of things. However we are of Opinion that neither *Democritus*, nor *Protagoras*, nor *Leucippus* was the firſt Inventour of this Philoſophy; and our reaſon is, becauſe they were all three of them Atheiſts (though *Protagoras* alone was baniſhed for that Crime by the *Athenians*) and we cannot think that any Atheiſts could be the Inventours of it, much leſs that it was the Genuine Spawn and Brood of Atheiſm it ſelf, as ſome conceit, becauſe however theſe Atheiſts adopted it to themſelves, endeavouring to ſerve their turns of it, yet if rightly underſtood, it is the moſt effectual Engin againſt Atheiſm that can be. And we ſhall make it appear afterwards, that never any of thoſe Atheiſts, whether Ancient or Modern (how great Pretenders ſoever to it) did throughly underſtand it, but perpetually contradicted themſelves in it. And this is the Reaſon why we inſiſt ſo much upon this Philoſophy here, not only becauſe without the perfect knowledge of it, we cannot deal with the Atheiſts at their own Weapon; but alſo becauſe we doubt not but to make a Sovereign Antidote againſt Atheiſm, out of that very Philoſophy, which ſo many have uſed as a *Vehiculum* to convey this Poyſon of Atheiſm by.

IX. But beſides Reaſon, we have alſo good Hiſtorical probability for this Opinion, that this Philoſophy was a thing of much greater Antiquity than either *Democritus* or *Leucippus*: and firſt, becauſe *Poſidonius*, an Ancient and Learned Philoſopher, did (as both *Empiricus* and *Strabo* tell us) avouch it for an old Tradition, that the firſt Inventour of this Atomical Philoſophy was one *Moſchus* a *Phœnician*, who, as *Strabo* alſo notes, lived before the *Trojan* Wars.

X. Moreover it ſeems not altogether Improbable, but that this *Moſchus* a *Phœnician* Philoſopher, mentioned by *Poſidonius*, might be the ſame with that *Mochus* a *Phœnician* Phyſiologer in *Jamblichus*, with whoſe Succeſſors, Prieſts and Prophets, he affirms that *Pythagoras*, ſometimes ſojourning at *Sidon* (which was his native City) had converſt: Which may be taken for an Intimation, as if he had been by them inſtructed in that Atomical Phyſiology which *Moſchus* or *Mochus* the *Phœnician* is ſaid to have been the Inventour of. *Mochus* or *Moſchus* is plainly a *Phœnician* Name, and there is one *Mochus* a *Phœnician* Writer cited in *Athenæus*, whom the Latin Tranſlator calls *Moſchus*; and Mr. *Selden* approves of the Conjecture of *Arcerius*, the Publiſher of *Jamblichus*, that this *Mochus* was no other than the Celebrated *Moſes* of the *Jews*, with whoſe Succeſſors the Jewiſh Philoſophers, Prieſts and Prophets, *Pythagoras* converſed at *Sidon*. Some Phantaſtick Atomiſts perhaps would here catch at this, to make their Philoſophy to ſtand by Divine Right, as owing its Original to Revelation; whereas Philoſophy being not a Matter of Faith but Reaſon, Men ought not to affect (as I conceive) to derive its Pedigree from Revelation, and by that very pretence ſeek to impoſe it Tyrannically upon the minds of Men, which God hath here purpoſely left Free to the uſe of their own Faculties, that ſo finding out Truth by them, they might enjoy that Pleaſure and Satisfaction

Satisfaction which ariſes from thence. But we aim here at nothing more, than a Confirmation of this Truth, That the Atomical Phyſiology was both older than *Democritus*, and had no ſuch Atheiſtical Original neither. And there wants not other Good Authority for this, That *Pythagaras* did borrow many things from the *Jews*, and tranſlate them into his Philoſophy.

XI. But there are yet other Conſiderable Probabilities for this, that *Pythagoras* was not unacquainted with the Atomical Phyſiology. And firſt from *Democritus* himſelf, who as he was of the *Italick* Row, or *Pythagorick* Succeſſion; ſo it is recorded of him in *Laertius*, that he was a great Emulator of the *Pythagoreans*, and ſeemed to have taken all his Philoſophy from them: Inſomuch that if Chronology had not contradicted it, it would have been concluded, that he had been an Auditour of *Pythagoras* himſelf, of whom he teſtified his great admiration in a Book entitled by his Name. Moreover ſome of his Opinions had a plain Correſpondency with the Pythagorick Doctrines, foraſmuch as *Democritus* did not only hold, φέρεσθαι ἀτόμους ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δινουμένας, *That the Atoms were carried round in a* Vortex; but alſo together with *Leucippus*, τὸν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον δινουμένην, *That the Earth was carried about the Middle or Centre of this* Vortex (which is the Sun) *turning in the mean time round upon its own* Axis: And juſt ſo the Pythagorick Opinion is expreſſed by *Ariſtotle*, τὸν γῆν ἐν τῶν ἄστρων ἕνα ὄντα κύκλῳ φερομένην περὶ τὸ μέσον νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖν· *That the Earth, as one of the Stars* (that is a Planet) *being carried round about the Middle or Centre* (which is Fire or the Sun) *did in the mean time by its Circumgyration upon its own* Axis *make day and night.* Wherefore it may be reaſonably from hence concluded, that as *Democritus* his Philoſophy was Pythagorical, ſo *Pythagoras* his Philoſophy was likewiſe Democritical or Atomical.

XII. But that which is of more Moment yet; we have the Authority of *Ecphantus* a famous *Pythagorean* for this, that *Pythagoras* his Monads, ſo much talked of, were nothing elſe but Corporeal Atoms. Thus we find it in *Stobæus*, τὰς πυθαγορικὰς μονάδας ὅτι πρῶτος ἀπεφήνατο σωματικάς, *Ecphantus* (who himſelf aſſerted the Doctrine of Atoms) *firſt declared that the Pythagorick Monads were Corporeal*, i. e. Atoms. And this is further confirmed from what *Ariſtotle* himſelf writes of theſe *Pythagoreans* and their Monads, τὰς μονάδας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔχειν μέγεθος· *They ſuppoſe their Monads to have Magnitude*: And from that he elſewhere makes Monads and Atoms to ſignifie the ſame thing, ταὐτὸν διαφέρει μονάδας λέγειν ἢ σωμάτια σμικρά· *Its all one to ſay* Monades *or ſmall* Corpuſcula. And *Gaſſendus* hath obſerved out of the Greek Epigrammatiſt, that *Epicurus* his Atoms were ſometimes called Monads too;

——μάτην Ἐπίκουρον ἐάσον
Πῶς τὸ κενὸν ζητεῖν καί τινες αἱ μονάδες.

XIII. But to pass from *Pythagoras* himself; That *Empedocles*, who was a Pythagorean also, did Physiologize Atomically, is a thing that could hardly be doubted of, though there were no more Proof for it than that one Passage of his in his Philosophick Poems;

——— φύσις ἀδενός ἐστιν ἑκάστα
Ἀλλὰ μόνον μίξις τε διάλλαξίς τε μιγέντων·

Nature is nothing but the Mixture and Separation of things mingled; or thus, *There is no production of any thing anew, but only mixture and separation of things mingled.* Which is not only to be understood of Animals, according to the Pythagorick Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, but also, as himself expounds it, Universally of all Bodies, that their Generation and Corruption is nothing but *Mixture and Separation*; or as *Aristotle* expresses it, σύνθεσις καὶ διάθεσις, *Concretion and Secretion* of Parts, together with Change of Figure and Order. It may perhaps be objected, that *Empedocles* held four Elements, out of which he would have all other Bodies to be compounded; and that as *Aristotle* affirms, he made those Elements not to be transmutable into one another neither. To which we reply, that he did indeed make four Elements, as the first general Concretions of Atoms, and therein he did no more than *Democritus* himself, who, as *Laertius* writes, did from Atoms moving round in a *Vortex* πάντα συνθέματα γεννᾶν πῦρ ὕδωρ ἀέρα γῆν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀτόμων τινῶν συνήματα, *Generate all Concretions, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, these being Systems made out of certain Atoms.* And *Plato* further confirms the same; for in his Book *De Legibus* he describes (as I suppose) that very Atheistical *Hypothesis* of *Democritus*, though without mentioning his Name, representing it in this Manner; That by the Fortuitous Motion of Senseless Matter were first made those four Elements, and then out of them afterward Sun, Moon, Stars and Earth. Now both *Plutarch* and *Stobæus* testifie, that *Empedocles* compounded the four Elements themselves out of Atoms. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ ἐκ μικροτέρων ὄγκων τὰ στοιχεῖα συνεχῆ ἄτοπα ἐστιν ἐλάχιστα, καὶ οἱονεὶ στοιχεῖα στοιχείων· Empedocles *makes the Elements to be compounded of other small* Corpuscula, *which are the least, and as it were the Elements of the Elements.* And the same *Stobæus* again observes, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πρὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων θραύσματα ἐλάχιστα· Empedocles *makes the smallest Particles and Fragments of Body* (that is, Atoms) *to be before the four Elements.* But whereas *Aristotle* affirms that *Empedocles* denied the Transmutation of those Elements into one another, that must needs be either a slip in him, or else a fault in our Copies; not only because *Lucretius*, who was better versed in that Philosophy, and gives a particular Account of *Empedocles* his Doctrine (besides many others of the Ancients) affirms the quite contrary; but also because himself, in those Fragments of his still preserved, expresly acknowledges this Transmutation:

Καὶ

Καὶ φθείνῃ εἰς ἄλληλα καὶ αὔξεται ἐν μέρει αἴσης.

Besides all this, no less Author than *Plato* affirms, that according to *Empedocles*, Vision and other Sensations were made by ἀποῤῥοαὶ σχημάτων, *the Defluxions of Figures*, or *Effluvia* of Atoms, (for so *Democritus* his Atoms are called in *Aristotle* σχήματα, because they were Bodies which had only *Figure* without *Qualities*) he supposing that some of these Figures or Particles corresponded with the Organs of one Sense, and some with the Organs of another. Οὐκοῦν λέγετε ἀποῤῥοάς τινας τῶν ὄντων κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα, καὶ πόρους εἰς οὕς, καὶ δι' ὧν αἱ ἀποῤῥοαὶ πορεύονται, καὶ τῶν ἀποῤῥοῶν τὰς μὲν ἁρμόττειν ἐνίοις τῶν πόρων, τὰς δ' ἐλάττους ἢ μείζους εἶναι· *You say then according to the Doctrine of* Empedocles, *that there are certain Corporeal* Effluvia *from Bodies of different Magnitudes and Figures, as also several Pores and* Meatus's *in us diversly Corresponding with them: So that some of these Corporeal* Effluvia *agree with some pores, when they are either too big or too little for others.* By which it is evident, that *Empedocles* did not suppose Sensations to be made by intentional Species or Qualities; but as to the Generality, in the Atomical way; in which notwithstanding there are some differences among these Atomists themselves. But *Empedocles* went the same way here with *Democritus*, for *Empedocles*'s ἀποῤῥοαὶ σχημάτων, *Defluxions of figured Bodies*, are clearly the same thing with *Democritus* his εἰδώλων εἰσκρίσεις, *Insinuations of* Simulachra, or *Exuvious Images of Bodies.* And the same *Plato* adds further, that according to *Empedocles*, the Definition of Colour was this, ἀποῤῥοὴ σχημάτων ὄψει σύμμετρος καὶ αἰσθητός, *The Defluxion of Figures, or figured* Corpuscula (without Qualities) *Commensurate to the Sight and Sensible.* Moreover, that *Empedocles* his Physiology was the very same with that of *Democritus*, is manifest also from this Passage of *Aristotle*'s; οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ Δημόκριτον λανθάνουσιν αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, ὃ γένεσιν ἐξ ἀλλήλων ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ φαινομένην γένεσιν· ἐνυπάρχον γὰρ ἕκαστον ἐκκρίνεσθαί φασιν ὥστε ἐξ ἀγενείας τὴν γενέσεως ὅσης· Empedocles *and* Democritus *deceiving themselves, unawares destroy all Generation of Things out of one another, leaving a seeming Generation only: For they say that Generation is not the Production of any new Entity, but only the Secretion of what was before Inexistant; as when divers kinds of things confounded together in a Vessel, are separated from one another.* Lastly, we shall confirm all this by the clear Testimony of *Plutarch*, or the Writer *de Placitis Philosophorum*: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ πάντες ὅσοι κατὰ συναθροισμὸν τῶν λεπτομερῶν σωμάτων κοσμοποιοῦσι, συγκρίσεις μὲν καὶ διακρίσεις εἰσάγουσι, γενέσεις δὲ καὶ φθορὰς οὐ φυσικὰς, οὐ γὰρ κατὰ ποιὸν ἐξ ἀλλοιώσεως, κατὰ δὲ πόσον ἐκ συναθροισμοῦ ταύτας γίνεσθαι· Empedocles *and* Epicurus, *and all those that compound the World of small Atoms, introduce Concretions and Secretions; but no Generations or Corruptions properly so called; neither would they have these to be made according to Quality by Alteration, but only according to Quantity by Aggregation.* And the same Writer sets down the Order and Method, of the *Cosmopœia* according to *Empedocles*; Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν μὲν αἰθέρα πρῶτον διακριθῆναι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ πῦρ,

ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἄγαν ἀφισφιγγομένης τῇ ἑυμῇ τ' ἀφιφορᾶς, ἀναθλύσαι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐξ ὃ συμαθῆναι τ' ἀέρα, καὶ γενέσθαι τ' μὲν ἔρανον ἐκ τᾶ αἰθέρ@, τ' δ' ἥλιον ἐκ πυρός. Empedocles writes, *that* Æther *was first of all Secreted out of the Confused* Chaos *of Atoms, afterward the Fire, and then the Earth, which being Constringed, and as it were Squeezed by the Force of Agitation, sent forth Water bubling out of it; from the Evaporation of which did proceed Air. And from the* Æther *was made the Heavens, from Fire the Sun.* We see therefore that it was not without cause that *Lucretius* did so highly extol *Empedocles*, since his Physiology was really the same with that of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*; only that he differed from them in some Particularities, as in excluding *Vacuum*, and denying such Physical *Minima* as were Indivisible.

XV. As for *Anaxagoras*, though he Philosophized by Atoms too, substituting Concretion and Secretion in the Room of Generation and Corruption, insisting upon the same Fundamental Principle that *Empedocles*, *Democritus* and the other Atomists did; which was (as we shall declare more fully afterward) That Nothing could be made out of Nothing, nor reduced to Nothing; and therefore that there were neither any new Productions nor Destructions of any Substances or Real Entities: Yet, as his *Homœomeria* is represented by *Aristotle*, *Lucretius* and other Authours, that Bone was made of Bony Atoms, and Flesh of Fleshy, Red things of Red Atoms, and Hot things of Hot Atoms; these Atoms being supposed to be endued originally with so many several Forms and Qualities Essential to them, and Inseparable from them, there was indeed a wide difference betwixt his Philosophy and the Atomical. However, this seems to have had its Rise from nothing else but this Philosophers not being able to understand the Atomical *Hypothesis*, which made him decline it, and substitute this Spurious and Counterfeit Atomism of his own in the room of it.

XVI. Lastly, I might adde here, that it is recorded by Good Authours concerning divers other Ancient Philosophers, that were not addicted to Democriticism or Atheism, that they followed this Atomical way of Physiologizing, and therefore in all probability did derive it from those Religious Atomists before *Democritus*. As for Example; *Ecphantus* the *Syracusian* Pythagorist, who, as *Stobæus* writes, made τὰ ἀδιαίρετα σώματα καὶ τὸ κενὸν, Indivisible Bodies and *Vacuum* the Principles of Physiology, and as *Theodoret* also testifies, taught ἐκ τῶν ἀτόμων συνεστάναι τ' κόσμον, *That the Corporeal World was made up of Atoms*; *Xenocrates* that made μεγέθη ἀδιαίρετα, *Indivisible Magnitudes* the first Principles of Bodies; *Heraclides* that resolved all Corporeal things into ῥήγματα καὶ σωμάτιά τινα ἐλάχιστα, *certain smallest Fragments of Bodies*; *Asclepiades*, who supposed all the Corporeal World to be made ἐξ ἀνομοίων καὶ ἀνάρμων ὄγκων, not of Similar Parts (as *Anaxagoras*) but of Dissimilar and inconcinn *Moleculæ*, i. e. Atoms of different Magnitude and Figures; and *Diodorus* that

that salved the Material *Phænomena* by ἀμερῆ τὰ ἐλάχιστα, the smallest Indivisibles of Body. And Lastly, *Metrodorus* (not *Lamsacenus* the Epicurean, but) *Chius*, who is reported also to have made Indivisible Particles and Atoms the first Principles of Bodies. But what need we any more proof for this, that the Atomical Physiology was ancienter than *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, and not confined only to that Sect, since *Aristotle* himself in the Passages already cited doth expressly declare, that besides *Democritus*, the Generality of all the other Physiologers went that way; Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων, &c. Democritus *and the most of the Physiologers make all Sense to be Touch, and resolve sensible Qualities, as the Tastes of Bitter and Sweet,* &c. *into Figures.* And again he imputes it generally to all the Physiologers that went before him, οἱ πρότερον φυσιολόγοι, *The former Physiologers* (without any exception) *said not well in this, that there was no Black and White without the Sight, nor Bitter and Sweet without the Taste.* Wherefore, I think, it cannot be reasonably doubted, but that the Generality of the Old Physiologers before *Aristotle* and *Democritus*, did pursue the Atomical way, which is to resolve the Corporeal *Phænomena*, not into Forms, Qualities and Species, but into Figures, Motions and Phancies.

XVII. But then there will seem to be no small difficulty in reconciling *Aristotle* with himself, who doth in so many places plainly impute this Philosophy to *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, as the first Source and Original of it: As also in salving the Credit of *Laertius*, and many other ancient Writers, who do the like: *Democritus* having had for many Ages almost the general cry and vogue for Atoms. However, we doubt not but to give a very good account of this Business, and reconcile the seemingly different Testimonies of these Ancient Writers, so as to take away all Contradiction and Repugnancy between them. For although the Atomical Physiology was in use long before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, so that they did not Make it but Find it; yet these two with their confederate Atheists (whereof *Protagoras* seems to have been one) were undoubtedly the first that ever made this Physiology to be a complete and entire Philosophy by it self, so as to derive the Original of all things in the whole Universe from senseless Atoms, that had nothing but Figure and Motion, together with *Vacuum*, and made up such a System of it, as from whence it would follow, that there could not be any God, not so much as a Corporeal one. These two things were both of them before singly and apart. For there is no doubt to be made, but that there hath been Atheism lurking in the minds of some or other in all Ages; and perhaps some of those Ancient Atheists did endeavour to Philosophize too, as well as they could, in some other way. And there was Atomical Physiology likewise before, without Atheism. But these two thus complicated together, were never before Atomical-Atheism or Atheistical Atomism. And therefore *Democritus* and his Comrade *Leucippus* need not be envied the glory of being reputed the first Inventors or Founders of the *Atomical Philosophy Atheized* and *Adulterated.*

XVIII. Before *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, the Doctrine of Atoms was not made a whole entire Philosophy by it self, but look'd upon only as a Part or Member of the whole Philosophick System, and that the meanest and lowest part too, it being only used to explain that which was purely Corporeal in the World; besides which they acknowledged something else, which was not meer Bulk and Mechanism, but Life and Self Activity, that is, Immaterial or Incorporeal Substance; the Head and Summity whereof is a Deity distinct from the World. So that there has been two Sorts of Atomists in the World, the One Atheistical, the Other Religious. The first and most ancient Atomists holding Incorporeal Substance, used that Physiology in a way of Subordination to Theology and Metaphysicks. The other allowing no other Substance but Body, made sensless Atoms and Figures, without any Mind and Understanding (*i. e.* without any God) to be the Original of all things; which latter is that that was vulgarly known by the Name of Atomical Philosophy, of which *Democritus* and *Leucippus* were the Source.

XIX. It hath been indeed of late confidently asserted by some, that never any of the ancient Philosophers dream'd of any such thing as *Incorporeal Substance*; and therefore they would bear men in hand, that it was nothing but an upstart and new fangled Invention of some Bigotical Religionists; the falsity whereof we shall here briefly make to appear. For though there have been doubtless in all Ages such as have disbelieved the Existence of any thing but what was Sensible, whom *Plato* describes after this manner; οἱ διατείνοιντ' ἂν πᾶν ὃ μὴ δυναῖοὶ τ' χερσὶ συμπιέζειν εἰσὶν, ὡς ἄρα τοῦτο οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἔστι. *That would contend, that whatsoever they could not feel or grasp with their hands, was altogether nothing*; yet this Opinion was professedly opposed by the best of the Ancient Philosophers and condemned for a piece of Sottishness and Stupidity. Wherefore the same *Plato* tells us, that there had been always, as well as then there was, a perpetual War and Controversie in the World, and as he calls it, a kind of Gigantomachy betwixt these two Parties or Sects of men; The one that held there was no other Substance in the World besides Body; The Other that asserted Incorporeal Substance. The former of these Parties or Sects is thus described by the Philosopher; οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἕλκουσι τῇ χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρῦς ἀντιλαμβάνοντες, τῷ γὰρ τοιούτων ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων, διισχυρίζονται τοῦτο εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρέχει πρόσοδόν τινα, ταυτὸν σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν ὁρίζόμενοι· τῷ δ' ἄλλων εἴτις φησὶ μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καταφρονοῦντες τὸ παράπαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐθέλοντες ἄλλο ἀκούειν· *These* (saith he) *pull all things down from Heaven and the Invisible Region, with their hands to the Earth, laying hold of Rocks and Oaks; and when they grasp all these hard and gross things, they confidently affirm, that that only is Substance which they can feel, and will resist their Touch, and they conclude that Body and Substance are one and the self same thing; and if any one chance to speak to them of something which is not Body, i.e.* of Incorporeal Substance, *they will altogether despise him, and not hear a word more from him.* And many such the Philosopher there says

says he had met withal. The other he represents in this manner. οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸς ἀμφισβητοῦντες μάλα δῦλαβῶς ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀοράτου τόπου ἀμαύρου νοητὰ ἄτα καὶ ἀσώματα εἴδη, βιαζόμενοι τῷ ἀληθινῷ ὄσίαν εἶναι. ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἀεὶ ταῦτα ἀπλέτῳ ἀμφοῖν μάχη τις ἀεὶ ξυνέστηκε. *The Adversaries of these Corporealists do cautiously and piously assault them from the Invisibe Region, fetching all things from above by way of Descent, and by strength of Reason convincing, that certain Intelligible and Incorporeal Forms are the true or First Substance, and not Sensible things. But betwixt these two there hath always been* (saith he) *a great War and Contention.* And yet in the Sequel of his Discourse he adds, that those Corporealists were then grown a little more modest and shame-faced than formerly their great Champions had been, such as *Democritus* and *Protagoras*; for however they still persisted in this, that the Soul was a Body, yet they had not (it seems) the Impudence to affirm, that *Wisdom* and *Vertue* were Corporeal Things, or *Bodies*, as others before and since too have done. We see here that *Plato* expressly asserts a Substance distinct from Body, which sometimes he calls ὄσίαν ἀσώματον, *Incorporeal Substance*, and sometimes ὄσίαν νοητὴν, *Intelligible Substance*, in opposition to the other which he calls αἰσθητὴν *Sensible*. And it is plain to any one, that hath had the least acquaintance with *Plato*'s Philosophy, that the whole Scope and Drift of it, is to raise up mens Minds from Sense to a belief of Incorporeal Things as the most Excellent: τὰ δὲ ἀσώματα κάλλιστα ὄντα καὶ μέγιστα λόγῳ μόνον, ἄλλῳ δ' ὀδενὶ, σαφῆς δ' ἐφευρέται, as he writes in another place. *For Incorporeal Things, which are the greatest and most excellent things of all, are* (saith he) *discoverable by Reason only and nothing else.* And his Subterraneous Cave, so famously known, and so elegantly described by him, where he supposes men tied with their backs towards the Light, placed at a great distance from them, so that they could not turn about their Heads to it neither, and therefore could see nothing but the shadows (of certain Substances behind them) projected from it, which Shadows they concluded to be the only Substances and Realities, and when they heard the Sounds made by those Bodies that were betwixt the Light and them, or their reverberated Eccho's, they imputed them to those shadows which they saw. I say, all this is a Description of the State of those Men, who take Body to be the only Real and Substantial thing in the World, and to do all that is done in it; and therefore often impute Sense, Reason and Understanding, to nothing but Blood and Brains in us.

XX. I might also shew in the next place, how *Aristotle* did not at all dissent from *Plato* herein, he plainly asserting ἄλλην ὄσίαν παρὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ, *another Substance beside Sensibles*, ὄσίαν χωριστὴν καὶ κεχωρισμένην τῶν αἰσθητῶν, *a Substance separable and also actually separated from Sensibles*, ἀκίνητον ὄσίαν, *an Immoveable Nature or Essence* (subject to no Generation or Corruption) adding that the Deity was to be sought for here: Nay such a Substance ἣν μέγεθος οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἔχειν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ἀμερὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστι, *as hath no Magnitude at all; but is Impartible and Indivisible.* He also blaming *Zeno* (not the Stoick, who was Junior to *Aristotle*, but an ancienter Philosopher of that Name) for making God to be a Body, in these words; οὗτος μὲν σῶμα λέγει εἶναι

ὁ θεὸν· εἴτε ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν, εἴτε ὅτι δύποτε αὐτὸς λέγων· ἀσώματόν γε ὢν πῶς ἂν σφαιροειδὴς εἴη; ὅταν ὅτως ὅτ' ἂν κινοῖτο, ὅτ' ἂν ἠρεμοῖ μηδαμοῦ τε ὤν· ἐπεὶ ὁ σῶμά ἐστι, τί ἂν αὐτὸ κωλύει κινεῖσθαι; Zeno *implicitly affirms, God to be a Body, whether he mean him to be the whole Corporeal Universe, or some particular Body; for if God were Incorporeal, how could he be Spherical? nor could he then either Move or Rest, being not properly in any Place; but if God be a Body, then nothing hinders but that he may be moved.* From which, and other Places of *Aristotle*, it is plain enough also, that he did suppose Incorporeal Substance to be Unextended, and as such, not to have Relation to any Place. But this is a thing to be disputed afterwards. Indeed some learned men conceive *Aristotle* to have reprehended *Zeno* without Cause, and that *Zeno* made God to be a Sphear, or Spherical, in no other sence, than *Parmenides* did in that known Verse of his;

Πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ.

Wherein he is understood to describe the Divine Eternity. However, it plainly appears from hence, that according to *Aristotle*'s sence, God was ἀσώματον, an *Incorporeal* Substance distinct from the World.

XXI. Now this Doctrine, which *Plato* especially was famous for asserting, that there was οὐσία ἀσώματον, *Incorporeal Substance*, and that the Souls of Men were such, but principally the Deity; *Epicurus* taking notice of it, endeavoured with all his might to confute it, arguing sometimes after this manner; *There can be no Incorporeal God (as* Plato *maintained) not only because no man can frame a Conception of an Incorporeal Substance, but also because whatsoever is Incorporeal must needs want Sense, and Prudence, and Pleasure, all which things are included in the Notion of God; and therefore an Incorporeal Deity is a Contradiction.* And concerning the Soul of Man; οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ματαιάζουσι, &c. *They who say that the Soul is Incorporeal, in any other sence, than as that word may be used to signifie a Subtil Body, talk Vainly and Foolishly; for then it could neither be able to Do nor Suffer any thing. It could not Act upon any other thing, because it could Touch nothing; neither could it Suffer from any thing, because it could not be Touch'd by any thing; but it would be just like to* Vacuum *or Empty Space, which can neither Do nor Suffer any thing, but only yield Bodies a Passage through it:* From whence it is further evident, that this Opinion was professedly maintained by some Philosophers before *Epicurus* his time.

XXII. But *Plato* and *Aristotle* were not the first Inventors of it: For it is certain, that all those Philosophers who held the Immortality of the Humane Soul, and a God distinct from this visible World, (and so properly the Creator of it and all its parts) did really assert *Incorporeal Substance.* For that a Corporeal Soul cannot be in its own Nature Immortal and Incorruptible, is plain to every one's Understanding, because of its parts being separable from one another; and whosoever denies God to be Incorporeal, if he make him any thing at all, he must needs make him to be either the whole Corporeal

poreal World, or else a part of it: Wherefore if God be neither of these, he must then be an Incorporeal Substance. Now *Plato* was not the first who asserted these two things, but they were both maintained by many Philosophers before him. *Pherecydes Syrus*, and *Thales*, were two of the most ancient Philosophers among the Greeks; and it is said of the former of them, that by his Lectures and Disputes concerning the Immortality of the Soul, he first drew off *Pythagoras* from another Course of life to the study of Philosophy. *Pherecydes Syrus* (saith *Cicero*) *Primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos.* And *Thales* in an Epistle directed to him, congratulates his being the First that had designed to write to the Greeks concerning *Divine Things*, which *Thales* also (who was the Head of the Ionick Succession of Philosophers, as *Pythagoras* of the Italick) is joyned with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, by the Writer *De Placitis Philosophorum*, after this manner. Ὅτοι πάντες οἱ προτεταγμένοι ἀσώματον τὴν ψυχὴν ὑποτίθεσθαι φύσει λέγοντες αὐτοκίνητον καὶ οὐσίαν νοητήν· *All these determined the Soul to be Incorporeal, making it to be Naturally Self-moving* (or Self-active) *and an Intelligible Substance*, that is, not Sensible. Now he that determines the Soul to be Incorporeal, must needs hold the Deity to be Incorporeal much more. *Aquam dixit* Thales *esse initium rerum* (saith *Cicero*) *Deum autem eam Mentem quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret.* Thales *said that Water was the first Principle of all Corporeal things, but that God was that Mind which formed all things out of Water.* For *Thales* was a *Phœnician* by Extraction, and accordingly seemed to have received his two Principles from thence, *Water*, and the *Divine Spirit* moving upon the Waters. The First whereof is thus expressed by *Sanchuniathon* in his Description of the *Phœnician* Theology, κάος θολερόν, ἐρεβῶδες, *a Turbid and Dark Chaos*, and the Second is intimated in these words, ἠρράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῇ ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, *the Spirit was affected with love towards its own Principles*, perhaps expressing the Force of the Hebrew word *Merachepheth*, and both of them implyng an Understanding Prolifical Goodness, Forming and Hatching the Corporeal World into this perfection; or else a Plastick Power, subordinate to it. *Zeno* (who was also originally a *Phœnician*) tells us, that *Hesiod*'s *Chaos* was Water; and, that the Material *Heaven*, as well as *Earth* was *made out of Water*, (according to the Judgment of the best Interpeters) is the genuine sence of Scripture, 2 *Pet.* 3. 5. by which water some perhaps would understand, a *Chaos of Atoms confusedly moved.* But whether *Thales* were acquainted with the Atomical Physiology or no; it is plain that he asserted, besides the Soul's Immortality, a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

We pass to *Pythagoras* whom we have proved already to have been an Atomist; and it is well known also that he was a professed Incorporealist. That he asserted the Immortality of the Soul, and consequently its Immateriality, is evident from his Doctrine of Preexistence and Transmigration: And that he likewise held an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the World, is a thing not questioned by any. But if there were any need of proving it, (because there are no Monuments of his Extant) perhaps it might be done from hence,

because

becauſe he was the chief Propagator of that Doctrine amongſt the Greeks, concerning Three Hypoſtaſes in the Deity.

For, that *Plato* and his Followers held τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις, *Three Hypoſtaſes in the Deity, that were the firſt Principles of all things,* is a thing very well known to all. Though we do not affirm that theſe *Platonick Hypoſtaſes* are exactly the ſame with thoſe in the Chriſtian Trinity. Now, *Plato* himſelf ſufficiently intimates this not to have been his own Invention; and *Plotinus* tells us, that it was παλαιὰ δόξα, an Ancient Opinion before *Plato*'s time, which had been delivered down by ſome of the *Pythagoricks*. Wherefore, I conceive, this muſt needs be one of thoſe *Pythagorick Monſtroſities*, which *Xenophon* covertly taxes *Plato* for entertaining, and mingling with the *Socratical* Philoſophy, as if he had thereby corrupted the Purity and Simplicity of it. Though a Corporealiſt may pretend to be a Theiſt; yet I never heard, that any of them did ever aſſert a Trinity, reſpectively to the Deity, unleſs it were ſuch an one, as I think not fit here to mention.

XXIII. That *Parmenides*, who was likewiſe a *Pythagorean*, acknowledged a Deity diſtinct from the Corporeal World, is evident from *Plato*. And *Plotinus* tells us alſo, that he was one of them that aſſerted the Triad of Divine *Hypoſtaſes*. Moreover, whereas there was a great Controverſie amongſt the Ancient Philoſophers before *Plato*'s time, between ſuch as held all things to Flow, (as namely *Heraclitus* and *Cratylus*;) and others who aſſerted that ſome things did Stand, and that there was ἀκίνητος φύσις, *a certain Immutable Nature*, to wit, an Eternal Mind, together with Eternal and Immutable Truths, (amongſt which were *Parmenides* and *Meliſſus*) the former of theſe were all Corporealiſts, (this being the very Reaſon why they made all things to Flow, becauſe they ſuppoſed all to be Body) though theſe were not therefore all of them Atheiſts. But the latter were all both Incorporealiſts and Theiſts; for whoſoever holds Incorporeal Subſtance muſt needs (according to Reaſon) alſo aſſert a Deity.

And although we did not before paticularly mention *Parmenides* amongſt the Atomical Philoſophers, yet we conceive it to be manifeſt from hence, that he was one of that Tribe, becauſe he was an eminent Aſſerter of that Principle, ὅθεν ὅτε γίνεσθαι ὅτε φθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, *That no Real Entity is either Made or Deſtroyed, Generated or Corrupted.* Which we ſhall afterwards plainly ſhew, to be the grand Fundamental Principle of the Atomical Philoſophy.

XXIV. But whereas we did evidently prove before, that *Empedocles* was an Atomical Phyſiologer, it may notwithſtanding with ſome Colour of Probability be doubted, whether he were not an Atheiſt, or at leaſt a Corporealiſt, becauſe *Ariſtotle* accuſes him of theſe following things. Firſt, of making *Knowledge* to be *Senſe*, which is indeed a plain ſign of a Corporealiſt; and therefore in the next place alſo, of compounding the Soul out of the four Elements, making

making it to understand every corporeal thing, by something of the same within it self, as Fire by Fire, and Earth by Earth; and Lastly, of attributing much to Fortune, and affirming that divers of the Parts of Animals were made such by chance, and that there were at first certain Mongrel Animals fortuitously produced, that were βουγενῆ καὶ ἀνθρωπόμορφα, such as had *something of the shape of an Oxe, together with the Face of a Man*, (though they could not long continue) which seems to give just Cause of Suspicion, that *Empedocles* Atheized in the same manner that *Democritus* did.

To the first of these we reply, that some others who had also read *Empedocles*'s Poems, were of a different Judgment from *Aristotle* as to that, conceiving *Empedocles* not to make *Sense*, but *Reason* the *Criterion* of *Truth*. Thus *Empiricus* informs us: *Others say that according to* Empedocles, *the Criterion of Truth is not Sense but Right Reason; and also that Right Reason is of two sorts, the one* θεῖος, *or Divine, the other* ἀνθρώπινος, *or Humane: Of which the Divine is inexpressible, but the Humane declarable.* And there might be several Passages cited out of those Fragments of *Empedocles* his Poems yet left, to confirm this, but we shall produce only this one.

γλῶν πίστιν ἔρυκε νόῳ δ' ἢ δῆλον ἔκασον.

To this Sence; *Suspend thy Assent to the Corporeal Senses, and consider every thing clearly with thy Mind or Reason.*

And as to the Second Crimination, *Aristotle* has much weakened his own Testimony here, by accusing *Plato* also of the very same thing. Πλάτων τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων ποιεῖ, γινώσκεται γὰρ ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν εἶναι· Plato *compounds the Soul out of the four Elements, because Like is known by Like, and things are from their Principles.* Wherefore it is probable that *Empedocles* might be no more guilty of this fault (of making the Soul Corporeal, and to consist of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire) than *Plato* was, who in all mens Judgments was as free from it, as *Aristotle* himself, if not more. For *Empedocles* did in the same manner, as *Pythagoras* before him, and *Plato* after him, hold the Transmigration of Souls, and consequently, both their Future Immortality and Preexistence; and therefore must needs assert their Incorporeity; *Plutarch* rightly declaring this to have been his Opinion; Εἶναι καὶ τοὺς μηδέπω γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνηκότας· *That as well those who are yet Unborn, as those that are Dead, have a Being.* He also asserted Humane Souls to be here in a Lapsed State, μεταναστὰς, καὶ ξένους, καὶ φυγάδας, *Wanderers, Strangers, and Fugitives from God*; declaring, as *Plotinus* tells us, that it was a Divine Law, ἁμαρτάνουσαις τὰς ψυχὰς πεσεῖν ἐνταῦθα, *That Souls sinning should fall down into these Earthly Bodies.* But the fullest Record of the *Empedoclean* Philosophy concerning the Soul is contained in this of *Hierocles*; Κάτεισι καὶ ἀποπίπτει τὸ δυσαίμονος χώρας ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φησὶν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, —— φυγὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἀλήτης Νείκεϊ μαινομένῳ πίσυνος. —— Ἄνεισι δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀρχαίαν ἕξιν ἀπολαμβάνῃ,

E

Εἰ φεύξῃ τὰ δεῖλ᾽ γιῶν καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον,
Ἔνθα φόνος τε κότος τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν.

Εἰς ὃν οἱ ἐμπεσόντες ——— Ἄτης
——— ἀνὰ λειμῶνα τε καὶ σκότον ἠλάσκησιν.

Ἡ δὲ ἔφεσις τοῦ φύγοντος τὴν τῆς Ἄτης λειμῶνα πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείας ἐπείγεται λειμῶνα, ὃν ἀπολιπὼν τὴν δεμνὴ τῆς περιφρονήσεως εἰς γήινον ἔρχεται σῶμα, Ὀλεῖσ᾽ ——— αἰῶνος ἀμελήσας. *Man falleth from his Happy State*, as Empedocles *the Pythagorean ſaith*, ——*By being a Fugitive, Apoſtate, and Wanderer from God, acted with a certain Mad and Irrational Strife or Contention.* ——*But he aſcends again and recovers his former State,* ——*if he decline and avoid theſe Earthly things, and deſpiſe this unpleaſant and wretched Place, where Murder and Wrath, and a Troop of all other Miſchiefs reign. Into which Place, they who fall, wander up and down through the Field of Ate and Darkneſs. But the deſire of him that flees from this Field of Ate, carries him on towards the Field of Truth; which the Soul at firſt relinquiſhing, and loſing its Wings, fell down into this Earthly Body, deprived of its Happy Life.* From whence it appears that *Plato*'s περιφρόνησις was derived from *Empedocles* and the *Pythagoreans*.

Now from what hath been already cited it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that *Empedocles* was ſo far from being either an Atheiſt or Corporealiſt, that he was indeed a Rank *Pythagoriſt*, as he is here called. And we might adde hereunto, what *Clemens Alexandrinus* obſerves, that according to *Empedocles*, ἦν ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως διαβιώσωμεν, μακάριοι μὲν ἐνταῦθα, μακαριώτεροι δὲ μετὰ τὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν· ἐν χρόνῳ τινὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ἐν αἰῶνι ἀναπαύεσθαι δυνάμενοι, Ἀθανάτοις ἄλλοισιν ὁμέστιοι, ἐν δὲ τραπέζαις, &c. *If we live holily and juſtly, we ſhall be happy here, and more happy after our departure hence; having our Happineſs not neceſſarily confined to time, but being able to reſt and fix in it to all Eternity; Feaſting with the other Immortal Beings*, &c. We might alſo take notice, how, beſides the Immortal *Souls* of men, he acknowledged *Dæmons* or *Angels*; declaring that ſome of theſe fell from Heaven, and were ſince proſecuted by a Divine *Nemeſis*. or theſe in *Plutarch* are called, οἱ θεῖλατοι καὶ ἀλαστοποιοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονες· *Thoſe* Empedoclean Dæmons *lapſed from Heaven, and purſued with Divine Vengeance*; Whoſe reſtleſs Torment is there deſcribed in ſeveral Verſes of his. And we might obſerve likewiſe how he acknowledged a Natural and Immutable Juſtice, which was not Topical and confined to Places and Countries, and Relative to particular Laws, but Catholick and Univerſal, and every where the ſame, through Infinite Light and Space; as he expreſſes it with Poetick Pomp and Bravery.

Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πάντων νόμιμον διὰ τ᾽ εὐρυμέδοντος
Αἰθέρος, ἠνεκέως τέταται διὰ τ᾽ ἀπλέτου αὐγῆς.

And the aſſerting of *Natural Morality*, is no ſmall Argument of a Theiſt.

But

But what then ſhall we ſay to thoſe other things which *Empedocles* is charged with by *Ariſtotle*, that ſeem to have ſo rank a ſmell of Atheiſm? Certainly thoſe Mongril and Biforme Animals, that are ſaid to have ſprung up out of the Earth by chance, look as if they were more a-kin to *Democritus* than *Empedocles*, and probably it is the Fault of the Copies that it is read otherwiſe, there being no other Philoſopher that I know of, that could ever find any ſuch thing in *Empedocles* his Poems. But for the reſt, if *Ariſtotle* do not miſrepreſent *Empedocles*, as he often doth *Plato*, then it muſt be granted, that he being a Mechanical Phyſiologer, as well as Theologer, did ſomething too much indulge to Fortuitous Mechaniſm: which ſeems to be an Extravagancy that Mechanical Philoſophers, and Atomiſts, have been always more or leſs ſubject to. But *Ariſtotle* doth not charge *Empedocles* with reſolving all things into Fortuitous Mechaniſm, as ſome Philoſophers have done of late, who yet pretend to be Theiſts and Incorporealiſts, but only that he would explain ſome things in that way. Nay he clearly puts a difference betwixt *Empedocles* and the *Democritick* Atheiſts in thoſe words ſubjoyned, Εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς, &c. which is as if he ſhould have ſaid, *Empedocles reſolved ſome things in the Fabrick and ſtructure of Animals into Fortuitous Mechaniſm; but there are certain other Philoſophers, namely* Leucippus *and* Democritus, *who would have all things whatſoever in the whole World, Heaven and Earth and Animals, to be made by Chance and the Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, without a Deity.* It ſeems very plain that *Empedocles* his *Philia* and *Nichos*, his *Friendſhip* and *Diſcord*, which he makes to be the ἀρχὴ ἀφαιρετικὴ, *the Active Cauſe*, and Principle of Motion in the Univerſe, was a certain Plaſtick Power, ſuperiour to Fortuitous Mechaniſm: and *Ariſtotle* himſelf acknowledges ſomewhere as much. And *Plutarch* tells us, that according to *Empedocles*, The Order and Syſtem of the World is not the Reſult of Material Cauſes and Fortuitous Mechaniſm, but of a Divine Wiſdom, aſſigning to every thing ἐκ ἣν ἡ φύσις δίδωσι χώραν, ἀλλ' ἣν ἡ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἔργον ποθεῖ σύνταξις, *Not ſuch a Place as Nature would give it, but ſuch as is moſt convenient for the Good of the whole. Simplicius*, who had read *Empedocles*, acquaints us, that he made two Worlds, the one *Intellectual*, the other *Senſible*; and the former of theſe to be the Exemplar and Archetype of the latter. And ſo the Writer *De Placitis Philoſophorum* obſerves, that *Empedocles made* δύο ἡλίους, τὸν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον τὸν δὲ φαινόμενον, *Two Suns, the one Archetypal and Intelligible, the other Apparent or Senſible.*

But I need take no more pains, to purge *Empedocles* from thoſe two Imputations of Corporealiſm and Atheiſm, ſince he hath ſo fully confuted them himſelf, in thoſe Fragments of his ſtill extant. Firſt, by expreſſing ſuch a hearty Reſentment of the Excellency of Piety, and the Wretchedneſs and Sottiſhneſs of Atheiſm in theſe Verſes.

Ὀλβιος ὃς θείων πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον,
Δειλὸς δ' ᾧ σκοτόεσσα θεῶν πέρι δόξα μέμηλεν.

To this Sence : *He is happy who hath his mind richly fraught and ſtored with the Treaſures of Divine Knowledge; but he miſerable, whoſe mind is Darkened, as to the Belief of a God.* And, Secondly, by denying God to have any Humane Form, or Members,

Οὐ μὴν γε θεοπεῆ κεφαλῆ κὶ γυῖα κέκασαι, &c.

Or otherwiſe to be Corporeal,

Οὐκ ἔϛιν πελάσαϑ' ὁϕ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐφικτὸν
Ἡμετέροις, ἢ χερσὶ λαβεῖν.

And then poſitively affirming what he is,

Ἀλλὰ φρὴν ἱερὴ καὶ ἀϕάτῳ ἔπλετο μῶνον,
Φερτῖσι νόσμον ἅπαντα καϊάϊσσουσα θοῇσιν.

Only a Holy and Ineffable Mind, that by Swift Thoughts agitates the whole World.

XXV. And now we ſhall ſpeak ſomething alſo of *Anaxagoras*, having ſhewed before that he was a Spurious Atomiſt. For he likewiſe agreed with the other Atomiſts in this, that he aſſerted Incorporeal Subſtance in general as the Active Cauſe and Principle of Motion in the Univerſe, and Particularly, an Incorporeal Deity diſtinct from the World. Affirming, that there was beſides Atoms, Νοῦς ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος, (as it is expreſs'd in *Plato*) *An Ordering and Diſpoſing Mind that was the Cauſe of all things.* Which Mind (as *Ariſtotle* tells us) he made to be μόνον γὰρ ὄντων ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀμιγῆ καὶ καθαρόν· *The only Simple, Unmixed, and Pure thing* in the World. And he ſuppoſed this to be that which brought the Confuſed *Chaos* of Omnifarious Atoms into that Orderly *Compages* of the World that now is.

XXVI. And by this time we have made it evident that thoſe Atomical Phyſiologers, that were before *Democritus* and *Lencippus*, were all of them Incorporealiſts; joyning Theology and Pneumatology, the Doctrine of Incorporeal Subſtance and a Deity, together with their Atomical Phyſiology. This is a thing expreſly noted concerning *Ecphantus* the Pythagorean in *Stobæus*. Ἔκφαντος ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀτόμων συνεστάναι τὸν κόσμον, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ προνοίας· Ecphantus *held the Corporeal World to conſiſt of Atoms, but yet to be Ordered and Governed by a Divine Providence*, that is, he joyned Atomology and Theology both together. And the ſame is alſo obſerved of *Arceſilas*, or perhaps *Archelaus*, by *Sidonius Apollinaris*;

Poſt hos Arceſilaus *Divinâ Mente paratam*
Conjicit hanc Molem, confectam Partibus illis
Quas Atomos vocat ipſe leves.

Now, I ſay, as *Ecphantus*, and *Archelaus*, aſſerted the Corporeal World

World to be made of Atoms, but yet notwithstanding held an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the same, as the First Principle of Activity in it; so in like manner did all the other ancient Atomists generally before *Democritus*, joyn Theology and Incorporealism with their Atomical Physiology. They did Atomize as well as he, but they did not Atheize; but that Atheistical Atomology was a thing first set on foot afterward by *Leucippus* and *Democritus*.

XXVII. But because many seem to be so strongly possessed with this Prejudice, as if *Atheism* were a Natural and Necessary Appendix to *Atomism*, and therefore will conclude that the same persons could not possibly be Atomists, and Incorporealists or Theists, we shall further make it Evident, that there is not only, no Inconsistency betwixt the Atomical Physiology and Theology, but also that there is on the Contrary, a most Natural Cognation between them.

And this we shall do two manner of ways; First, by inquiring into the Origin of this Philosophy, and considering what Grounds or Principles of Reason they were, which first led the Antients into this Atomical or Mechanical way of Physiologizing. And Secondly, by making it appear that the Intrinsecal Constitution of this Physiology is such, that whosoever entertains it, if he do but thoroughly understand it, must of necessity acknowledge that there is something else in the World besides Body.

First therefore, this Atomical Physiology seems to have had its Rise and Origin from the Strength of Reason exerting its own Inward Active Power and Vigour, and thereby bearing it self up against the Prejudices of Sense, and at length prevailing over them, after this manner. The Ancients considering and revolving the *Idea's* of their own Minds, found that they had a clear and distinct Conception of Two things, as the General Heads and Principles of whatsoever was in the Universe; the one whereof was *Passive Matter*, and the other *Active Power*, *Vigour* and *Vertue*. To the Latter of which belongs both Cogitation, and the Power of Moving Matter, whether by expres Consciousness or no. Both which together, may be called by one General Name, of Life; so that they made these two General Heads of Being or Entity, Passive Matter or Bulk, and Self Activity or Life. The Former of these was commonly called by the Ancients, the τὸ πάσχον, *that which suffers and receives*, and the Latter the τὸ ποιοῦν, *the Active Principle*, and the τὸ ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις, *that from whence Motion Springs*. *In rerum Natura* (saith *Cicero*) according to the General Sence of the Ancients) *Duo quærenda sunt; Unum, quæ Materia sit, ex qua quæque res efficiatur; Alterum, quæ res sit quæ quicque Efficiat: There are two things to be enquired after in Nature; One, what is the Matter out of which every thing is made; Another, what is the Active Cause or Efficient.* To the same purpose *Seneca*; *Esse debet aliquid Unde fiat, deinde à Quo fiat; hoc est Causa, illud Materia: There*

αἴτιον δεχομένου καὶ παθητόν. Philo.

must be something Out of which a thing is made, and then something By which it is made; the Latter is properly the Cauſe, and the Former the Matter. Which is to be underſtood of Corporeal things and their Differences, that there muſt be both Matter, and an Active Power, for the production of them. And ſo alſo that of *Ariſtotle*, ὅσης αἰτίας μιᾶς μὲν ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι φαμὲν τῆς κινήσεως, μιᾶς δὲ τὴν ὕλης. *That from whence the Principle of Motion is, is one Cauſe, and the Matter is another.* Where *Ariſtotle* gives that name of *Cauſe* to the Matter alſo, though others did appropriate it to the Active Power. And the Writer *de Placitis Philoſophorum* expreſſes this as the General Sence of the Ancients. ἀδύνατον ἀρχὴν μίαν ὕλην τῶν ὄντων ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα ὑποστῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν αἴτιον χρὴ ὑποτεθέναι, οἷον ἐπὶ ἀργυρέας ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔμπαλιν γενέσθαι ἂν μὴ καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν ᾖ, τεκτήνων ὁ ἀργυροχόος, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὕλης. *It is impoſſible that Matter alone ſhould be the ſole Principle of all things, but there muſt of neceſſity be ſuppoſed alſo an Agent or Efficient Cauſe. As Silver alone is not ſufficient to make a Cup, unleſs there be an Artificer to work upon it. And the ſame is to be ſaid concerning Braſs, Wood, and other Natural Bodies.*

Now as they apprehended a Neceſſity of theſe two Principles, ſo they conceived them to be ſuch, as could not be confounded together into one and the ſame Thing or Subſtance; they having ſuch diſtinct *Idea's* and Eſſential Characters from one another: The Stoicks being the only Perſons, who offering Violence to their own apprehenſions, rudely and unskilfully attempted to make theſe two diſtinct things to be one and the ſame Subſtance. Wherefore as the Firſt of theſe, *viz.* Matter, or Paſſive Extended Bulk, is taken by all for Subſtance, and commonly called by the name of Body; ſo the other, which is far the more Noble of the Two, being that which acts upon the matter and hath a Commanding Power over it, muſt needs be Subſtance too, of a different kind from Matter or Body; and therefore Immaterial or Incorporeal Subſtance. Neither did they find any other Entity to be conceivable, beſides theſe two, Paſſive Bulk or Extenſion, which is Corporeal Subſtance; and Internal Self-Activity or Life, which is the Eſſential Character of Subſtance Incorporeal; to which Latter belongs not only Cogitation, but alſo the Power of Moving Body.

Moreover, when they further conſidered the Firſt of theſe, the Material or Corporeal Principle, they being not able clearly to conceive any thing elſe in it, beſides Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion or Reſt, which are all ſeveral Modes of Extended Bulk, concluded therefore according to Reaſon, that there was Really nothing elſe exiſting in Bodies without, beſides the various Complexions and Conjugations of thoſe Simple Elements, that is, nothing but *Mechaniſm*. Whence it neceſſarily followed, that whatſoever elſe was ſuppoſed to be in Bodies, was, indeed, nothing but our Modes of Senſation, or the Phancies and Paſſions in us begotten from them, miſtaken for things really exiſting without us. And this is a thing ſo obvious, that ſome of thoſe Philoſophers who had taken little notice of the Atomical Phyſiology, had notwithſtanding

ing a ſuſpicion of it; as for Example *Plotinus*, who writing of the *Criterion* of Truth, and the power of Reaſon, hath theſe words; Καὶ τὰ ὅτι τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἃ δ' ἐδοκεῖ πίστιν ἔχειν ἐναργεστάτην, ἀπιστεῖται μήποτε ὄντα ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἔχοντα τὸ δοκοῦσαν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ δεῖ ἡ διανοίας τῆς κρινούσης· *Though the things of Senſe ſeem to have ſo clear a Certainty, yet notwithſtanding it is doubted concerning them, whether* (the Qualities of them) *have any Real Exiſtence at all in the things without us, and not rather a Seeming Exiſtence only, in our own Paſſions; and there is need of Mind or Underſtanding to judge in this Caſe, and to determine the Controverſie, which Senſe alone cannot decide.* But the ancient Phyſiologiſts concluded without any heſitancy, ὅ τε αὐτὸ ὄζει τὸ μέλι τῆς γλυκάζεσθαί με, ἢ τὸ ἀψίνθιον τῆς πικραίζεσθαι, *That the Nature of Honey in itſelf, is not the ſame thing with my being ſweetned, nor of Wormwood with that Senſe of bitterneſs which I have from it;* διαφέρειν δὲ τὸ πάθος τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑποκειμένων, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς ὑποκείμενα οὐ καταλαμβάνειν, μόνα δὲ εἰ ἄρα τὰ ἑαυτῶν πάθη· *But that the Paſſion of Senſe differ'd from the Abſolute Nature of the thing it ſelf without; the Senſes not comprehending the Objects themſelves, but only their own Paſſions from them.*

I ſay therefore, that the Ancients concluded the Abſolute Nature of Corporeal things in themſelves, to be nothing but a certain Diſpoſition of Parts, in reſpect of Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion, which in Taſts cauſe us to be differently affected with thoſe *Senſes* of Sweetneſs and Bitterneſs, and in Sight with thoſe *Phancies* of Colours, and accordingly in the other Senſes with other *Phancies*; and that the Corporeal World was to be explained by theſe Two things, whereof one is Abſolute in the Bodies without us, the various Mechaniſm of them, the other Relative only to us, the different Phancies in us, cauſed by the reſpective Differences of them, in themſelves. Which Phancies or Phantaſtick *Idea's* are no *Modes* of the *Bodies* without us, but of that only in our ſelves which is *Cogitative* or *Self-Active*, that is, *Incorporeal*. For the Senſible *Idea's* of Hot and Cold, Red and green, *&c.* cannot be clearly conceived by us as Modes of the *Bodies* without us, but they may be eaſily apprehended as Modes of *Cogitation*, that is, of Senſation, or *Sympathetical Perception* in us.

The Reſult of all which was; That whatſoever is either in Our Selves, or the Whole World, was to be reduced to one or other of theſe two Principles; *Paſſive Matter*, and *Extended Bulk*, or *Self-Active Power* and *Vertue*; *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal* Subſtance; *Mechaniſm* or *Life*; or elſe to a Complication of them both together.

XXVIII. From this General Account, which we have now given of the Origin of the Atomical Phyſiology, it appears that the Doctrine of Incorporeal Subſtance ſprung up together with it. But this will be further manifeſt, from that which follows. For we ſhall in the next place ſhew, how this Philoſophy did, in eſpecial manner, owe its Original, to the Improvement of one Particular

Principle of Reason, over and besides all the rest; namely, that famous *Axiom*, so much talked of amongst the Ancients,

De Nihilo Nihil, in Nihilum Nil posse reverti;

That *Nothing can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing.* For though *Democritus*, *Epicurus* and *Lucretius* abused this Theorem, endeavouring to carry it further than the Intention of the first Atomists, to the disproving of a Divine Creation of any thing out of Nothing by it; *Nullam rem à Nihilo gigni Divinitùs unquam*; and consequently of a Deity: Yet as the meaning of it was at first confined and restrained, That *Nothing of it self could come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*, or that according to the Ordinary *Course* of *Nature* (without an Extraordinary Divine Power) *Nothing could be rais'd from Nothing, nor reduc'd to Nothing*; it is not only an undoubted Rule of Reason in it self, but it was also the Principal Original of that Atomical Physiology, which, discarding Forms and Qualities, acknowledged really nothing else in Body besides Mechanism.

Wherefore it was not in vain, or to no purpose that *Laertius* in the Life of *Democritus* takes notice of this as one of his *Dogmata*, μηδ' ἐν ὄντι τῷ μὴ ὄντι γίνεσθαι μηδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι. That *Nothing was made or Generated out of Nothing, nor Corrupted into Nothing.* This being a Fundamental Principle, not only of his Atheism, but also of that very Atomical Physiology it self, which he pursued. And *Epicurus* in his Epistle to *Herodotus* plainly fetches the beginning of all his Philosophy from hence. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ὐδὲν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος; καὶ ὐδὲν φθείρεται εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγίνετο τὸ ἐκφαινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, πᾶν ἐκ παντὸς ἐγίνετ' ἂν, σπερμάτων γε ὐδὲν προσδεόμενον· καὶ εἰ ἐφθείρετο δὲ τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπολώλει τὰ πράγματα ἐκ τοῦ ὄντων μὴ εἰς ἃ διελύετο. *We fetch the beginning of our Philosophy* (saith he) *from hence, that Nothing is made out of Nothing or destroy'd to Nothing; for if things were made out of Nothing, then every thing might be made out of every thing, neither would there be any need of Seeds. And if whatsoever is Corrupted were destroyed to Nothing, then all things would at length be brought to Nothing.* *Lucretius* in like manner beginning here, insists more largely upon those Grounds of Reason hinted by *Epicurus*: And first, That Nothing can be made out of Nothing he proves thus;

Nam si de nihilo fierent, ex omnibus rebus
Omne Genus nasci posset: Nil Semine egeret:
E mare primùm Homines & terra posset oriri
Squamigerum Genus, &c.
Nec Fructus iidem Arboribus constare solerent,
Sed mutarentur: Ferre omnes omnia possent.
Præterea cur Vere Rosam, Frumenta Calore,
Vites Autumno, fundi, suadente videmus? &c.
Quòd si de Nihilo fierent, subitò exorerentur
Incerto spatio atq; alienis Partibus anni.

In

In like manner he argues, to prove that Nothing is Corrupted into Nothing.

Huc accedit utì quicque in ſua Corpora rurſum
Diſſolvat Natura; neque ad Nihilum interimat res:
Nam ſi quid Mortale à cunctis Partibus eſſet,
Ex oculis res quæque repentè erepta periret.
Præterea quæcunque Vetuſtate amovet ætas,
Si penitus perimit, conſumens Materiam omnem,
Unde Animale Genus generatim in Lumina Vitæ
Reducit Venus? aut reductum Dædala Tellus
Unde alit atque auget? generatim pabula præbens, &c.
Haud igitur penitus pereunt quæcunque videntur,
Quando aliud ex alio reficit Natura; nec ullam
Rem gigni patitur niſi morte adjutam alienâ.

In which Paſſages, though it be plain that *Lucretius* doth not immediately drive at Atheiſm, and nothing elſe; but primarily at the eſtabliſhing of a peculiar kind of Atomical Phyſiology, upon which indeed theſe *Democriticks* afterward endeavoured to graft Atheiſm; yet to take away that ſuſpicion, we ſhall in the next place ſhew, that generally the other Ancient Phyſiologers alſo, who were Theiſts, did likewiſe build the ſtructure of their Philoſophy upon the ſame Foundation, that *Nothing can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing*: As for Example, *Parmenides*, *Meliſſus*, *Zeno*, *Xenophanes*, *Anaxagoras* and *Empedocles*; of *Parmenides* and *Meliſſus*, *Ariſtotle* thus writes, οὐδὲν ὁδὲ γίνεσθαι φασιν οὐδ' ἀπόλλυσθαι τῷ ὄντι ὡς. *They ſay that no Real Entity is either Generated or Corrupted*, that is, made anew out of Nothing or deſtroy'd to Nothing. And *Simplicius* tells us, that *Parmenides* gave a notable Reaſon for the Confirmation of this Aſſertion, that Nothing in Nature could be Made out of Nothing, ἁπάντων τὸ δεῖν πάντως ἐξ ὄντος γίνεσθαι τὸ γινόμενον, θαυμαστῶς ὁ Παρμενίδης προσέθηκεν, ὅλως γάρ φησιν, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, τίς ἡ ἀποκλήρωσις τοῦ τότε γενέσθαι ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον. *Becauſe if any thing be made out of Nothing, then there could be no cauſe why it ſhould be then made, and neither ſooner nor later.* Again *Ariſtotle* teſtifies of *Xenophanes* and *Zeno*, that they made this a main Principle of their Philoſophy μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι γίνεσθαι μηδὲν ἐκ μηδενός. That *it cannot be that any thing ſhould be made out of Nothing*: And of this *Xenophanes*, *Sextus* the Philoſopher tells us, that he held ὅτι εἷς καὶ ἀσώματός ἐστι θεός. *That there was but one God, and that he was Incorporeal*, ſpeaking thus of him;

Εἷς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος,
Οὔτε δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίιος, οὔτε νόημα.

Ariſtotle alſo writes in like manner concerning *Empedocles*, ἅπαντα ταῦτα κἀκεῖνος ὁμολογεῖ ὅτι ἐκ τε μὴ ὄντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι, τό τε ὂν ἐξόλλυσθαι ἀνήνυσον καὶ ἀξήνιτον. Empedocles *acknowledges the very ſame with other Philoſophers, that it is impoſſible any thing ſhould be Made*

out

out of Nothing or Periſh into Nothing. And as for *Anaxagoras*, it is ſufficiently known to all, that his *Homœomeria* or Doctrine of Similar Atoms, (which was a certain Spurious kind of Atomiſm) was nothing but a ſuperſtructure made upon this Foundation. Beſides all which, *Ariſtotle* pronounces univerſally concerning the Ancient Phyſiologers without any exception, that they agreed in this one thing, περὶ ταύτης ὁμογνωμονῶσι τ᾽ δόξης οἱ περὶ φύσεως, ὅτι τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίγνεσθαι ἀδύνατον· *The Phyſiologers generally agree in this* (laying it down for a grand Foundation) *that it is Impoſſible that any thing ſhould be made out of Nothing.* And again he calls this κοινὴν δόξαν τῶν φυσικῶν, *the common Opinion of Naturaliſts*; intimating alſo, that they concluded it the greateſt abſurdity, that any Phyſiologer could be guilty of, to lay down ſuch Principles, as from whence it would follow, that any Real Entity in Nature did come from Nothing and go to Nothing.

Now it may well be ſuppoſed, that all theſe Ancient Phyſiologers (the moſt of which were alſo Theiſts) did not keep ſuch a ſtir about this buſineſs for nothing; and therefore we are in the next place to ſhow, what it was that they drove at in it. And we do affirm that one thing, which they all aimed at, who inſiſted upon the forementioned Principle, was the eſtabliſhing ſome Atomical Phyſiology or other, but moſt of them at ſuch as takes away all Forms and Qualities of Bodies (as Entities really diſtinct from the Matter and Subſtance) and reſolves all into *Mechaniſm* and *Phancy*. For it is plain, that if the Forms and Qualities of Bodies be Entities really diſtinct from the Subſtance, and its various Modifications, of Figure, Site, and Motion, that then in all the Changes and Tranſmutations of Nature, all the Generations and Alterations of Body, (thoſe Forms and Qualities being ſuppoſed to have no Real Exiſtence any where before) ſomething muſt of neceſſity be Created or produced miraculouſly out of Nothing; as likewiſe reduced into Nothing in the Corruptions of them, they having no Being any where afterward. As for Example; when ever a Candle is but lighted or kindled into a flame, there muſt needs be a new Form of fire, and new Qualities of Light and Heat, really diſtinct from the Matter and Subſtance, produced out of Nothing, that is, Created, and the ſame again Reduced into Nothing, or Annihilated, when the flame is extinguiſhed. Thus, when Water is but Congealed at any time into Snow, Hail, or Ice, and when it is again Diſſolved; when Wax is by Liquefaction made Soft and Tranſparent, and changed to moſt of our Senſes; when the ſame kind of Nouriſhment taken in by Animals, is turned into Blood, Milk, Fleſh, Bones, Nerves, and all the other Similar Parts; when that which was in the Form of bright Flame, appears in the Form of dark Smoak; and that which was in the Form of Vapour, in the Form of Rain or Water, or the like: I ſay, that in all theſe Mutations of Bodies there muſt needs be *ſomething made out of Nothing* But that in all the Protean Transformations of Nature, which happen continually, there ſhould be Real Entities thus perpetually produced out of Nothing and reduced to Nothing, ſeemed to be ſo great a

Paradox

Paradox to the Ancients, that they could by no means admit of it. Becauſe as we have already declared, Firſt they concluded it clearly impoſſible by Reaſon, that any Real Entity ſhould of it ſelf riſe out of Nothing; and Secondly, they thought it very abſurd to bring God upon the Stage, with his Miraculous extraordinary Power, perpetually at every turn; As alſo, that every thing might be made out of every thing, and there would be no Cauſe in Nature, for the Production of one thing rather than another, and at this time rather than that, if they were Miraculouſly made out of Nothing. Wherefore they ſagaciouſly apprehended, that there muſt needs be ſome other Myſtery or Intrigue of Nature, in this buſineſs, than was commonly dream'd of, or ſuſpected; which they concluded to be this, That in all theſe Transformations, there were no ſuch Real Entities of *Forms* and *Qualities* diſtinct from the Matter, and the various Diſpoſition of its Parts, in reſpect of Figure, Site and Motion (as is vulgarly ſuppoſed) Produced and Deſtroyed; but that all theſe Feats were done, either by the Concretion and Secretion of actually Inexiſtent Parts, or elſe by the different Modifications of the ſame Preexiſtent Matter, or the Inſenſible parts thereof. This only being added hereunto, that from thoſe different Modifications of the ſmall Particles of Bodies, (they being not ſo diſtinctly perceived by our Senſes) there are begotten in us, certain confuſed *Phaſmata* or *Phantaſmata*, *Apparitions*, *Phancies*, and *Paſſions*, as of Light and Colours, Heat and Cold, and the like, which are thoſe things, that are vulgarly miſtaken for real Qualities exiſting in the Bodies without us; whereas indeed there is Nothing Abſolutely in the Bodies themſelves like to thoſe *Phantaſtick Idea's* that we have of them; and yet they are wiſely contriv'd by the Author of Nature, for the Adorning and Embelliſhing of the Corporeal World to us.

So that they conceived, Bodies were to be conſidered two manner of ways, either as they are Abſolutely in themſelves, or elſe as they are Relatively to us: And as they are abſolutely in themſelves, that ſo there never was any *Entity* really diſtinct from the Subſtance, *produced in them out of Nothing, nor Corrupted or Deſtroyed to Nothing*, but only the *Accidents* and *Modifications* altered. Which *Accidents* and *Modifications* are no *Entities* really diſtinct from their *Subſtance*; for as much as the ſame Body may be put into ſeveral Shapes and Figures, and the ſame Man may ſucceſſively Stand, Sit, Kneel and Walk, without the production of any new Entities really diſtinct from the ſubſtance of his Body. So that the Generations, Corruptions and Alterations of Inanimate Bodies are not terminated in the Production or Deſtruction of any Subſtantial Forms, or real Entities diſtinct from the Subſtance, but only in different Modifications of it. But ſecondly, as Bodies are conſidered Relatively to us, that ſo beſides their different Modifications and Mechanical Alterations, there are alſo different *Phancies*, *Seemings* and *Apparitions* begotten in us from them; which unwary and unskilful Philoſophers miſtake for Abſolute Forms and Qualities in Bodies themſelves. And thus they concluded, that all the *Phænomena* of Inanimate Bodies, and their various Transformations, might be

be clearly reſolved into theſe two things, Partly ſomething that is Real and Abſolute in Bodies themſelves, which is nothing but their different Mechaniſm, or Diſpoſition of Parts in reſpect of Figure, Site and Motion; and Partly ſomething that is Phantaſtical in the Sentient.

That the Atomical Phyſiology did emerge after this manner, from that Principle of Reaſon, that *Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing*, might be further convinced from the teſtimony of *Ariſtotle*, writing thus concerning it: Ἐκ τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων τ' ἀναγκαῖα ἐνυπῆρχεν ἄρχη· εἰ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐξ ὄντων ἢ ἐξ μὴ ὄντων· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὴ, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον, ὡς καὶ τούτης ὁμογνωμονοῦσι τῆς δόξης ἅπαντες οἱ περὶ φύσεως· τὸ λειπὸν ἤδη συμβαίνειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐνόμισαν· ἐξ ὄντων μὲν καὶ ἐνυπαρχόντων γίνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ σμικρότητα τῆς ὄγκων ἐξ ἀναισθήτων ἡμῖν· *The ancient Phyſiologers concluded, that becauſe Contraries were made out of one another, that therefore they were before (one way or other) Inexiſtent, Arguing in this manner. That if whatſoever be made, muſt needs be made out of Something or out of Nothing, and this latter* (that any thing ſhould be made out of Nothing) *is Impoſſible, according to the general Conſent of all the ancient Phyſiologers; then it follows of Neceſſity, that all Corporeal things are Made or Generated, out of things that were really before and Inexiſtent; though by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of their Bulks they were Inſenſible to us.* Where *Ariſtotle* plainly intimates that all the ancient Philoſophers, whoſoever inſiſted upon this Principle, that *Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing*, were one way or other Atomical, and did reſolve all Corporeal things into ὄγκους τινὰς διὰ τὸ σμικρότητα ἀναισθήτους ἡμῖν, *Certain* Moleculæ *or* Corpuſcula *which by Reaſon of their ſmallneſs were inſenſible to us*, that is, into Atoms. But yet there was a difference between theſe Atomiſts, foraſmuch as *Anaxagoras* was ſuch an Atomiſt, as did notwithſtanding hold Forms and Qualities, really diſtinct from the Mechanical Modifications of Bodies. For he not being able (as it ſeems) well to underſtand that other Atomical Phyſiology of the Ancients, that, exploding Qualities, ſalved all Corporeal *Phænomena* by *Mechaniſm* and *Phancy*; and yet acknowledging, that that Principle of theirs which they went upon, muſt needs be true, That *Nothing could of it ſelf come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*; framed a new kind of Atomology of his own, in ſuppoſing the whole Corporeal World or Maſs of Matter, to conſiſt of *Similar Atoms*, that is, ſuch as were originally endued with all thoſe different Forms and Qualities that are vulgarly conceived to be in Bodies, ſome Bony, ſome Fleſhy, ſome Firie, ſome Watery, ſome White, ſome Black, ſome Bitter, ſome Sweet, and the like, ſo that all Bodies whatſoever had ſome of all ſorts of theſe Atoms (which are in a manner Infinite) ſpecifically differing from one another in them. πᾶν ἐν παντὶ μεμίχθαι, διότι πᾶν ἐκ παντὸς γίνεται, φαίνεσθαι δ' διαφέροντα, καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι ἕτερα ἀλλήλων ἐκ τοῦ μάλιστα ὑπερέχοντος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ μίξει τοῦ ἀπείρων, &c. *That all things were in every thing mingled together, becauſe they ſaw that every thing was made of every thing; but that things ſeemed to differ from one another and were denominated to be this or that, from thoſe Atoms which are moſt predominant in the Mixture, by reaſon of their*

their Multiplicity: Whence he concluded that all the Generations, Corruptions and Alterations of Bodies were made by nothing but the *Concretions* and *Secretions* of Inexiſtent and Preexiſtent Atoms of different Forms and Qualities, without the Production of any new Form and Qualitie out of Nothing, or the Reduction of any into Nothing. This very account *Ariſtotle* gives of the *Anaxagorean Hypotheſis.* ἔοικε Ἀναξαγόρας ἔτως ἀπείρα οἰηθῆναι τὰ στοιχεῖα, διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν, τῷ κοινῷ δόξῃ τῶν φυσικῶν εἶναι ἀληθῆ, ὡς ἐ γινομένε ἐδενὸς ἐκ τε μὴ ὄντος· Anaxagoras *ſeemeth therefore to make Infinite Atoms endued with ſeveral Forms and Qualities to be the Elements of Bodies, becauſe he ſuppoſed that Common opinion of Phyſiologers to be true, that Nothing is Made of Nothing.* But all the other ancient Phyſiologers that were before *Anaxagoras*, and likewiſe thoſe after him, who inſiſting upon the ſame Principle of *Nothing coming from Nothing* did not *Anaxagorize*, as *Empedocles*, *Democritus* and *Protagoras*, muſt needs make ὅμοιας ἀνομοίας, *diſſimilar Moleculæ*, and ἀτόμας ἀποίας, *Atoms unformed and unqualified*, otherwiſe than by Magnitude, Figure and Motion, to be the Principles of Bodies, and caſhiering Forms and Qualities (as real Entities diſtinct from the Matter) reſolve all Corporeal *Phænomena* into *Mechaniſm* and *Phancie.* Becauſe, if no Real Entity can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing, then one of theſe two things is abſolutely Neceſſary, that either theſe Corporeal Forms and Qualities, being real Entities diſtinct from the Matter, ſhould exiſt before Generations and after Corruptions, in certain inſenſible Atoms originally ſuch, according to the *Anaxagorean* Doctrine; Or elſe, that they ſhould not be Real Entities diſtinct from the Matter, but only the different Modifications and Mechaniſms of it, together with different Phancies. And thus we have made it evident that the genuine Atomical Phyſiology did ſpring originally from this Principle of Reaſon, that no Real Entitie *does of it ſelf come from Nothing nor go to Nothing.*

XXIX. Now we ſhall in the next place ſhow how this very ſame Principle of Reaſon which induced the Ancients to reject Subſtantial Forms and Qualities of Bodies, and to Phyſiologize Atomically, led them alſo unavoidably to aſſert Incorporeal Subſtances, and that the Souls of Men and Animals were ſuch, neither Generated nor Corrupted. They had argued againſt Subſtantial Forms and Qualities as we have ſhewed, in this manner, that ſince the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are ſuppoſed by all to be Generated and Corrupted, made anew out of Nothing and deſtroyed to Nothing, that therefore they could not be Real Entities diſtinct from the Subſtance of Matter, but only different Modifications of it in reſpect of Figure, Site and Motion, cauſing different Senſations in us; and were all to be reſolved into *Mechaniſm* and *Fancie.* For as for that Conceit of *Anaxagoras*, of Præ and Poſt-exiſtent Atoms, endued with all thoſe ſeveral Forms and Qualities of Bodies Ingenerably and Incorruptibly; it was nothing but an Adulteration of the genuine Atomical Philoſophy, and a mere Dream of his, in which very few follow'd him. And now they argue contrariwiſe for the Souls of Men and Animals, in this manner; Becauſe they are plainly

ly Real Entities distinct from the Substance of Matter and its Modification, and Men and Brutes are not mere Machins, neither can Life and Cogitation, Sense and Consciousness, Reason and Understanding, Appetite and Will, ever result from Magnitudes, Figures, Sites and Motions, that therefore they are not Corporeally Generated and Corrupted, as the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are. Ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαί τι ἐκ μηδενὸς προϋπαρχοντος. *It is impossible for a real Entity to be made or Generated from Nothing preexisting.* Now there is Nothing of Soul and Mind, Reason and Understanding, nor indeed of Cogitation and Life, contained in the Modifications and Mechanism of Bodies; and therefore to make Soul and Mind to rise out of Body whensoever a man is generated, would be plainly to make a real Entity to come out of Nothing, which is impossible. I say, because the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are Generated and Corrupted, Made and Unmade, in the ordinary course of Nature, therefore they concluded, that they were not real Entities distinct from the Substance of Body and its various Modifications: but because Soul and Mind is plainly a real Entity distinct from the Substance of Body, its Modification and Mechanism; that therefore it was not a thing Generated and Corrupted, Made and Unmade, but such as had a Being of its own, a Substantial Thing by it self. Real Entities and Substances are not Generated and Corrupted, but only Modifications.

Wherefore these Ancients apprehended that there was a great difference betwixt the Souls of Men and Animals, and the Forms and Qualities of other inanimate Bodies, and consequently betwixt their several Productions. Forasmuch as in the Generation of Inanimate Bodies there is no new real Entity acquired distinct from the Substance of the thing it self, but only a peculiar Modification of it. The Form of Stone, or of Timber, of Blood, Flesh and Bone, and such other Natural Bodies Generated, is no more a distinct Substance or Entity from the Matter, than the Form of an House, Stool or Table is: There is no more new Entity acquired in the Generation of Natural Bodies, than there is in the Production of Artificial ones. When Water is turn'd into Vapour, Candle into Flame, Flame into Smoak, Grass into Milk Blood and Bones, there is no more miraculous Production of Something out of Nothing, than when Wool is made into cloth, or Flax into Linnen, when a rude and Unpolish'd Stone is hewen into a beautiful Statue, when Brick, Timber and Mortar, that lay together before disorderly, is brought into the Form of a stately Palace; there being Nothing neither in one nor other of these but only a different Disposition and Modification of preexistent Matter. Which Matter of the Universe is alwaies Substantially the same, and neither more nor less, but only *Proteanly* transformed into different Shapes. Thus we see that the Generation of all Inanimate Bodies is nothing but the change of Accidents and Modifications, the Substance being really the same both before and after. But in the Generations of Men and Animals, besides the new disposition of the Parts of Matter and its Organization, there is also the Acquisition and Conjunction of another Real Entity or Substance distinct from the Matter,

ter, which could not be Generated out of it, but muſt needs come into it ſome other way. Though there be no Subſtantial difference between a Stately Houſe or Palace ſtanding, and all the Materials of the ſame ruinated and demoliſhed, but only a difference of Accidents and Modifications; yet between a living Man and a dead Carcaſe, there is beſides the Accidental Modification of the Body, another Subſtantial difference, there being a Subſtantial Soul and Incorporeal Inhabitant, dwelling in the one and acting of it, which the other is now deſerted of. And it is very obſervable that *Anaxagoras* himſelf, who made Bony and Fleſhy Atoms, Hot and Cold, Red and Green, and the like, which he ſuppoſed to exiſt before Generations and after Corruptions, alwaies immutably the ſame, (that ſo Nothing might come from Nothing and go to Nothing) yet he did not make any Animaliſh Atoms Senſitive and Rational. The Reaſon whereof could not be becauſe he did not think Senſe and Underſtanding to be as Real Entities as Hot and Cold, Red and Green; but becauſe they could not be ſuppoſed to be Corporeal Forms and Qualities, but muſt needs belong to another Subſtance that was Incorporeal. And therefore *Anaxagoras* could not but acknowledge, that all Souls and Lives did Præ and Poſt-exiſt by themſelves, as well as thoſe Corporeal Forms and Qualities, in his *Similar Atoms.*

XXX. And now it is already manifeſt, that from the ſame Principle of Reaſon before mentioned, That *Nothing of it ſelf can come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*, the Ancient Philoſophers were induced likewiſe to aſſert the Soul's Immortality, together with its Incorporeity or Diſtinctneſs from the Body. No ſubſtantial Entity ever vaniſheth of it ſelf into Nothing; for if it did, then in length of time all might come to be Nothing. But the Soul is a Subſtantial Entity, Really diſtinct from the body, and not the mere Modification of it; and therefore when a Man dies, his Soul muſt ſtill remain and continue to have a Being ſomewhere elſe in the Univerſe. All the Changes that are in Nature, are either *Accidental Transformations* and different *Modifications* of the ſame Subſtance, or elſe they are *Conjunctions* and *Separations*, or *Anagrammatical Tranſpoſitions* of things in the Univerſe; the Subſtance of the whole remaining alwaies entirely the ſame. The Generation and Corruption of Inanimate Bodies, is but like the making of a Houſe, Stool or Table, and the Unmaking or Marring of them again, either different Modifications of one and the ſame Subſtance, or elſe divers Mixtures and Separations, Concretions and Secretions. And the Generation and Corruption of Animals is likewiſe nothing but

——————μίξις τε διάλλαξίς τε μιγέντων,

The Conjunction of Souls together with ſuch Particular Bodies, and the Separation of them again from one another, and ſo as it were the *Anagrammatical Tranſpoſition* of them in the Univerſe. That Soul and Life that is now fled and gone, from a lifeleſs Carcaſe, is only

a loss to that particular Body or Compages of Matter, which by means thereof is now disanimated; but it is no loss to the whole, it being but Transposed in the Universe, and lodged somewhere else.

XXXI. It is also further evident that this same Principle which thus led the Ancients to hold the Souls Immortality, or its Future Permanency after Death, must needs determine them likewise to maintain its προϋπαρξις, or *Preexistence, and consequently its* μετενσωμάτωσις, or *Transmigration*. For that which did preexist before the Generation of any Animal, and was then somewhere else, must needs Transmigrate into the Body of that Animal where now it is. But as for that other Transmigration of Human Souls into the Bodies of Brutes, though it cannot be denied but that many of these Ancients admitted it also, yet *Timæus Locrus*, and divers others of the *Pythagoreans*, rejected it, any otherwise than as it might be taken for an Allegorical Description of that Beastly Transformation, that is made of Mens Souls by Vice. *Aristotle* tells us again, agreeably to what was declared before, ὅτι μάλιστα φοβοῦνται οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἐκ μηδενὸς γίνεσθαί τι προϋπαρχοντος. *That the Ancient Philosophers were afraid of Nothing more, than this one thing, that any thing should be made out of Nothing Preexistent:* And therefore they must needs conclude, that the Souls of all Animals Preexisted before their Generations. And indeed it is a thing very well known that according to the Sence of Philosophers, these two things were alwaies included together, in that one opinion of the Soul's Immortality, namely its *Preexistence* as well as its *Postexistence*. Neither was there ever any of the Ancients before Christianity, that held the Souls future Permanency after Death, who did not likewise assert its Preexistence; they clearly perceiving, that if it were once granted, that the Soul was Generated, it could never be proved but that it might be also Corrupted. And therefore the Assertors of the Souls Immortality, commonly begun here; first, to prove its Preexistence, proceeding thence afterward to establish its Permanency after Death. This is the Method used in *Plato*, ὡῦ που ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ εἴδει γενέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθάνατόν τι ἔοικεν ἡ ψυχὴ εἶναι· *Our Soul was somewhere, before it came to exist in this present Humane Form, and from thence it appears to be Immortal, and such as will subsist after Death.* And the chief demonstration of the Soul's Preexistence to the Ancients before *Plato* was this, because it is an Entity Really distinct from Body or Matter and the Modifications of it; and no real Substantial Entity can either spring of it self out of Nothing, or be made out of any other Substance distinct from it, because Nothing can be made ἐκ μηδενὸς ἐνυπάρχοντος ἢ προϋπάρχοντος, *from nothing either inexisting or preexisting*; all Natural Generations being but the various Dispositions and Modifications of what was before existent in the Universe. But there was Nothing of Soul and Mind, Inexisting and Preexisting in Body before, there being Nothing of *Life* and *Cogitation* in *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*. Wherefore this must needs be, not a thing *Made* or *Generated*, as Corporeal *Forms* and *Qualities* are, but such

as

as hath a *Being* in Nature *Ingenerably* and *Incorruptibly*. The Mechaniſm of Humane Body was a thing *Made* and *Generated*, it being only a different Modification of what was before exiſtent, and having no new Entity in it diſtinct from the Subſtance: And the *Totum* or *Compoſitum* of a Man or Animal may be ſaid to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, in regard of the Union and Diſunion, Conjunction and Separation of thoſe two parts, the Soul and Body. But the Soul it ſelf, according to theſe Principles, is neither a thing Generable nor Corruptible, but was as well before the Generation, and will be after the Deaths and Corruptions of men, as the Subſtance of their Body, which is ſuppoſed by all to have been from the firſt Creation, and no Part of it to be annihilated or loſt after Death, but only ſcatter'd and diſperſed in the Univerſe. Thus the Ancient Atomiſts concluded, That Souls and Lives being Subſtantial Entities by themſelves, were all of them as old as any other Subſtance in the Univerſe, and as the whole Maſs of Matter, and every ſmalleſt Atom of it is. That is, they who maintained the Eternity of the World, did conſequently aſſert alſo *Æternitatem Animorum* (as *Cicero* calls it) *the Eternity of Souls and Minds*. But they who conceived the World to have had a Temporary Beginning or Creation, held the Coevity of all Souls with it, and would by no means be induced to think that every Atom of Senſeleſs Matter and Particle of Duſt, had ſuch a Privilege and Preeminency over the Souls of Men and Animals, as to be Seniour to them. *Syneſius* though a Chriſtian, yet having been educated in this Philoſophy, could not be induced by the hopes of a Biſhoprick, to ſtifle or diſſemble this Sentiment of his Mind, ἀμέλει τῳ ψυχῳ ὀυκ ἀξιώσω ποτὲ πώματος ὑστερογενῆ νομίζειν. *I ſhall never be perſwaded to think my Soul to be younger than my Body.* But ſuch, it ſeems, was the temper of thoſe times, that he was not only diſpenſed withal as to this, but alſo as to another Heterodoxy of his, concerning the Reſurrection.

XXXII. It is already plain alſo, that this Doctrine of the Ancient Atomiſts concerning the Immateriality and Immortality, the Præ and Poſt-exiſtence of Souls, was not confined by them to Humane Souls only, but extended univerſally to all Souls and Lives whatſoever. It being a thing that was hardly ever called into doubt or queſtion by any, before *Carteſius*, whether the Souls of Brutes had any Senſe, Cogitation or Conſciouſneſs in them or no. Now all Life, Senſe and Cogitation was undoubtedly concluded by them, to be an Entity Really diſtinct from the Subſtance of Body, and not the mere Modification, Motion or Mechaniſm of it; *Life* and *Mechaniſm* being two diſtinct *Idea's* of the Mind, which cannot be confounded together. Wherefore they reſolved that all Lives and Souls whatſoever, which now are in the World, ever were from the firſt Beginning of it, and ever will be; that there will be no new ones produced which are not already, and have not alwaies been, nor any of thoſe which now are, deſtroyed, any more than the Subſtance of any Matter will be Created or Annihilated. So that the whole Syſtem of the Created Univerſe, Conſiſting of Body, and particular Incorporeal Subſtances or Souls, in the ſucceſ-

ſive Generations and Corruptions or Deaths, of Men and other Animals, was according to them, Really nothing elſe, but one and the ſame Thing perpetually *Anagrammatized*, or but like many different Syllables and Words variouſly and ſucceſſively compoſed out of the ſame preexiſtent Elements or Letters.

XXXIII. We have now declared how the ſame Principle of Reaſon which made the Ancient Phyſiologers to become Atomiſts, muſt needs induce them alſo to be Incorporealiſts; how the ſame thing which perſwaded them that Corporeal Forms were no Real Entities diſtinct from the Subſtance of the Body, but only the different Modifications and Mechaniſms of it, convinced them likewiſe, that all Cogitative Beings, all Souls and Lives whatſoever, were Ingenerable and Incorruptible, and as well Preexiſtent before the Generations of Particular Animals, as Poſtexiſtent after their Deaths and Corruptions. Nothing now remains but only to ſhow more particularly, that it was *de facto* thus, that the ſame perſons did from this Principle (that Nothing can come from Nothing and go to Nothing) both Atomize in their Phyſiology, taking away all Subſtantial Forms and Qualities, and alſo Theologize or Incorporealize, aſſerting Souls to be a Subſtance really diſtinct from Matter and Immortal, as alſo to preexiſt; and this we ſhall do from *Empedocles*, and firſt from that Paſſage of his cited before in part.

Ἄλλο δέ σοι ἐρέω φύσις οὐδενός ἐστιν ἑκάστῳ
Οὐνεμὲ, οὐδέ τις ὀλομένῃ θανάτοιο γενέθλη, (al. leſt. τελεύτη)
Ἀλλα μόνον μίξις τε διάλλαξίς τε μιγέντων
Ἐστι, φύσις δ' ἔπι τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισι.

Which I find Latin'd thus,

Aſt aliud dico; nihil eſt Mortalibus Ortus,
Eſt nihil Interitus, qui rebus morte paratur;
Miſtio ſed ſolum eſt, & Conciliatio rerum
Miſtilium; hæc dici ſolita eſt Mortalibus Ortus.

The full Sence whereof is plainly this, That there *is no φύσις or Production of any thing which was not before; no new Subſtance Made, which did not really Preexiſt; and therefore that in the Generations and Corruptions of Inanimate Bodies, there is no Form or Quality really diſtinct from the Subſtance produced and deſtroyed, but only a various Compoſition and Modification of Matter: But in the Generations and Corruptions of Men and Animals, where the Souls are Subſtances really diſtinct from the Matter, that there, there is Nothing but the Conjunction and Separation of Souls and particular Bodies, exiſting both before and after, not the Production of any new Soul into Being which was not before, nor the abſolute Death and Deſtruction of any into Nothing.* Which is further expreſſed in theſe following Verſes.

Νήπιοι

Νήπιοι, ἀ γὰρ σφιν δολιχόφρονες εἰσὶ μέριμναι,
Οἳ δὴ γίνεσθαι πάρος ὃν ἐὸν ἐλπίζουσιν,
Ἦτοι καὶ ἀθνήσκειν τε καὶ ἐξόλλυσθαι ἅπαντα.

To this Sence; *That they are Infants in Understanding, and short sighted, who think any thing to be Made, which was Nothing before, or any thing to Die, so as to be Destroyed to Nothing.* Upon which *Plutarch* glosses after this manner: οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ γένεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος· οὐδὲ φθορὰν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντη· τοιαύτην τὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ἀπολύουσαν· Empedocles *does not here destroy Generation, but only such as is out of Nothing; nor Corruption, but such as is into Nothing.* Which, as we have already intimated, is to be understood differently in respect to Inanimate and Animate things; for in things Inanimate there is Nothing Produced or Destroyed, because the Forms and Qualities of them are no Entities really distinct from the Substance, but only diverse Mixtures and Modifications. But in Animate things, where the Souls are real Entities really distinct from the Substance of the Body, there is Nothing Produced nor Destroyed neither, because those Souls do both exist before their Generations, and after their Corruptions; which business, as to Men and Souls, is again more fully expressed thus;

Οὐκ ἄρ' ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα σοφὸς φρεσὶ μαντεύσαιτο,
Ὡς ὄφρα μὲν τὸ βιῶσι τὸ δὴ βίοτον καλέουσι,
Τόφρα μὲν ἔν εἰσι, καὶ σφιν πάρα δ' εἰναὶ καὶ ἐσθλὰ,
Πρὶν δ' παγῆντε βροτοὶ καὶ λυθέντες ὀδὲν ἄρ' εἰσί.

That Good and Ill did First us Here attend,
And not from Time Before, the Soul Descend;
That here alone we live, and when
Hence we depart, we forthwith then,
Turn to our old Non-entity again;
Certes ought not to be believ'd by Wise and Learned Men.

Wherefore, according to *Empedocles*, this is to be accounted one of the Vulgar Errors, That Men then only have a being and are capable of Good and Evil, when they live here that which is called Life; But that both before they are Born, and after they are Dead, they are perfectly Nothing.

And besides *Empedocles*, the same is represented by the Greek Tragedian also, as the Sence of the ancient Philosophers.

Θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
Διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
Μόρφωμ ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.

That *Nothing Dies or utterly perisheth; but things being variously Concreted and Secreted, Transposed and Modified, change their Form and Shape only, and are put into a New Dress.*

Agreeably whereunto, *Plato* alſo tells us, that it was παλαιὸς λόγος, *an ancient Tradition* or Doctrine before his Time, τὰς ζωὰς ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων γεγονέναι, ὡσ᾽ἐν ἦν ἢ τὰς τεθνεώτας ἐκ τῶν ζώντων· *That as well the Living were made out of the Dead, as the Dead out of the Living*, and that this was the conſtant Circle of Nature. Moreover the ſame Philoſopher acquaints us, that ſome of thoſe Ancients were not without ſuſpicion, that what is now called Death, was to Men more properly a Nativity or Birth into Life, and what is called Generation into Life, was comparatively rather to be accounted a ſinking into Death; the Former being the Soul's Aſcent out of theſe Groſs Terreſtrial Bodies, to a Body more Thin and Subtil, and the Latter its Deſcent from a purer Body to that which is more Craſs and Terreſtrial. τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι καταθανεῖν, τὸ καταθανεῖν ὲ ζῆν· *Who knows whether that which is called Living be not indeed rather Dying, and that which is called Dying, Living?*

Moreover, that this was the Doctrine of *Pythagoras* himſelf, that no Real Entity periſhes in Corruptions, nor is produced in Generations, but only new Modifications and Tranſpoſitions made; is fully expreſſed by the Latin Poet, both as to Inanimate, and to Animate Things. Of the firſt thus:

Nec perit in tanto quicquam (mihi credite) mundo,
Sed variat, faciemque novat: Naſcique vocatur
Incipere eſſe aliud, quàm quod fuit antè; Morique
Deſinere illud idem. Cum ſint Huc forſitan Illa,
Hæc Tranſlata Illuc: Summâ tamen omnia conſtant.

Of the Second, that the Souls of Animals are Immortal, did preexiſt and do tranſmigrate, from the ſame Ground, after this manner;

Omnia mutantur; Nihil interit: Errat & illinc,
Huc venit, hinc illuc, & quoſlibet occupat artus,
Spiritus, éque Feris Humana in Corpora tranſit,
Inque Feras Noſter, nec tempore deperit ullo.
Vtque novis facilis ſignatur Cera figuris,
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas ſervat eaſdem,
Sed tamen ipſa eadem eſt: Animam ſic ſemper eandem
Eſſe, ſed in varias doceo migrare Figuras.

Wherefore though it be a thing which hath not been commonly taken Notice of, of late, yet we conceive it to be unqueſtionably true, that all thoſe ancient Philoſophers, who inſiſted ſo much upon this Principle, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ γίνεσθαι οὐδὲ φθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων· *That no Real Entity is either Generated or Corrupted*, did therein at once drive at theſe two things: Firſt, the eſtabliſhing of the Immortality of all Souls, their *Præ* and *Poſt-exiſtence*, foraſmuch as being Entities Really diſtinct from the Body, they could neither be Generated nor Corrupted; and Secondly, the making of Corporeal Forms and Qualities to be no Real *Entities diſtinct* from the Body and the Mechaniſm

chaniſm thereof, becauſe they are things *Generated* and *Corrupted*, and have no *Præ* and *Poſt-exiſtence*. *Anaxagoras* in this Latter, being the only Diſſenter; who ſuppoſing thoſe Forms and Qualities to be real Entities likewiſe, diſtinct from the Subſtance of Body, therefore attributed Perpetuity of Being to them alſo, *Præ* and *Poſt-exiſtence*, in *Similar Atoms*, as well as to the Souls of Animals.

And now we have made it ſufficiently evident that the Doctrine of the *Incorporeity* and *Immortality* of Souls, we might add alſo, of their Preexiſtence and Tranſmigration, had the ſame Original and ſtood upon the ſame *Baſis* with the Atomical Pyſiology; and therefore it ought not at all to be wondered at (what we affirmed before) that the ſame Philoſophers and Pythagoreans aſſerted both thoſe Doctrines, and that the Ancient Atomiſts were both Theiſts and Incorporealiſts.

XXXIV. But now to declare our Sence freely concerning this Philoſophy of the Ancients, which ſeems to be ſo prodigiouſly paradoxical, in reſpect of that Pre-exiſtence and Tranſmigration of Souls: We conceive indeed that this Ratiocination of theirs from that Principle, That *Nothing Naturally, or of it ſelf, comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing*, was not only firmly concluſive againſt Subſtantial Forms and Qualities of Bodies, really diſtinct from their Subſtance, but alſo for Subſtantial Incorporeal Souls, and their Ingenerability out of the Matter; and particularly for the *future Immortality* or *Poſt-exiſtence* of all Humane Souls. For ſince it is plain, that they are not a *mere Modification of Body* or Matter, but an Entity and Subſtance really diſtinct from it, we have no more reaſon to think, that they can ever of themſelves vaniſh into Nothing, than that the ſubſtance of the Corporeal World or any part thereof, can do ſo. For that in the Conſumption of Bodies by Fire, or Age, or the like, there is the deſtruction of any real Subſtance into Nothing, is now generally exploded as an Idiotical conceit, and certainly it cannot be a jot leſs Idiotical to ſuppoſe that the Rational Soul in Death is utterly extinguiſhed.

Moreover we add alſo, that this Ratiocination of the Ancients would be altogether as firm and irrefragable likewiſe, for the *Preexiſtence* and *Tranſmigration* of Souls, as it is for their *Poſt-exiſtence* and *future Immortality*; did we not (as indeed we do) ſuppoſe Souls to be Created by God immediately, and infuſed in Generations. For they being unqueſtionably, a diſtinct Subſtance from the Body, and no Subſtance according to the ordinary Courſe of Nature, *coming out of Nothing*, they muſt of Neceſſity either Preexiſt in the Univerſe before Generations, and Tranſmigrate into their reſpective Bodies, or elſe come from God immediatly, who is the Fountain of all, and who at firſt created all that Subſtance that now is in the World beſides himſelf. Now the latter of theſe was a thing which thoſe Ancient Philoſophers would by no means admit of; they judging it altogether incongruous, to bring God upon the Stage perpetually, and make him immediatly interpoſe every where, in the Genera-

Generations of Men and all other Animals, by the Miraculous production of Souls out of Nothing. Notwithſtanding which, if we well conſider it, we ſhall find that there may be very good reaſon on the other ſide, for the ſucceſſive Divine Creation of Souls; namely, that God did not do all at firſt, that ever he could or would do, and put forth all his Creative Vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a Spectator only of the conſequent Reſults, and permitting Nature to do all alone, without the leaſt Interpoſition of his at any time, juſt as if there were no God at all in the World. For this may be, and indeed often hath been, the effect of ſuch an *Hypotheſis* as this, to make men think, that there is no other God in the World but Blind and Dark Nature. God might alſo for other good and wiſe Ends, unknown to us, , reſerve to himſelf the continual exereiſe of this his Creative power, in the ſucceſſive Production of new Souls. And yet theſe Souls nevertheleſs, after they are once brought forth into being, will notwithſtanding their *Juniority*, continue as firmly in the ſame, without vaniſhing of themſelves into Nothing, as the Subſtance of Senſeleſs Matter that was Created many thouſand years before, will do.

And thus our Vulgar *Hypotheſis*, of the new Creation of Souls, as it is Rational in it ſelf, ſo it doth ſufficiently ſalve their Incorporeity, their future Immortality or Poſt-eternity, without introducing thoſe offenſive Abſurdities of their Preexiſtence and Tranſmigration.

XXXV. But if there be any ſuch, who rather than they would allow a future Immortality or Poſt-exiſtence to all Souls, and therefore to thoſe of Brutes, which conſequently muſt have their Succeſſive Tranſmigrations, would conclude the Souls of all Brutes, as likewiſe the Senſitive Soul in Man, to be Corporeal, and only allow the Rational Soul to be diſtinct from Matter: To theſe we have only thus much to ſay; That they who will attribute Life, Senſe, Cogitation, Conſciouſneſs and Self-enjoyment, not without ſome footſteps of Reaſon many times, to Blood and Brains, or mere Organized Bodies in Brutes, will never be able clearly to defend the Incorporeity and Immortality of Humane Souls, as moſt probably they do not intend any ſuch thing. For either all Conſcious and Cogitative Beings are Incorporeal, or elſe nothing can be proved to be Incorporeal. From whence it would follow alſo, that there is no Deity diſtinct from the Corporeal World. But though there ſeem to be no very great reaſon, why it ſhould be thought abſurd, to grant Perpetuity of Duration to the Souls of Brutes, any more than to every Atom of Matter, or Particle of Duſt that is in the whole World; yet we ſhall endeavour to ſuggeſt ſomething towards the eaſing the minds of thoſe, who are ſo much burthened with this difficulty; *viz.* That they may, if they pleaſe, ſuppoſe the Souls of Brutes, being but ſo many particular Eradiations or Effluxes from that Source of Life above, whenſoever and whereſoever there is any fitly prepared Matter capable to receive them, and to be Actuated by them; to have a ſenſe and frution of themſelves

themſelves in it, ſo long as it continues ſuch, but as ſoon as ever thoſe Organized Bodies of theirs, by reaſon of their Indiſpoſition, become uncapable of being further acted upon by them, then to be reſumed again and retracted back to their Original Head and Fountain. Since it cannot be doubted, but what Creates any thing out of Nothing, or ſends it forth from it ſelf, by free and voluntary Emanation, may be able either to Retract the ſame back again to its original Source, or elſe to Annihilate it at pleaſure.

And I find that there have not wanted ſome among the Gentile Philoſophers themſelves, who have entertained this Opinion, whereof *Porphyry* is one: λύεται ἑκάστη δύναμις ἄλογος εἰς τὸ ὅλον ζῶον τοῦ παντός· *Every irrational Power is reſolved into the Life of the Whole.*

XXXVI. Neither will this at all weaken the future Immortality or Poſt-eternity of Humane Souls. For if we be indeed Theiſts, and do in very good Earneſt believe a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, we muſt then needs acknowledge, that all created Being whatſoever, owes the Continuation and Perpetuity of its Exiſtence, not to any *Neceſſity of Nature* without God, and Independently upon him, but to the *Divine Will* only. And therefore though we had never ſo much Rational and Philoſophical aſſurance, that our Souls are Immaterial Subſtances, diſtinct from the Body, yet we could not for all that, have any abſolute certainty of their Poſt-eternity, any otherwiſe than as it may be derived to us, from the Immutability and Perfection of the *Divine Nature and Will*, which does alwaies that which is *Beſt*. For the Eſſential Goodneſs and Wiſdom of the Deity is the only Stability of all things. And for ought we Mortals know, there may be good Reaſon, why that Grace or Favour of future Immortality and Poſt-eternity, that is indulged to Humane Souls, endued with Reaſon, Morality, and Liberty of Will, (by means whereof they are capable of Commendation and Blame, Reward and Puniſhment) that ſo they may be Objects for Divine Juſtice to diſplay it ſelf upon after this Life, in different Retributions; may notwithſtanding be denied to thoſe lower Lives and more contemptible Souls of Brutes, alike devoid both of Morality and Liberty.

XXXVII. But if any for all this will ſtill obſtinately contend for that ancient Pythagorick and Empedoclean *Hypotheſis*, That all Lives and Souls whatſoever are as old as the firſt Creation, and will continue to Eternity, or as long as the World doth, as a thing more Reaſonable and Probable than our Continual Creation of new Souls, by means whereof they become Juniours both to the matter of the World and of their own Bodies, and whereby alſo (as they pretend) the Divine creative Power is made too Cheap and Proſtituted a thing, as being Famulative alwaies to Brutiſh, and many times to unlawful Luſts and undue Conjunctions; but eſpecially than the Continual Decreation and Annihilation of the Souls of Brutes; we ſhall not be very unwilling to acknowledge thus much to them,

That

That indeed of the two, this Opinion is more Reaſonable and Tolerable than that other Extravagancy of thoſe, who will either make all Souls to be Generated and conſequently to be Corporeal, or at leaſt the Senſitive Soul both in Men and Brutes. For beſides the Monſtroſity of this latter opinion, in making two diſtinct Souls and Perceptive Subſtances in every Man, which is a thing ſufficiently confuted by Internal Senſe, it leaves us alſo in an abſolute Impoſſibility, of proving the Immortality of the Rational Soul, the Incorporeity of any Subſtance, and by conſequence the Exiſtence of any Deity diſtinct from the Corporeal World.

And as for that Pretence of theirs, that Senſeleſs Matter may as well become Senſitive, and as it were kindled into Life and Cogitation, as a Body that was devoid of Light and Heat, may be Kindled into Fire and Flame; this ſeems to argue too much Ignorance of the Doctrine of Bodies, in men otherwiſe Learned and Ingenious. The beſt Naturaliſts having already concluded, That Fire and Flame is nothing but ſuch a *Motion* of the Inſenſible Parts of a Body, as whereby they are violently agitated, and many times diſſipated and ſcattered from each other, begetting in the mean time thoſe *Phancies* of *Light* and *Heat* in Animals. Now there is no difficulty at all in conceiving that the Inſenſible Particles of a Body, which were before quieſcent, may be put into Motion; this being nothing but a New Modification of them, and no Entity really diſtinct from the Subſtance of Body; as *Life*, *Senſe* and *Cogitation* are. There is nothing in Fire and Flame, or a Kindled Body, different from other Bodies, but only the *Motion* or *Mechaniſm*, and *Phancie* of it. And therefore it is but a crude conceit, which the Atheiſts and Corporealiſts of former times have been always ſo fond of, That Souls are nothing but Firie or Flammeous Bodies. For though Heat in the Bodies of Animals be a Neceſſary Inſtrument for Soul and Life to act by in them, yet it is a thing really diſtinct from Life; and a Red hot Iron hath not therefore any nearer approximation to Life than it had before, nor the Flame of a Candle than the extinguiſht Snuff or Tallow of it; the difference between them being only in the Agitation of the Inſenſible Parts. We might alſo add, that according to this *Hypotheſis*, the Souls of Animals could not be Numerically the ſame throughout the whole ſpace of their Lives: Since that Fire that needs a *Pabulum* to prey upon, doth not continue alwaies one and the ſame Numerical Subſtance. The Soul of a new born Animal could be no more the ſame, with the Soul of that Animal ſeveral years after, than the Flame of a new lighted Candle is the ſame with that Flame that twinkles laſt in the Socket. Which indeed are no more the ſame than a River or Stream is the ſame, at ſeveral diſtances of time. Which Reaſon may be alſo extended further to prove the Soul to be no Body at all, ſince the Bodies of all Animals are in a perpetual Flux.

XXXVIII. We have now ſufficiently performed our firſt Task which was to ſhow from the Origin of the Atomical Phyſiology, That

that the Doctrine of Incorporeal Subſtance muſt needs ſpring up together with it. We ſhall in the next place make it manifeſt, that the Inward Conſtitution of this Philoſophy is alſo ſuch, that whoſoever really entertains it, and rightly underſtands it, muſt of neceſſity admit Incorporeal Subſtance likewiſe. Firſt therefore, the Atomical *Hypotheſis*, allowing nothing to Body, but what is either included in the *Idæa* of a thing *Impenetrably extended*, or can clearly be conceived to be a Mode of it, as more or leſs Magnitude with Diviſibility, Figure, Site, Motion and Reſt, together with the Reſults of their ſeveral Combinations; cannot poſſibly make Life and Cogitation to be Qualities of Body, ſince they are neither contained in thoſe things before mentioned, nor can reſult from any συζυγίαι or *Conjugations* of them. Wherefore it muſt needs be granted, that Life and Cogitation are the Attributes of another Subſtance diſtinct from Body, or Incorporeal.

Again, ſince according to the Tenour of this Phyſiology, Body hath no other Action belonging to it but that of Local Motion, which Local Motion as ſuch, is Eſſentially *Heterokineſie*, that which never ſprings originally from the thing it ſelf moving, but alwaies from the Action of ſome other Agent upon it: That is, ſince no Body could ever move it ſelf; it follows undeniably, that there muſt be ſomething elſe in the World beſides Body, or elſe there could never have been any Motion in it. Of which we ſhall ſpeak more afterwards.

Moreover, according to this Philoſophy, the Corporeal *Phænomena* themſelves cannot be ſalved by *Mechaniſm* alone without *Phancie*. Now Phancie is no Mode of Body, and therefore muſt needs be a Mode of ſome other kind of Being in our ſelves, that is Cogitative and Incorporeal.

Furthermore it is evident, from the Principles of this Philoſophy, that Senſe it ſelf is not a mere Corporeal Paſſion from Bodies without, in that it ſuppoſeth that there is nothing really in Bodies like to thoſe Phantaſtick *Idæa's* that we have of Senſible things, as of Hot and Cold, Red and Green, Bitter and Sweet, and the like, which therefore muſt needs owe their Being to ſome Activity of the Soul it ſelf, and this is all one as to make it Incorporeal.

Laſtly, from this Philoſophy, it is alſo manifeſt, that Senſe is not the κριτήριον of Truth concerning Bodies themſelves, it confidently pronouncing that thoſe ſuppoſed Qualities of Bodies, repreſented ſuch by Senſe, are merely Phantaſtical things; from whence it plainly follows, that there is ſomething in us ſuperiour to Senſe, which judges of it, detects its Phantaſtry, and condemns its Impoſture, and determines what really is and is not, in Bodies without us, which muſt needs be a higher Self-active Vigour of the Mind, that will plainly ſpeak it to be Incorporeal.

XXXIX. And

XXXIX. And now this Atomical Physiology of the Ancients seems to have two Advantages or Preeminences belonging to it, the first whereof is this; That it renders the Corporeal World Intelligible to us; since Mechanism is a thing that we can clearly understand, and we cannot clearly and distinctly conceive any thing in Bodies else. To say that this or that is done by a Form or Quality, is nothing else but to say that it is done we know not how, or, which is yet more absurd, to make our very Ignorance of the Cause, disguised under those Terms of Forms and Qualities, to be it self the Cause of the Effect.

Moreover, Hot and Cold, Red and Green, Bitter and Sweet, *&c.* formally considered, may be clearly conceived by us as different Phancies and Vital Passions in us, occasioned by different Motions made from the objects without, upon our Nerves; but they can never be clearly understood as absolute Qualities in the Bodies themselves, really distinct from their Mechanical Dispositions; nor is there indeed any more reason why they should be thought such, than that, when a Man is pricked with a Pin, or wounded with a Sword, the Pain which he feels should be thought to be an Absolute Qualitie in the Pin or Sword. So long as our Sensible *Idæa's* are taken either for Substantial Forms or Qualities in Bodies without us, really distinct from the Substance of the Matter, so long are they perfectly unintelligible by us. For which Cause *Timæus Locrus* Philosophizing (as it seemeth) after this manner, did consentaneously thereunto determine, That Corporeal things could not be apprehended by us, otherwise than αἰσθήσει μετὰ νόθῳ λογισμῷ, *by Sense and a kind of Spurious or Bastardly Reason*; that is, that we could have no clear Conceptions of them in our Understanding. And for the same reason *Plato* himhimself distinguisheth betwixt such things as are νοήσει μετὰ λόγου καταλήπτά. *Comprehensible by the Understanding with Reason*, and those which are only δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου, *which can only be apprehended by Opinion, together with a certain Irrational Sence*, meaning plainly, by the Latter, Corporeal and Sensible things. And accordingly the *Platonists* frequently take occasion from hence, to enlarge themselves much in the disparagement of Corporeal things, as being, by Reason of that smallness of Entity that is in them, below the Understanding, and not having so much ἐσίαν as γένεσιν, *Essence* as *Generation*, which indeed is *Fine Phancie*. Wherefore we must either, with these Philosophers, make Sensible things to be ἀκατάληπτα or ἀπερίληπτα, altogether *Incomprehensible* and *Inconceivable* by our Humane Understandings, (though they be able in the mean time clearly to conceive many things of a higher Nature) or else we must entertain some kind of favourable Opinion concerning that which is the Ancientest of all Physiologies, the Atomical or Mechanical, which alone renders Sensible things Intelligible.

XL. The Second Advantage, which this Atomical Physiology seems to have, is this, That it prepares an easie and clear way for the Demonstration of Incorporeal Substances, by setling a Distinct Notion

on of Body. He that will undertake to prove that there is something else in the World besides Body, must first determine what Body is, for otherwise he will go about to prove that there is something besides *He-knows-not-what.* But now if all Body be made to consist of two Substantial Principles, whereof one is *Matter* devoid of all *Form*, (and therefore of Quantity as well as Qualities) from whence these Philosophers *themselves conclude that it is *Incorporeal*; the other, *Form*, which being devoid of all *Matter*, must needs be *Incorporeal* likewise. And thus *Stobæus* sets down the joint Doctrine both of *Plato* and *Aristotle*; ὃν τρόπον τὸ εἶδος τῆς ὕλης ἀφαιρεθὲν ἀσώματον, ὅτως καὶ τὸ ὕλη τὸ εἴδους χωρισθὲν τοῦ σώματα εἶναι· δεῖν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τὴν συνόδου, πρὸς τὸ τοῦ σώματος ὑπόστασιν. *That in the same manner, as Form alone separated from Matter is Incorporeal, so neither is Matter alone, the Form being separated from it, Body. But there is need of the joint concurrence of both these, Matter and Form together, to make up the Substance of Body*; Moreover, if to Forms Qualities be likewise superadded, of which it is consentaneously also resolved by the *Platonists*, ὅτι αἱ ποιότητες ἀσώματοι, *that Qualities are Incorporeal*, as if they were so many Spirits possessing Bodies; I say, in this way of Philosophizing, the Notions of Body and Spirit, Corporeal and Incorporeal, are so confounded, that it is Impossible to prove any thing at all concerning them. Body it self being made *Incorporeal* (and therefore every thing Incorporeal) for whatsoever is wholly compounded and made up of Incorporeals, must needs be it self also Incorporeal.

*ἀσώματον ἡ καὶ ὕλη. *Matter is Incorporeal.* Plotin. p. 164.

Alcinous cap. 11.

Furthermore, according to this Doctrine of *Matter*, *Forms* and *Qualities* in *Body*; *Life* and *Understanding* may be supposed to be certain *Forms* or *Qualities* of Body. And then the Souls of men may be nothing else but Blood or Brains, endued with the *Qualities* of Sense, and Understanding; or else some other more Subtle, *Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*, in us. And the like may be said of God himself also; That he is nothing but a certain *Rational*, or *Intellectual*, *Subtle* and *Firie Body*, pervading the whole Universe; or else that he is the *Form* of the whole Corporeal World, together with the *Matter* making up but one Substance. Which Conceits have been formerly entertained by the best of those Ancients, who were captivated under that dark Infirmity of mind, to think that there could be no other Substance besides Body.

But the ancient Atomical Philosophy, setling a distinct Notion of Body, that it is διαστατὸν ἀντίτυπον, *a Thing Impenetrably extended*, which hath nothing belonging to it, but Magnitude, Figure, Site, Rest, and Motion, without any Self-moving Power; takes away all Confusion; shews clearly how far Body can go, where Incorporeal Substance begins; as also that there must of necessity be such a Thing in the World.

Again, this discovering not only that the Doctrine of Qualities had its Original from mens mistaking their own *Phancies*, for Absolute *Realities* in Bodies themselves; but also that the Doctrine of Mat-

ter and Form Sprung from another Fallacy or Deception of the Mind, in taking Logical Notions, and our *Modes of Conceiving*, for *Modes of Being*, and Real Entities in things without us; It ſhewing likewiſe, that becauſe there is nothing elſe clearly intelligible in Body, beſides Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion, and their various Conjugations, there can be no ſuch Entities of Forms and Qualities really diſtinct from the Subſtance of Body; makes it evident, that *Life*, *Cogitation* and *Underſtanding* can be no Corporeal things, but muſt needs be the Attributes of another kind of Subſtance diſtinct from Body.

XLI. We have now clearly proved theſe two things; Firſt, that the Phyſiology of the Ancients, before, not only *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, but alſo *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, was Atomical or Mechanical. Secondly, that as there is no Inconſiſtency between the Atomical Phyſiology and Theology, but indeed a Natural Cognation; ſo the Ancient Atomiſts before *Democritus*, were neither Atheiſts nor Corporealiſts, but held the Incorporeity and Immortality of Souls, together with a Deity diſtinct from the Corporeal World. Wherefore the Firſt and moſt Ancient Atomiſts did not make ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς τοῦ ὅλων, they never endeavoured to make up an Entire Philoſophy out of Atomology; but the Doctrine of Atoms was to them onely one Part or Member of the whole Philoſophick Syſtem, they joining thereunto the Doctrine of Incorporeal Subſtance, and Theology, to make it up complete: Accordingly as *Ariſtotle* hath declared in his Metaphyſicks, that the Ancient Philoſophy conſiſted of theſe two Parts, φυσιολογία, and θεολογία or ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία, *Phyſiology*, and *Theology* or *Metaphyſicks*. Our Ancient Atomiſts never went about, as the blundering *Democritus* afterwards did, to build up a World out of mere *Paſſive Bulk*, and *Sluggiſh Matter*, without any ἀρχαὶ δραστήριοι, any *Active Principles*, or *Incorporeal Powers*; underſtanding well, that thus, they could not have ſo much as Motion, Mechaniſm, or Generation in it; the Original of all that Motion that is in Bodies ſpringing from ſomething that is not Body, that is, from Incorporeal Subſtance. And yet if Local Motion could have been ſuppoſed to have riſen up, or ſprung in upon this Dead Lump and Maſs of Matter, no body knows how, and without dependance upon any Incorporeal Being, to have Actuated it Fortuitouſly; theſe Ancient Atomiſts would ſtill have thought it Impoſſible for the Corporeal World it ſelf, to be made up, ſuch as now it is, by Fortuitous Mechaniſm, without the Guidance of any higher Principle. But they would have concluded it, the greateſt Impudence or Madneſs, for men to aſſert that Animals alſo conſiſted of mere Mechaniſm; or, that Life and Senſe, Reaſon and Underſtanding, were really nothing elſe but Local Motion, and conſequently that themſelves were but Machins and *Automata*. Wherefore they joyned both *Active* and *Paſſive* Principles together, the *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal* Nature, *Mechaniſm* and *Life*, *Atomology* and *Pneumatology*, and from both theſe united, they made up one entire Syſtem of Philoſophy, correſpondent

correſpondent with, and agreeable to, the true and real World without them. And this Syſtem of Philoſophy, thus conſiſting of the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Subſtance* (whereof God is the Head) together with the *Atomical* and *Mechanical Phyſiology*, ſeems to have been the only Genuine, Perfect, and Complete.

XLII. But it did not long continue thus; for, after a while, this entire Body of Philoſophy came to be *Mangled* and *Diſmembred*, ſome taking one Part of it alone, and ſome another; ſome ſnatching away the Atomical Phyſiology, without the Pneumatology and Theology; and others, on the contrary, taking the Theology and Doctrine of Incorporeals, without the Atomical or Mechanical Phyſiology. The former of theſe were *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Protagoras*, who took only the dead Carcaſe or Skeleton of the old *Moſchical Philoſophy*, namely the Atomical Phyſiology; the latter *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who took indeed the better Part, the *Soul*, *Spirit*, and *Quinteſſence* of it, the Theology and Doctrine of Incorporeals, but Unbodied, and Deveſted of its moſt Proper and convenient Vehicle, the Atomical Phyſiology, whereby it became expoſed to ſundry Inconveniences.

XLIII. We begin with *Leucippus* and *Democritus*; Who being Atheiſtically inclined, quickly perceived, that they could not in the ordinary way of Phyſiologizing, ſufficiently ſecure themſelves againſt a Deity, nor effectually urge Atheiſm upon others; foraſmuch as *Heraclitus* and other Philoſophers, who held that all Subſtance was Body, as well as themſelves, did notwithſtanding aſſert a Corporeal Deity, maintaining that the Form of the whole Corporeal World was God, or elſe that he was ὕλη πῶς ἔχουσα, *a certain kind of Body or Matter*, as (for Example) a *Methodical and Rational Fire*, pervading (as a Soul) the whole Univerſe; the particular Souls of men and Animals being but, as it were, ſo many pieces, cut and ſliced out of the great Mundane Soul; ſo that according to them, the whole Corporeal Univerſe, or Maſs of Body, was one way or other a God, a moſt Wiſe and Underſtanding Animal, that did frame all Particularities within it ſelf in the beſt manner poſſible, and providently govern the ſame. Wherefore thoſe Atheiſts now apprehending, upon what tickliſh and uncertain Terms their Atheiſtical Philoſophy then ſtood, and how that thoſe very *Forms* and *Qualities*, and the *Self-moving* power of Body, which were commonly made a Sanctuary for Atheiſm, might notwithſtanding chance to prove, contrariwiſe, the *Latibulum* and *Aſylum* of a Deity, and that a Corporeal God (do what they could) might lie lurking under them, aſſaulting mens minds with doubtful Fears and Jealouſies; Underſtanding moreover, that there was another kind of Phyſiology ſet on foot, which baniſhing thoſe Forms and Qualities of Body, attributed nothing to it but Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion, without any Self-moving Power; they ſeemed preſently to apprehend ſome great Advantage to themſelves and Cauſe from it; and therefore greedily entertained this *Atomical* or *Mechanical Phyſiology*, and violently cutting it off from that other part, the *Doctrine of Incor-*

poreals, which it was Naturally and Vitally united to, endeavoured to ſerve their turns of it. And now joining theſe two things together, the Atomical Phyſiology, which ſuppoſes that there is nothing in body, but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, and that Prejudice or Prepoſſeſſion of their own Minds, that there was no other Subſtance in the World beſides Body; between them both, they begat a certain Mongrel and Spurious Philoſophy, *Atheiſtically-Atomical*, or *Atomically-Atheiſtical*.

But though we have ſo well proved, that *Leucippus* and *Democritus* were not the firſt Inventors, but only the Depravers and Adulterators of the Atomical Philoſophy; yet if any will notwithſtanding obſtinately contend, that the firſt Invention thereof ought to be imputed to them, the very Principles of their Atheiſm ſeeming to lead them naturally to this, to ſtrip and deveſt Body of all thoſe Forms and Qualities, it being otherwiſe Impoſſible for them, ſurely and ſafely to exclude a Corporeal Deity; yet ſo, as that the Wit of theſe Atheiſts was alſo much to be admired, in the managing and carrying on of thoſe Principles in ſuch a manner, as to make up ſo Entire a Syſtem of Philoſophy out of them, all whoſe parts ſhould be ſo coherent and conſiſtent together; We ſhall only ſay thus much; That if thoſe Atheiſts were the firſt Inventors of this Philoſophy, they were certainly very unhappy and unſucceſsful in it, whilſt endeavouring by it to ſecure themſelves from the Poſſibility and Danger of a *Corporeal God*, they unawares laid a Foundation for the clear Demonſtration of an *Incorporeal one*, and were indeed ſo far from making up any ſuch coherent Frame as is pretended, that they were forced every where to contradict their own Principles; ſo that Non-ſence, lies at the bottom of all, and is interwoven throughout their whole Atheiſtical Syſtem. And that we ought to take notice of the invincible power and Force of Truth, prevailing irreſiſtibly againſt all Endeavours to oppreſs it; and how deſperate the Cauſe of Atheiſm is, when that very Atomical *Hypotheſis* of theirs, which they would erect and build up for a ſtrong Caſtle to garriſon themſelves in, proves a moſt Effectual Engine againſt themſelves, for the battering of all their Atheiſtical Structure down about their Ears.

XLIV. *Plato*'s Mutilation and Interpolation of the old *Moſchical* Philoſophy, was a great deal more excuſable, when he took the Theology and Metaphyſicks of it, the whole Doctrine of Incorporeals, and abandoned the Atomical or Mechanical way of Phyſiologizing. Which, in all Probability, he did, partly becauſe thoſe forementioned Atheiſts having ſo much abuſed that Philoſophy, adopting it as it were to themſelves, he thereupon began to entertain a Jealouſie and Suſpicion of it; and partly, becauſe he was not of himſelf ſo inclinable to Phyſiology as Theology, to the ſtudy of Corporeal as of Divine things; which ſome think to be the reaſon why he did not attend to the Pythagorick Syſtem of the Corporeal World, till late in his old Age. His *Genius* was ſuch, that he was Naturally more addicted to *Idæa's* than to *Atoms*, to *Formal* and *Final* than to *Material*

Material Cauſes. To which may be added, that the way of Phyſiologizing by Matter, Forms and Qualities, is a more *Huffie* and *Phanciful* thing than the other; and laſtly, that the Atomical Phyſiology is more remote from Senſe and vulgar Apprehenſion, and therefore not ſo eaſily underſtood. For which cauſe many learned Greeks of later times, though they had read *Epicurus* his Works, and perhaps *Democritus* his too, yet they were not able to conceive how the Corporeal and Senſible *Phænomena* could poſſibly be ſalved without Real Qualities. One Inſtance whereof might be given in *Plutarch*, writing againſt *Colotes* the *Epicurean*. Wherefore *Plato*, that was a zealous Aſſerter of an Incorporeal Deity, diſtinct from the World, and of Immortal Souls, ſeriouſly Phyſiologized only by Matter, Forms and Qualities, Generation, Corruption and Alteration; and he did but play and toy ſometimes a little with Atoms and Mechaniſm. As where he would compound the Earth of Cubical, and Fire of Pyramidal Atoms, and the like. For that he did therein imitate the Atomical Phyſiology is plain from theſe words of his; πάντα ἓν δεῖ ταῦτα διανοεῖσθαι σμικρὰ ὄντα, ὥς καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁρώμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν, συναθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν, τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν ὁρᾶσθαι. *All theſe Cubical and Pyramidal* Corpuſcula *of the Fire and Earth are in themſelves ſo ſmall, that by reaſon of their parvitude, none of them can be perceived ſingly and alone, but only the Aggregations of many of them together.*

XLV. And *Ariſtotle* here trode in *Plato*'s footſteps, not only in the better part, in aſſerting an Incorporeal Deity, and an Immoveable firſt Mover; but alſo in Phyſiologizing by Forms and Qualities, and rejecting that Mechanical way by Atoms, which had been ſo generally received amongſt the Ancients. Wherefore though the *Genius* of theſe two Perſons was very different, and *Ariſtotle* often contradicteth *Plato*, and really diſſents from him in ſeveral Particularities; yet, ſo much I think may be granted to thoſe Reconcilers, (*Porphyry*, *Simplicius*, and others) that the main Eſſentials of their two Philoſophies are the ſame.

Now I ſay the whole Ariſtotelical Syſtem of Philoſophy is infinitely to be preferred before the whole Democritical; though the former hath been ſo much diſparaged, and the other cried up of late amongſt us. Becauſe, though it cannot be denied but that the Democritick *Hypotheſis* doth much more handſomly and intelligibly ſalve the Corporeal *Phænomena*, yet in all thoſe other things which are of far the greateſt moment, it is rather a Madneſs than a Philoſophy. But the Ariſtotelick Syſtem is right and ſound here, as to thoſe greater things; it aſſerting Incorporeal Subſtance, a Deity diſtinct from the World, the Naturality of Morality, and Liberty of Will. Wherefore though a late Writer of Politicks do ſo exceedingly diſparage *Ariſtotle*'s Ethicks, yet we ſhall do him this right here to declare, that his Ethicks were truly ſuch, and anſwered their Title; but that new Modle of Ethicks, which hath been obtruded upon the World with ſo much Faſtuoſity, and is indeed nothing but the old Democritick Doctrine revived, is no Ethicks at all, but a mere Cheat, the undermining

and ſubverſion of all Morality, by ſubſtituting ſomething like it in the Room of it, that is a mere Counterfeit and Changeling. The Deſign whereof could not be any other than to debauch the World.

We add further, that *Ariſtotle*'s Syſtem of Philoſophy ſeems to be more conſiſtent with Piety, than the Carteſian *Hypotheſis* it ſelf, which yet plainly ſuppoſeth Incorporeal Subſtance. For as much as this latter makes God to contribute nothing more to the Fabrick of the World, than the Turning round of a *Vortex* or Whirlpool of Matter; from the fortuitous Motion of which, according to certain General Laws of Nature, muſt proceed all this Frame of things that now is, the exact Organization, and ſucceſſive Generation of Animals, without the Guidance of any Mind or Wiſdom. Whereas *Ariſtotle*'s Nature is no Fortuitous Principle, but ſuch as doth Nothing in *Vain*, but all for *Ends*, and in every thing purſues *the Beſt*; and therefore can be no other than a Subordinate Inſtrument of the Divine Wiſdom, and the *Manuary Opificer* or *Executioner* of it.

However, we cannot deny, but that *Ariſtotle* hath been taxed by ſundry of the Ancients, Chriſtians and others, for not ſo explicitely aſſerting theſe two things, the Immortality of Humane Souls, and Providence over men, as he ought to have done, and as his Maſter *Plato* did. Though to do him all the right we can, we ſhall obſerve here, that in his *Nicomachian* Ethicks, he ſpeaks favourably for the Latter, εἰ γάρ τις ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπὸ θεῶν γίνεται, ὡς φαίνεται δοκεῖ, καὶ εὔλογον χαίρειν αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀρίστῳ καὶ τῷ συγγενεστάτῳ (τοῦτο δ' ἂν ὁ νοῦς) καὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς τιμῶντας ἀνταποδιδόναι, ὡς τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελουμένους, ὀρθῶς τε καὶ καλῶς πράττοντας· *If God take any Care of Humane things, as it ſeems he doth, then it is reaſonable to think alſo, that he is delighted with that which is the Beſt, and neareſt akin to himſelf (which is Mind or Right Reaſon) and that he rewards thoſe who moſt Love and Honour it (as taking care of ſuch things as are moſt pleaſing to him) in doing rightly and honeſtly.* A very good Sentence, were it not Uſhered in with too much of Scepticiſm. And as for the Point of the Soul's Immortality; It is true, that whereas other Philoſophers before *Ariſtotle*, aſſerted the Preexiſtence, Incorporeity, and Immortality of all Souls, not only the Rational but the Senſitive alſo, (which in Men they concluded to be one and the ſame Subſtance) according to that of *Plato*'s, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος, *Every Soul is Immortal*, they reſolving that no Life nor Cogitation could be Corporeal; *Ariſtotle*, on the contrary, doth expreſly deny he Preexiſtence, that is, the Separability, Incorporeity and Immortality of all Senſitive Souls, not in Brutes only, but alſo every where, tgiving his reaſon for it in theſe words; ὅτι μὲν οὐκ οἷόν τε πάσας προϋπάρχειν, φανερὸν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅσων γάρ ἐστιν ἀρχῶν ἡ ἐνέργεια σωματική, δῆλον ὅτι ταύτας ἄνευ σώματος ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν, οἷον βαδίζειν ἄνευ ποδῶν· ὥστε καὶ δεῦρεθεν εἰσιέναι ἀδύνατον. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὰς καθ' ἑαυτὰς εἰσιέναι οἷόν τε ἀχωρίστους ὄσας, ὅτ' ἐν σώμασι εἰσιέναι· *That all Souls cannot Preexiſt, is manifeſt from hence, becauſe thoſe Principles whoſe Action is Corporeal, cannot poſſibly exiſt without the Body, as the Power of Walking without*

without the Feet: Wherefore it is impoſſible that theſe Senſitive Souls (preexiſting) ſhould come into the Body from without, ſince they can neither come alone by themſelves naked and ſtript of all Body, they being inſeparable from it; neither can they come in with a Body, that is, the Seed. This is *Ariſtotle*'s Argument, why all Senſitive Souls muſt needs be Corporeal, becauſe there is no Walking without Feet, nor Seeing without Eyes. But at the ſame time, he declares that the Mind or Intellect does Preexiſt and come in from without, that is, is Incorporeal, Separable and Immortal, giving his Reaſon for it in like manner, λείπεται ὁ ἢ νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινωνεῖ σωματικὴ ἐνέργεια· *It remains that the Mind or Intellect, and that alone* (preexiſting) *enter from without and be only Divine; ſince its Energy is not blended with that of the Bodies, but it acts independently upon it.* Notwithſtanding which, *Ariſtotle* elſewhere diſtinguiſhing concerning this Mind or Intellect, and making it to be twofold, *Agent*, and *Patient*, concludes the former of them only to be Immortal, but the latter Corruptible, τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀΐδιον, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτὸς, *The Agent Intellect is only Immortal and Eternal, but the Paſſive is Corruptible*; where ſome Interpreters that would willingly excuſe *Ariſtotle*, contend that by the *Paſſive Intellect*, is not meant the *Patient*, but the *Phantaſie* only, becauſe *Ariſtotle* ſhould otherwiſe contradict himſelf, who had before affirmed, the Intellect to be Separable, Unmixed and Inorganical, which they conceive muſt needs be underſtood of the Patient. But this *Salvo* can hardly take place here, where the Paſſive Intellect is directly oppoſed to the Agent. Now what *Ariſtotle*'s *Agent Underſtanding* is, and whether it be any thing in us, any Faculty of our Humane Soul or no, ſeems to be a thing very queſtionable, and has therefore cauſed much Diſpute amongſt his Interpreters; it being reſolved by many of them to be the Divine Intellect, and commonly by others, a Foreign Thing. Whence it muſt needs be left doubtful, whether he acknowledged any thing Incorporeal and Immortal at all in us. And the rather becauſe, laying down this Principle, That nothing is Incorporeal, but what acts independently upon the Body, he ſomewhere plainly determines, that there is no Intellection without Corporeal Phantaſms. That which led *Ariſtotle* to all this; poſitively to affirm the Corporeity of Senſitive Souls, and to ſtagger ſo much concernining the Incorporeity of the Rational, ſeems to have been his Doctrine of Forms and Qualities, whereby Corporeal and Incorporeal Subſtance are confounded together, ſo that the Limits of each could not be diſcerned by him. Wherefore we cannot applaud *Ariſtotle* for this; but that which we commend him for, is chiefly theſe Four things: Firſt, for making a Perfect Incorporeal Intellect to be the Head of all; and Secondly, for reſolving that Nature, as an Inſtrument of this Intellect, does not merely act according to the Neceſſity of Material Motions, but for Ends and Purpoſes, though unknown to it ſelf; Thirdly, for maintaining the Naturality of Morality; and Laſtly, for aſſerting the τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, Autexouſie, or Liberty from Neceſſity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

In this Chapter are contained all the pretended Grounds of Reason for the Atheistick Hypothesis. 1. *That the Democritick Philosophy which is made up of these two Principles, Corporealism and Atomism complicated together, is Essentially Atheistical.* 2. *Though* Epicurus, *who was an Atomical-Corporealist, pretended to assert a Democracy of Gods, yet he was, for all that, an Absolute Atheist: And that Atheists commonly Equivocate and Disguise themselves.* 3. *That the Democritical Philosophy is nothing else but a System of Atheology, or Atheism swaggering under the glorious Appearance of Philosophy. And though there be another Form of Atheism which we call Stratonical, yet the Democritick Atheism is only considerable; all whose Dark Mysteries will be here revealed.* 4. *That we being to treat concerning the Deity, and to produce all that Profane and Unhallowed Stuff of Atheists in order to a Confutation, the Divine Assistance and Direction ought to be implored.* 5. *That there are Two things here to be performed: First, to shew what are the Atheist's pretended Grounds of Reason against the Deity; and Secondly, how they endeavour either to Salve or Confute the Contrary* Phænomena. *The First of those Grounds, That no man can have an* Idæa *or Conception of God, and that he is an* Incomprehensible Nothing. 6. *The Second Atheistick Argument, That there can be no Creation out of Nothing, nor no Omnipotence, because Nothing can come from Nothing, and therefore whatsoever Substantially is, was from Eternity Self-existent, and Uncreated by any Deity.* 7. *The Third pretended Reason against a Deity, That the Strictest Notion of a God implying him to be Incorporeal, there can be no such Incorporeal Deity, because there is no other Substance but Body.* 8. *The Atheists Pretence, That the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substances sprung from a Ridiculous Mistaking of Abstract Names and Notions for Realities. They Impudently make the Deity to be but the Chief of Spectres, and an* Oberon *or Prince of Fairies and Phancies. Their Fourth Argument against a Deity, That to suppose an Incorporeal Mind to be the Original of all things, is but to make a mere Accident and Abstract Notion to be the First Cause of all.* 9. *Their Fifth Argument; a Confutation of a Corporeal Deity from the Principles of Corporealism it self, That Matter being the only Substance, and all other Differences of things nothing but Accidents, Generable and Corruptible; no Living Understanding*

ſtanding Being can be Eſſentially Incorruptible. The Stoical God Incorruptible, only by Accident. 19. *Their Sixth Ratiocination from a Complication of Atomiciſm; That the Firſt Principle of all things whatſoever in the Univerſe, is Atoms or* Corpuſcula *devoid of all Qualities, and conſequently of Senſe and Underſtanding, (which ſpring up afterwards from a certain Compoſition of them) and therefore Mind or Deity was not the Firſt Original of all.* 11. *In the Seventh place they diſprove the Worlds Animation, or its being govern'd by a Living Underſtanding Animaliſh Nature, preſiding over the Whole; Becauſe Senſe and Underſtanding are a Peculiar Appendix to Fleſh Blood and Brains, and Reaſon is no where to be found but in Humane Form.* 12. *The Eighth Atheiſtick Ground, That God being taken by all for a moſt Happy, Eternal and Immortal Animal, (or Living Being) there can be no ſuch thing, becauſe all Living Beings are Concretions of Atoms that were at firſt Generated, and are liable to Death and Corruption by the Diſſolution of their Compages. And that Life is no ſimple Primitive Nature, but an Accidental Modification of Compounded Bodies, which upon the Diſunion of their Parts vaniſheth into Nothing.* 13. *The Ninth pretended Atheiſtick Demonſtration, That by God is meant a firſt Cauſe or Mover, which was not before moved by any thing elſe without it; But Nothing can move it ſelf, and therefore there can be no Unmoved Mover, nor any Firſt in the order of Cauſes, that is, a God.* 14. *Their further Proof of this Principle, That Nothing can move it ſelf, with an Atheiſtick Corollary from thence, That no Thinking Being could be a Firſt Cauſe, no Cogitation ariſing of it ſelf without a Cauſe; which may be reckoned a Tenth Argument.* 15. *Another Myſtery of Atheiſm, That all Knowledge, and Mental Conception, is the Information of the things themſelves known, exiſting without the Knower, and a Paſſion from them; and therefore the World muſt needs be before any Knowledge or Conception of it, and no Knowledge or Conception before the World, as its Cauſe.* 16. *The Twelfth Argumentation, That things could not be made by a God, becauſe they are ſo Faulty and Ill made, that they were not contriv'd for the Good of Man, and that the Deluge of Evils, that overflows all, ſhows that they did not proceed from any Deity.* 17. *The Thirteenth Inſtance of the Atheiſts againſt a Deity, from the Defect of Providence, That in Humane Affairs all is* Tohu *and* Bohu, *Chaos and Confuſion.* 18. *The Fourteenth Atheiſtick Ground, That it is not poſſible for any one Being to Animadvert and Order all things in the diſtant places of the whole World at once: But if it were poſſible, That ſuch Infinite Negotioſity would be Abſolutely Inconſiſtent with Happineſs.* 19. *Several bold but ſlight Queries of Atheiſts, Why the World was not made ſooner? and What God did before? Why it was made at all, ſince it was ſo long unmade? and, How the Architect of the World could rear up ſo huge a Fabrick?* 20. *The Atheiſts Pretence, That it is the great Intereſt of Mankind, That there ſhould be no God; and that it was a Noble and Heroical Exploit of the Democritick, to chaſe away that affrightful Spectre out of the World, and to free men from the continual Fear of a Deity and Puniſhment after Death, imbittering all the Pleaſures of Life.* 21. *Another Pretence of theirs, That Theiſm is inconſiſtent with Civil Soveraign-*

ty,

ty, it introducing a Fear greater than the Fear of the Leviathan; And that any other Conscience allowed of besides the Civil Law (being Private Judgment) is, ipso facto, *a Dissolution of the Body Politick and a Return to the State of Nature.* 22. *The Atheists Conclusion from the former Premisses, as set down in* Plato *and* Lucretius, *That all things sprung Originally from* Nature *and* Chance, *without any Mind or God, that is, proceeded from the Necessity of Material Motions, undirected for Ends; That Infinite Atoms devoid of Life and Sense, moving in Infinite Space from Eternity, by their fortuitous Rencounters and Intanglements, produced the System of the whole Universe, and as well Animate as Inanimate things.*

I. HAving in the Former Chapter given an Account of the Genuine and Primitive Atomical Philosophy, which may be called the *Moschical*; we are in the next place to consider the *Democritical*, that is, the *Atheized* and *Adulterated Atomology*. Which had its Origin from nothing else but the joyning of this Heterogeneous and Contradictious Principle, to the Atomical Physiology, *That there is no other Substance in the World besides Body*. Now we say, That that Philosophy which is thus compounded and made up of these Two things, *Atomicism* and *Corporealism* complicated together, is essentially Atheistical, though neither of them alone be such. For the Atomical Physiology, as we have declared already, is in its own Nature sufficiently repugnant to Atheism. And it is possible for one who holds, *That there is Nothing in the world besides Body*, to be perswaded notwithstanding of a *Corporeal Deity*, and that the world was at first framed and is still governed by an *Understanding Nature* lodged in the Matter. For thus some of these Corporealists have phancied, The whole Universe it self to be a God, that is, an *Understanding* and *Wise Animal*, that ordered all things within it self, after the Best manner possible, and providently governed the same. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that this is a very great Infirmity of mind, that such Persons lie under, who are not able to conceive any other Substance besides Body, by which is understood, that which is *Impenetrably Extended*, or else in *Plato*'s Language, which hath προσβολὴν καὶ ἐπαφὴν, *that thrusts against other Bodies and resists their impulse*; or as others express it, which is τόπου πληρωτικὸν, *that so fills up place*, as to exclude any other Body or Substance from Coexisting with it therein; and such must needs have not only very imperfect, but also Spurious and false Conceptions of the Deity, so long as they apprehend it to be thus Corporeal; but yet it does not therefore follow that they must needs be accounted Atheists. But whosoever holds these two Principles (before mentioned) together, That *there is no other Substance besides Body*, and *That Body hath nothing else belonging to it but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, without Qualities*, I say, whosoever is *That confounded Thing*, of an *Atomist* and *Corporealist* jumbled together, he is Essentially and Unavoidably that which is meant by an Atheist, though he should in words never so much disclaim it, because he must needs fetch the Original of all things

things from *Senſleſs Matter*, whereas to aſſert a God, is to maintain that all things ſprung Originally from a *Knowing* and *Underſtanding Nature.*

II. *Epicurus*, who was one of thoſe Mongrel Things before mentioned, (an Atomical-Corporealiſt or Corporeal-Atomiſt) did notwithſtanding profeſs to hold a Multifarious Rabble and Democracy of Gods, ſuch as though they were ἀνθρωπόμορφοι, *of Humane Form*, yet were ſo Thin and Subtle, as that Comparatively with our Terreſtrial Bodies they might be called *Incorporeal*; they having not ſo much *Carnem* as *Quaſi-carnem*, nor *Sanguinem* as *Quaſi-ſanguinem*, a certain kind of *Aereal* or *Ethereal Fleſh* and *Blood*: which Gods of his were not to be ſuppoſed to exiſt any where within the World, upon this pretence, that there was no place in it fit to receive them,

Illud item non eſt ut poſſis credere Sedes
Eſſe Deûm Sanctas, in Mundi partibus ullis.

And therefore they muſt be imagined to Subſiſt in certain *Intermundane Spaces*, and *Utopian Regions* without the World, the Deliciouſneſs whereof is thus Elegantly deſcribed by the Poet,

Quas neque concutiunt Venti, neque Nubila nimbis
Adſpergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruinâ
Cana cadens violat, ſempérque innubilus Æther
Integit, & largè diffuſo lumine ridet.

Whereunto was added, that the chief Happineſs of theſe Gods conſiſted, *in Omnium Vacatione Munerum*, *in freedom from all Buſineſs and Employment*, and doing nothing at all, that ſo they might live a Soft and Delicate life. And laſtly, it was pretended, that though they had neither any thing to do with us, nor we with them, yet they ought to be worſhipped by us for their own Excellent Natures ſake, and Happy State.

But whoſoever had the leaſt Sagacity in him could not but perceive, that this Theology of *Epicurus* was but Romantical, it being directly Contrary to his avowed and profeſſed Principles, to admitt of any other Being then what was Concreted of Atoms, and conſequently Corruptible; and that he did this upon a Politick Account, thereby to decline the Common *Odium*, and thoſe Dangers aud Inconveniences which otherwiſe he might have incurred by a downright denial of a God, to which purpoſe it accordingly ſerved his turn. Thus *Poſidonius* rightly pronounced, *Nullos eſſe Deos* Epicuro *videri*; *quæque is de Diis immortalibus dixerit*, *Invidiæ deteſtandæ gratiâ dixiſſe*. Though he was partly Jocular in it alſo, it making no ſmall Sport to him, in this manner, to delude and mock the credulous Vulgar. *Deos Jocandi cauſâ induxit* Epicurus *perlucidos & perflabiles, & habitantes tanquam inter duos Lucos, ſic inter duos Mundos propter metum ruinarum.* However if *Epicurus* had been never ſo much in Earneſt in all this, yet by *Gaſſendus* his leave, we ſhould pronounce him to have been not a jot the leſs

less an Atheist, so long as he maintained, that the whole World was made μηδενὸς διατάξαντος ἢ διατάξαντος τὴν πᾶσαν μακαριότητα ἔχοντος μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας, *without the ordering and direction of any Understanding Being that was perfectly happy and immortal*, and fetcht the original of all things in the Universe, even of Soul and Mind, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόμων σωμάτων ἀπεργόντων καὶ τυχαίαν ἐχόντων τὴν κίνησιν, *from Senseless Atoms fortuitously moved.* He together with *Democritus* hereby making the World to be, in the worst Sence, ᾠὸν τῆς νυκτὸς, *an Egge of the Night*, that is, not the off-spring of Mind and Understanding, but of dark Senseless Matter, of *Tohu* and *Bohu*, or Confused *Chaos*; and deriving the Original of all the Perfections in the Universe, from the most Imperfect Being and the lowest of all Entities, than which nothing can be more Atheistical. And as for those Romantick Monogrammous Gods of *Epicurus*, had they been Seriously believed by him, they could have been nothing else but a certain kind of *Aerial* and *Spectrous Men*, living by themselves, no Body knows where, without the World; Ἐπίκουρος ὡς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπολείπει θεὸν ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν πράγμασιν ἀδαμῶς, Epicurus *according to Vulgar Opinion leaves a God, but according to the Nature of things none at all.*

And as *Epicurus* so other Atheists in like manner, have commonly had their Vizards and Disguises; Atheism for the most part prudently chusing to walk abroad in Masquerade. And though some over-credulous Persons have been so far imposed upon hereby, as to conclude that there was hardly any such thing as an Atheist any where in the World, yet they that are Sagacious, may easily look through these thin Veils and Disguises, and perceive these Atheists oftentimes insinuating their Atheism even then, when they most of all profess themselves Theists, by affirming that it is impossible to have any *Idæa* or *Conception* at all of God, and that as he is not *Finite* so he cannot be *Infinite*, and that no Knowledge or Understanding is to be attributed to him, which is in effect to say, that there is no such thing. But whosoever entertains the Democritick Principles, that is, both rejects Forms and Qualities of Body, and makes all things to be Body, though he pretend never so much to hold a *Corporeal Deity*, yet he is not at all to be believed in it, it being a thing plainly Contradictious to those Principles.

III. Wherefore this Mongrel Philosophy, which *Leucippus*, *Democritus* and *Protagoras*, were the Founders of, and which was entertained afterwards by *Epicurus*, that makes (as *Laertius* writes) ἀρχὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους, *Senseless Atoms to be the first Principles*, not only of all Bodies (for that was a thing admitted before by *Empedocles* and other Atomists that were Theists) but also of *All things whatsoever* in the whole Universe, and therefore of Soul and Mind too; this, I say, was really nothing else but a Philosophical Form of *Atheology*, a Gigantical and Titanical Attempt, to dethrone the Deity, not only by Salving all the *Phænomena* of the World without a God, but also by laying down such Principles, from whence it must needs follow, that there could be neither an Incorporeal nor Corporeal Deity. It was Atheism openly Swaggering, under the glorious Appearance of Wisdom and Philosophy.

There is indeed another Form of Atheiſm, which (inſiſting on the Vulgar way of Philoſophizing by Forms and Qualities) we for diſtinction ſake ſhall call *Stratonical*; ſuch as being too modeſt and ſhamefaced to fetch all things from the Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, would therefore allow to the ſeveral Parts of Matter, a certain Kind of *Natural* (though not *Animal*) *Perception*, ſuch as is devoid of *Reflexive Conſciouſneſs*, together with a *Plaſtick power*, whereby they may be able *Artificially* and *Methodically* to Form and Frame themſelves to the beſt advantage of their Reſpective Capabilities; ſomething like to *Ariſtotle's* Nature, but that it hath no dependence at all upon any higher Mind or Deity. And theſe Atheiſts may be alſo called *Hylozoick* (as the other *Atomick*) becauſe they derive all things in the whole Univerſe, not only Senſitive but alſo Rational Souls, together with the Artificial Frame of Animals, from the *Life* of the *Matter*. But this kind of Atheiſm ſeems to be but an unſhapen *Embryo* of ſome Dark and Cloudy Brains that was never yet digeſted into an entire Syſtem, nor could be brought into any ſuch tolerable Form, as to have the confidence to ſhew it ſelf abroad in full and open View. But the *Democritik* and *Atomick Atheiſm*, as it is the boldeſt and rankeſt of all Atheiſms, it not only undertaking to ſalve all *Phænomena* by Matter Fortuitouſly moved, without a God, but alſo to demonmonſtrate that there cannot be ſo much as a *Corporeal Deity*; ſo it is that alone which pretending to an entire and coherent Syſtem, hath publickly appeared upon the Stage, and therefore doth in a manner only deſerve our Conſideration.

And now we ſhall exhibit a full View and Proſpect of it, and diſcover all its *Dark Myſteries* and *Profundities*; we being much of this Perſwaſion, that a plain and naked Repreſentation of them, will be a great part of a Confutation; at leaſt, not doubting but it will be made to appear, that though this Monſter, big-ſwoln with a Puffy ſhew of Wiſdom, ſtrutt and ſtalk ſo Gigantically, and march with ſuch a kind of ſtately Philoſophick Grandeur, yet it is indeed but like the Giant *Orgoglio*, in our Engliſh Poet, a mere *Empty Bladder*, blown up with vain Conceit, an *Empuſa*, *Phantaſm*, or *Spectre*, the Off-ſpring of Night and Darkneſs, Non-ſence and Contradiction.

And yet for all that we ſhall not wrong it the leaſt in our Repreſentation, but give it all poſſible Advantages of Strength and Plauſibility, that ſo the Atheiſts may have no Cauſe to pretend (as they are wont to do in ſuch Caſes) that either we did not underſtand their Myſteries nor apprehend the full ſtrength of their Cauſe, or elſe did purpoſely ſmother and conceal it. Which indeed we have been ſo far from, that we muſt confeſs we were not altogether unwilling, this buſineſs of theirs ſhould look a little like ſomething that might deſerve a Confutation. And whether the Atheiſts ought not rather to give us Thanks for Mending and Improving their Arguments, then complain that we have any way Empaired them, we ſhall leave it to the Cenſure of impartial Judgments.

IV. *Plato*

IV. *Plato* tells us that even amongst those Pagans in his time, there was generally such a Religious Humor, that πάντες ὅσοι κ) βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσι, ἐπὶ παντὶ ὁρμῇ ἢ σπουδῇ ἢ μεγάλῃ πράγματος, θεὸν ἀεί τε ἐπικαλεῖσθαι· *Whosoever had but the least of Seriousness and Sobriety in them, whensoever they took in hand any Enterprize, whether great or small, they would always invoke the Deity for Assistance and Direction.* Adding moreover that himself should be very faulty, if in his *Timæus*, when he was to treat about so grand a point, concerning the whole World, εἰ γέγονεν ἢ ἀγένητος ἔστι, whether *it were made or unmade*, he should not make his Entrance thereinto by a Religious Invocation of the Deity. Wherefore certainly, it could not be less than a piece of Impiety in a Christian, being to treat concerning the Deity it self, and to produce all that Prophane and Unhallowed stuff of Atheists, out of their Dark Corners, in order to a Confutation, and the better Confirmation of our Faith in the Truth of his Existence, not to implore his Direction and Assistance. And I know no Reason but that we may well do it in that same Litany of *Plato's*, κ) νῦν ἐκείνῳ μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπομένως ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν, *that we may first speak agreeably to his own mind or becomingly of his Nature, and then consentaneously with our selves.*

V. Now there are these two things here to be performed by us, First, to discover and produce the Chief Heads of Arguments or Grounds of Reason, insisted on by the Atheists to disprove a Deity, evincing withall briefly the Ineffectualness and Falsness of them. And Secondly, to shew how they Endeavour either to Confute or Salve, consistently with their own Principles, all those *Phænomena* which are commonly urg'd against them, to prove a Deity and Incorporeal Substance; manifesting likewise the Invalidity thereof.

The grounds of Reason alledged for the Atheistical *Hypothesis* are chiefly these that follow. First, That we have no *Idæa of God*, and therefore can have no Evidence of him; which Argument is further flourisht and descanted upon in this manner. That Notion or Conception of a Deity, that is commonly entertained, is nothing but a Bundle of Incomprehensibles, Unconceivables, and Impossibles; it being only a compilement of all Imaginable Attributes of Honour, Courtship, and Complement, which the Confounded Fear, and Astonishment of Mens minds, made them huddle up together, without any Sence or Philosophick Truth: This seems to be intimated by a Modern Writer in these words; *The Attributes of God signifie not True nor False, nor any Opinion of our Brain, but the Reverence and Devotion of our Hearts, and therefore they are not sufficient Premisses to inferr Truth or convince Falshood.* And the same thing again is further set out, with no small pretence to wit, after this manner; *They that venture to dispute Philosophically or reason of God's Nature from these Attributes of Honour, losing their Understanding in the very first attempt, fall from one Inconvenience into another without end, and without number; In the same manner as when one ignorant of the Ceremonies of Court coming into the presence of a greater*

Person than he is used to speak to, and stumbling at his Entrance, to save himself from falling lets slip his Cloak, to recover his Cloak lets fall his Hat, and with one disorder after another discovers his Astonishment and Rusticity. The meaning of which, and other like passages of the same Writer, seem to be this; That the Attributes of God (by which his Nature is supposed to be expressed) having no Philosophick Truth or Reality in them, had their only Original from a certain Rustick Astonishment of Mind, proceeding from excess of Fear, raising up the Phantasm of a Deity, as a Bug-bear for an Object to it self, and affrighting men into all manner of Confounded Non-sence, and Absurdity of Expressions concerning it, such as have no signification, nor any Conception of the Mind answering to them. This is the First Argument, used especially by our modern Democriticks, against a Deity, That because they can have no *Phantastick Idea* of it, nor fully comprehend all that is included in the Notion thereof, that therefore it is but a n *Incomprehensible Nothing*.

VI. Secondly, Another Argument much insisted on by the old Democritick Atheists, is directed against the Divine *Omnipotence* and *Creative Power*, after this manner. By God is always understood a Creatour of something or other out of Nothing. For however the Theists be here divided amongst themselves, Some of them believing that there was once Nothing at all existing in this whole Space which is now occupied by the World, besides the Deity, and that he was then a Solitary Being, so that the Substance of the whole Corporeal Universe had a Temporary Beginning, and Novity of Existence, and the Duration of it hath now continued but for so many years only. Others perswading themselves, that though the Matter and Substance at least, (if not the Form also) of the Corporeal World, did exist from Eternity, yet nevertheless, they both alike proceeded from the Deity by way of Emanation, and do continually depend upon it, in the same manner as Light, though coeve with the Sun, yet proceeded from the Sun, and depends upon it, being always, as it were, Made A-new by it; Wherefore, according to this *Hypothesis*, though things had no Antecedent Non-Entity in Time, yet they were as little of themselves, and owed all their Being as much to the Deity, as if they had been once Actually Nothing, they being as it were perpetually Created out of Nothing by it. Lastly, Others of those Theists resolving, that the Matter of the Corporeal Universe was not only from Eternity, but also Self-existent and Uncreated, or Independent upon any Deity as to its Being; But yet the Forms and Qualities of all Inanimate Bodies, together with the Souls of all Animals, in the successive Generations of them, (being taken for Entities distinct from the Matter) were Created by the Deity out of Nothing. We say, though there be such Difference amongst the Theists themselves, yet they all agree in this, that God is in some Sence or other, the Creatour of some Real Entity out of Nothing, or the Cause of that which otherwise would not have been Of it self, so that no Creation out of Nothing, (in that enlarged sence) no Deity. Now it is utterly impossible that any

any Subſtance or Real Entity ſhould be Created out of Nothing, it being Contradictious to that indubitable Axiom of Reaſon, *De Nihilo Nihil, From Nothing Nothing.* The Argument is thus urged by *Lucretius*, according to the Minds of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*.

Principium hinc cujus nobis Exordia ſumet,
Nullam rem è Nihilo gigni Divinitùs unquam.
Quippe ità Formido Mortales continet omnes;
Quòd multa in Terris fieri Cœlóque tuentur,
Quorum operum Cauſas nullâ ratione videre
Poſſunt; ac fieri Divino Numine rentur:
Quas ob res, ubi viderimus Nil poſſe Creari
De Nihilo, tum quodſequimur, jam tutiùs indè
Perſpiciemus, & undè queat res quæque Creari,
Et quo quæque modo fiant operâ ſine Divûm.

It is true indeed that it ſeems to be chiefly level'd by the Poet againſt that Third and laſt ſort of Theiſts before mentioned, ſuch as *Heraclitus* and the Stoicks, (which latter were Contemporary with *Epicurus*) who held the Matter of the whole World to have been from Eternity of it ſelf Uncreated, but yet the Forms of Mundane things in the ſucceſſive Generations of them (as Entities diſtinct from the Matter) to be Created or made by the Deity out of Nothing. But the force of the Argument muſt needs lie ſtronger againſt thoſe other Theiſts, who would have the very Subſtance and Matter it ſelf of the World, as well as the Forms, to have been created by the Deity out of Nothing. Since Nothing can come out of Nothing, it follows, that not ſo much as the Forms and Qualities of Bodies (conceiv'd as Entities really diſtinct from the Matter) much leſs the Lives and Souls of Animals, could ever have been Created by any Deity, and therefore certainly, not the Subſtance and Matter it ſelf: But all Subſtance, and Real Entity, whatſoever is in the World, muſt needs have been from Eternity, Uncreated and Self-exiſtent. Nothing can be Made or Produced but only the different Modifications of Preexiſtent Matter. And this is done by Motions, Mixtures and Separations, Concretions and Secretions of Atoms, without the Creation of any Real diſtinct Entity out of Nothing; ſo that there needs no Deity for the Effecting of it, according to that of *Epicurus*, ἡ θεία φύσις πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῇ προσαγέσθω, *No Divine Power ought to be call'd in, for the ſalving of thoſe Phænomena.* To Conclude therefore, If no Subſtance, nor Real Entity can be made, which was not before, but all whatſoever Is, Will be, and Can be, was from Eternity Self-exiſtent, then *Creative Power*, but eſpecially, that Attribute of *Omnipotence*, can belong to nothing, and this is all one as to ſay, There can be no Deity.

VII. Thirdly the Atheiſts argue againſt the ſtricter and higher ſort of Theiſts, who will have God to be the Creatour of the whole Corporeal Univerſe and all its Parts out of Nothing, after this manner; That which Created the whole Maſs of Matter and Body, cannot be it ſelf Body, Wherefore this Notion of God plainly implies

him to be Incorporeal. But there can be no Incorporeal Deity because by that word must needs be understood, either that which hath no Magnitude nor Extension at all, or else that which is indeed extended, but otherwise than Body. If the Word be taken in the former sence, then nothing at all can be so Incorporeal, as to be altogether Unextended and devoid of Geometrical Quantity, because Extension is the very Essence of all *Existent Entity*, and that which is altogether unextended is perfectly Nothing. There can neither be any Substance nor Mode or Accident of any Substance, no Nature whatsoever Unexended. But if the Word Incorporeal be taken in the latter sence, for that which is indeed Extended but otherwise than Body, namely so as to penetrate Bodies and coexist with them, this is also a thing next to Nothing, since it can neither act upon any other thing, nor be acted upon by, or sensible of, any thing; It can neither do nor Suffer any thing.

Nam facere & fungi nisi Corpus nulla potest res.

Wherefore to speak plainly, this can be nothing else but empty Space, or *Vacuum*, which runs through all things, without laying hold on any thing, or being affected from any thing. This is the only *Incorporeal thing*, that is or can be in Nature, Space or Place; and therefore to suppose an *Incorporeal Deity* is to make *Empty Space* to be the Creatour of all Things.

This Argument is thus proposed by the Epicurean Poet.

——Quodcunque erit esse aliquid debebit id ipsum
Augmine vel grandi vel parvo——
Cui si Tactus erit, quamvis levis exiguúsque,
Corporum augebit numerum Summámque sequetur:
Sin Intactile erit, nulla de parte quod ullam
Rem prohibere queat per se transire meantem,
Scilicet hoc id erit Vacuum quod Inane vocamus.

Whatsoever is, is Extended or hath Geometrical Quantity and Mensurability in it; which if it be Tangible, then it is Body, and fills up a Place in the World, being part of the whole Mass; but if it be Intangible, so that it cannot resist the Passage of any thing thorough it, then it is nothing else but empty Space or Vacuum. There is no Third thing besides these Two, and therefore whatsoever is not Body, is empty Space or Nothing,

——Præter Inane & Corpora Tertia per se,
Nulla potest rerum in numero Natura relinqui.

Thus the Ancient Epicureans and Democriticks argued; there being nothing Incorporeal but Space, there can be no Incorporeal Deity.

But because this seems to give Advantage to the Theists, in making Space Something, or that which hath a Real Nature or Entity without

out our Conception, from whence it will follow, that it muſt needs be either it ſelf a Subſtance, or elſe a Mode of ſome Incorporeal Subſtance, the Modern Democriticks are here more cautious, and make Space to be no Nature really exiſting without us, but only the Phantaſm of a Body, and as it were the *Ghoſt* of it, which has no Reality without our Imagination. So that there are not two Natures of Body, and Space, which muſt needs inferr two diſtinct Subſtances, one whereof muſt be Incorporeal, but only One Nature of Body. The Conſequence of which will be this, That an Incorporeal Subſtance is all one with *an Incorporeal Body*, and therefore Nothing.

VIII. But becauſe it is generally conceived that an Error cannot be ſufficiently confuted, without diſcovering τὸ αἴτιον τῆς ψεύδους, *the Cauſe of the Miſtake*, therefore the Atheiſts will in the next place undertake to ſhow likewiſe, the Original of this Doctrine of Incorporeal Subſtances, and from what Miſapprehenſion it ſprung, as alſo take occaſion from thence, further to diſprove a Deity.

Wherefore they ſay, that the Original of this Doctrine of Incorporeal Subſtances proceeded chiefly from the Abuſe of *Abſtract Names*, both of Subſtances (whereby the Eſſences of ſingular Bodies, as of a Man or an Horſe, being Abſtracted from thoſe Bodies themſelves, are conſider'd Univerſally) as alſo of Accidents when they are conſider'd alone without their Subjects or Subſtances. The latter of which is a thing, that Men have been neceſſitated to, in order to the Computation or Reckoning of the Properties of Bodies, the Comparing of them with one another, the Adding, Subtracting, Multiplying and Dividing of them, which could not be done, ſo long as they are taken Concretely, together with their Subjects. But yet, as there is ſome Uſe of thoſe Abſtract Names, ſo the Abuſe of them has been alſo very great; Foraſmuch as, though they be really the *Names of Nothing*, ſince the Eſſence of this and that Man is not any thing without the Man, nor is an Accident any thing without its Subſtance, yet men have been led into a groſs miſtake by them, to imagine them to be Realities exiſting by themſelves. Which Infatuation hath chiefly proceeded from Scholaſticks, who have been ſo intemperate in the uſe of theſe Words, that they could not make a Rational Diſcourſe of any thing, though never ſo ſmall, but they muſt ſtuff it with their Quiddities, Entities, Eſſences, Hæcceities and the like. Wherefore theſe are they, who being firſt deluded themſelves, have alſo deluded the World, introducing an Opinion into the Minds of Men, that the Eſſence of every thing is ſomething without that thing it ſelf, and alſo Eternal, and therefore when any thing is Made or Generated, that there is no new Being produced, but only an antecedent and Eternal Eſſence cloathed (as it were) with a new Garment of Exiſtence. As alſo that the mere Accidents of Bodies may exiſt alone by themſelves without their Subſtances. As for Example, that the Life, Senſe and Underſtanding of Animals, commonly call'd by the Names of Soul and Mind, may exiſt without the Bodies or Subſtances of them by themſelves, after the Animals are dead; which plainly makes them to be Incorporeal Subſtances, as it were the *Sepa-*

rate

rate and *Abstract Essences* of *Men.* This hath been observed by a Modern Writer in these words; *Est Hominum Abstractorum tum in omni Vita, tum in Philosophia, magnus & Usus & Abusus. Abusus in eo consistit, quòd cùm videant aliqui, Considerari posse, id est, inferri in Rationes, Accidentium Incrementa & Decrementa, sine Consideratione Corporum, sive Subjectorum suorum, (id quod appellatur Abstrahere) loquuntur de Accidentibus, tanquam possent ab omni Corpore Separari: Hinc enim Originem trahunt quorundam Metaphysicorum crassi Errores. Nam ex eo, quod Considerari potest Cogitatio, sine consideratione Corporis, inferre solent non esse Opus Corporis Cogitantis. It is a great Abuse that some Metaphysicians make of these Abstract Names, because Cogitation can be considered alone without the consideration of Body, therefore to conclude that it is not the Action or Accident of that Body that thinks, but a Substance by it self.* And the same Writer elsewhere observes, *That it is upon this Ground, that when a Man is dead and buried, they say his Soul (that is, his Life) can walk, separated from his Body, and is seen by night amongst the Graves.* By which means the Vulgar are confirmed in their Superstitious Belief, of Ghosts, Spirits, Dæmons, Devils, Fayries and Hob-goblins, Invisible Powers and Agents, called by several Names, and that by those Persons whose work it ought to be, rather to free men from such Superstition. Which Belief at first had another Original, not altogether unlike the former; Namely from mens mistaking their own *Phancies* for *Things Really existing* without them. For as in the sense of Vision, men are commonly deceived, in supposing the Image behind the Glass to be a Real thing existing without themselves, whereas it is indeed nothing but their own Phancy; In like manner when the Minds of Men strongly possess'd with Fear, especially in the Dark, raise up the *Phantasms* of *Spectres, Bug-bears,* or *Affrightful Apparitions* to them, they think them to be Objects really existing without them, and call them *Ghosts* and *Spirits,* whilst they are indeed nothing but their own *Phancies*; So the *Phantasm* or *Phancy* of a *Deity* (which is indeed the *Chief of all Spectres*) created by Fear, has upon no other Accompt, been taken for a Reality. To this purpose a Modern Writer, *From the Fear that proceeds from the Ignorance it self, of what it is that hath the Power to do men Good or Harm, men are inclined to suppose and Feign to themselves, several kinds of Powers Invisible, and to stand in awe of their own Imaginations, and in time of Distress to invoke them, as also in the time of an expected good Success, to give them thanks, making the Creatures of their own Fancies, their Gods.* Which though it be prudently spoken in the Plural Number, that so it might be diverted and put off to the Heathen Gods, yet he is very simple, that does not perceive the reason of it to be the same concerning that one Deity, which is now commonly worshipped, and that therefore this also is but the *Creature of Mens Fear and Phancie*, the Chief of all *Phantastick Ghosts* and *Spectres,* as it were an *Oberon* or *Prince of Fayries and Phancies.* This (we say) was the first Original of that Vulgar Belief of *Invisible Powers, Ghosts,* and *Gods*; mens taking their own *Phancies* for Things really Existing without them. And as for the Matter and Substance of these Ghosts, they could not by their own natural Cogitation fall into any other Conceit, but that it was the same,

with

with that which appeareth in a Dream to one that ſleepeth, or in a Looking-glaſs to one that is awake, *Thin Aerial Bodies*, which may appear and vaniſh when they pleaſe. But the Opinion, that ſuch Spirits were Incorporeal and Immaterial, could never enter into the minds of men by Nature, Unabuſed by Doctrine; but it ſprung up from thoſe deceiving and deceived *Literati*, Scholaſticks, Philoſophers, and Theologers enchanting mens Underſtandings, and making them believe, that the Abſtract Notions of Accidents and Eſſences could exiſt alone by themſelves, without the Bodies, as certain Separate and Incorporeal Subſtances.

To Conclude therefore, To make an Incorporeal Mind to be the Cauſe of all things, is to make our own Phancie, an Imaginary Ghoſt of the World, to be a Reality; and to ſuppoſe the mere *Abſtract Notion* of an *Accident*, and *a Separate Eſſence*, to be not only an Abſolute thing by it ſelf, and a Real Subſtance Incorporeal, but alſo the firſt Original of all Subſtances, and of whatſoever is in the Univerſe. And this may be reckon'd for a Fourth Atheiſtick Ground.

IX. Fifthly, the Atheiſts pretend further to prove, that there is no other Subſtance in the World beſides Body, as alſo from the Principles of Corporealiſm it ſelf, to evince that there can be no Corporeal Deity, after this manner. No man can deviſe any other Notion of Subſtance, than that it is a thing Extended, exiſting without the Mind, not Imaginary but Real and Solid Magnitude; For whatſoever is not Extended, is Nowhere and Nothing. So that *Res Extenſa*, is the only Subſtance, the ſolid *Baſis* and *Subſtratum* of all. Now this is the very ſelf-ſame thing with Body; For ἀντιτυπία, or *Reſiſtence* ſeems to be a neceſſary Conſequence and Reſult from Extenſion, and they that think otherwiſe, can ſhow no reaſon why Bodies may not alſo penetrate one another, as ſome Corporealiſts think they do; From whence it is inferred, that Body or Matter is the only Subſtance of all things. And whatſoever elſe is in the World, that is, all the Differences of Bodies, are nothing but ſeveral Accidents and Modifications of this Extended Subſtance, Body or Matter. Which Accidents, though they may be ſometimes call'd by the names of Real Qualities, and Forms, and though there be different apprehenſions concerning them amongſt Philoſophers, yet generally they agree in this, that there are theſe two Properties belonging to them; First, that none of them can ſubſiſt alone by themſelves, without Extended Subſtance or Matter, as the *Baſis* and Support of them: And Secondly, that they may be all deſtroyed without the Deſtruction of any Subſtance. Now as Blackneſs and Whiteneſs, Heat and Cold, ſo likewiſe Life, Senſe and Underſtanding, are ſuch Accidents, Modifications or Qualities of Body, that can neither exiſt by themſelves, and may be deſtroyed without the Deſtruction of any Subſtance or Matter. For if the Parts of the Body of any Living Animal be diſunited and ſeparated from one another, or the Organical Diſpoſition of the Matter alter'd, thoſe Accidents, Forms or Qualities, of Life and Underſtanding, will preſently vaniſh away to Nothing, all the Subſtance of the Matter ſtill remaining one where or

other

other in the Universe entire, and Nothing of it lost. Wherefore the Substance of Matter and Body, as distinguished from the Accidents, is the only thing in the world that is Uncorruptible and Undestroyable. And of this it is to be understood that Nothing can be made out of Nothing, and Destroyed to Nothing, (*i. e.*) that every entire thing that is Made or Generated, must be made of some preexistent Matter; which Matter was from Eternity, Self-existent and Unmade, and is also undestroyable, and can never be reduc'd to Nothing. It is not to be understood of the Accidents themselves, that are all Makeable and Destroyable, Generable and Corruptible. Whatsoever is in the World is but ὕλη πῶς ἔχουσα, *Matter so and so Modified* or *Qualified*, all which Modifications and Qualifications of Matter are in their own nature Destroyable, and the Matter it self (as the *Basis* of them, not necessarily determin'd to this or that Accident) is the only ἀγένητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, the only Necessarily Existent. The Conclusion therefore is, that no Animal, no Living Understanding Body, can be Absolutely and Essentially Incorruptible, this being an Incommunicable Property of the Matter, and therefore there can can be no Corporeal Deity, the Original of all things, Essentially Undestroyable.

Though the *Stoicks* imagined the whole Corporeal Universe to be an Animal or Deity, yet this Corporeal God of theirs was only by Accident Incorruptible and Immortal, because they supposed, that there was no other Matter, which existing without this World, and making Inrodes upon it, could disunite the Parts of it or disorder its Compages. Which if there were, the Life and Understanding of this Stoical God, or great Mundane Animal, as well as that of other Animals in like Cases, must needs vanish into nothing. Thus from the Principles of Corporealism it self, it plainly follows that there can be no Corporeal Deity, because the Deity is supposed to be ἀγένητον καὶ ἀνάλεθρον, a thing that was never made, and is Essentially Undestroyable, which are the Privileges and Properties of nothing but Senseless Matter.

X. In the next place, the Atheists undertake more effectually to confute that Corporeal God of the Stoicks and others, from the Principles of the Atomical Philosophy, in this manner. All Corporeal Theists who assert that an Understanding Nature or Mind, residing in the Matter of the whole Universe, was the first Original of the Mundane System, and did Intellectually frame it, betray no small Ignorance of Philosophy and the Nature of Body, in supposing Real Qualities, besides Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, as Simple and Primitive things, to belong to it; and that there was such a Quality or Faculty of Understanding in the Matter of the whole Universe, coeternal with the same, that was an Original thing Uncompounded and Underived from any thing else. Now to suppose such Original Qualities and Powers, which are Really Distinct from the Substance of Extended Matter and its Modifications, of Divisibility, Figure, Site and Motion, is Really to suppose so many Distinct Substances, which therefore must needs be Incorporeal.

poreal. So that these Philosophers fall unawares into that very thing which they are so abhorrent from. For this Quality or Faculty of Understanding, in the Matter of the Universe, Original and underiv'd from any other thing, can be indeed nothing else but an Incorporeal Substance. *Epicurus* suggested a Caution against this Vulgar Mistake concerning Qualities to this purpose. *Non sic cogitandæ sunt Qualitates, quasi sint quædam per se existentes Naturæ seu Substantiæ, siquidem id mente assequi non licet; sed solummodo ut varii modi sese habendi Corporis, considerandæ sunt.*

Body, as such, hath nothing else belonging to the Nature of it, but what is included in the *Idæa* of Extended Substance, Divisibility, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest, and the Results from the various Compositions of them, causing different Phancies; Wherefore, as vulgar Philosophers make their first Matter (which they cannot well tell what they mean by it) because it receives all Qualities, to be it self devoid of all Quality; So we conclude that Atoms (which are really the first Principles of all things) have none of those Qualities in them which belong to compounded Bodies; they are not absolutely of themselves Black or White, Hot or Cold, Moist or dry, Bitter or Sweet, all these things arising up afterwards, from the various Aggregations and Contextures of them, together with different Motions. Which *Lucretius* confirms by this reason, agreeable to the Tenour of the Atomical Philosophy, That if there were any such Real Qualities in the first Principles, then in the various Corruptions of Nature, things would at last be all reduc'd to Nothing:

Immutabile enim quiddam superare necesse est
Nè res ad Nihilum redigantur funditùs omnes;
Proinde Colore cave contingas semina rerum,
Nè tibi res redeant ad Nilum funditùs omnes.

Wherefore he concludes, that it must not be thought, that White things are made out of White Principles, nor Black things out of Black Principles,

——Nè ex Albis Alba reàris
Principiis esse,——
Aut ea quæ nigrant, nigro de semine nata:
Neve alium quemvis quæ sunt induta colorem,
Propterèà gerere hunc credas, quòd materiai
Corpora consimuli sint ejus tincta colore;
Nullus enim Color est omnino materiai
Corporibus, neque par rebus, neque denique dispar.

Adding that the same is to be resolved likewise concerning all other Sensible Qualities as well as Colours.

Sed nè fortè putes solospoliata colore
Corpora prima manere: etiam secreta Teporis
Sunt, ac Frigoris omnino, Calidique Vaporis:

Et ſonitu ſterila, & Succo jejuna feruntur,
Nec jaciunt ullum proprio de corpore Odorem.

Laſtly he tells us in like manner that the ſame is to be underſtood alſo concerning Life, Senſe and Underſtanding, that there are no ſuch ſimple Qualities or Natures in the firſt Principles, out of which Animals are compounded, but that theſe are in themſelves altogether devoid of Life, Senſe and Underſtanding,

Nunc ea, quæ Sentire videmus cunque, neceſſe 'ſt
Ex Inſenſilibus tamen omnia conſiteare
Principiis conſtare: neque id manifeſta refutant:
Sed magis ipſa manu ducunt, & credere cogunt,
Ex inſenſilibus, quod dico, Animalia gigni.
Quippe videre licet, vivos exiſtere vermes
Stercore de tetro, putrorem cum ſibi nacta 'ſt
Intempeſtivis ex imbribus humida tellus.

All Senſitive and Rational Animals are made of Irrational and Senſeleſs Principles, which is proved by Experience, in that we ſee Worms are made out of putrified Dung, moiſtned with immoderate Showers.

Some indeed, who are no greater Friends to a Deity than our ſelves, will needs have that Senſe and Underſtanding that is in Animals and Men, to be derived from an Antecedent Life and Underſtanding in the Matter. But this cannot be, becauſe if Matter as ſuch, had Life and Underſtanding in it, then every Atom of Matter muſt needs be a Diſtinct Percipient, Animal, and Intelligent Perſon by it ſelf; and it would be impoſſible for any ſuch Men and Animals as now are, to be compounded out of them, becauſe every Man would be, *Variorum Animalculorum Acervus*, a Heap of Innumerable Animals and Percipients.

Wherefore as all the other Qualities of Bodies, ſo likewiſe Life, Senſe, and Underſtanding ariſe from the different Contextures of Atoms devoid of all thoſe Qualities, or from the Compoſition of thoſe ſimple Elements of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites* and *Motions*, in the ſame manner as from a few Letters variouſly compounded, all that Infinite Variety of Syllables and Words is made,

Quin etiam refert noſtris in verſibus ipſis
Cum quibus & quali Poſiturâ contineantur;
Namque eadem Cœlum, Mare, Terras, Flumina, Solem
Significant, eadem, fruges, arbuſta, animantes;
Sic ipſis in rebus item jam materiaï
Intervalla, viæ, connexus, pondera, plagæ,
Concurſus, motus, ordo, Poſitura, Figuræ,
Cùm permutantur mutari res quoque debent.

From the Fortuitous Concretions of *Senſeleſs Unknowing* Atoms, did riſe up afterwards, in certain parts of the World called Animals, *Soul*, and

and *Mind*, *Sense* and *Understanding*, *Counsel* and *Wisdom*. But to think that there was any *Animalish Nature* before all these *Animals*, or that there was an antecedent Mind and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom, by which all Animals themselves, together with the whole World, were made and contrived, is either to run round in a Senseless Circle, making Animals and Animality to be before one another infinitely; or else to suppose an impossible Beginning of an Original Understanding Quality in the Matter. Atoms in their first Coalitions together, when the World was a making, were not then directed by any previous Counsel or preventive Understanding, which were things as yet Unborn and Unmade,

Nam certè neq; consilio Primordia rerum
Ordine se quæque atque sagaci mente locârunt,
Nec quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profectò.

Mind and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom did not lay the Foundations of the Universe, they are no *Archical things*, that is, they have not the Nature of a *Principle* in them, they are not *Simple*, *Original*, *Primitive* and *Primordial*, but as all other Qualities of Bodies, *Secundary*, *Compounded* and *Derivative*, and therefore they could not be *Architectonical* of the World. *Mind* and *Understanding* is no *God*, but the *Creature* of *Matter* and *Motion*.

The sence of this whole Argument is briefly this; The first Principle of all things in the whole Universe is Matter, or Atoms devoid of all Qualities, and consequently of all Life, Sense and Understanding, and therefore the Original of things is no Understanding, Nature, or Deity.

XI. Seventhly, The Democritick Atheists argue further after this manner: They who assert a Deity, suppose ἔμψυχον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, *the whole World to be Animated*, that is, to have a Living, Rational and Understanding Nature presiding over it. Now it is already evident from some of the premised Arguments, that the World cannot be Animated, in the sence of Platonists, that is, with an Incorporeal Soul, which is in order of Nature before Body, it being proved already that there can be no Substance Incorporeal; as likewise that it cannot be Animated neither in the Stoical sence, so as to have an Original Quality of Understanding or Mind in the Matter; But yet nevertheless, some may possibly imagine, that as in our selves and other Animals, though compounded of Senseless Atoms, there is a Soul and Mind, resulting from the Contexture of them, which being once made, domineers over the Body, governing and ordering it at pleasure; so there may be likewise such a Living Soul and Mind, not only in the Stars, which many have supposed to be lesser Deities, and in the Sun, which has been reputed a principal Deity; but also in the whole Mundane System, made up of Earth, Seas, Air, Ether, Sun, Moon, and Starrs all together; one General Soul and Mind, which though resulting at first from the Fortuitous Motion of Matter, yet being once produced,

may rule, govern and ſway the Whole, Underſtandingly, and in a more perfect manner than our Souls do our Bodies, and ſo long as it continues, exerciſe a Principality and Dominion over it. Which although it will not amount to the full Notion of a God, according to the ſtrict ſence of Theiſts, yet it will approach very near unto it, and indanger the bringing in of all the ſame Inconveniences along with it. Wherefore they will now prove that there is no ſuch Soul or Mind as this, (reſulting from the Contexture of Atoms) that preſides over the Corporeal Univerſe, that ſo there may not be ſo much as the Shadow of a Deity left.

It was obſerved before, that Life, Senſe, Reaſon and Underſtanding are but Qualities of Concreted Bodies, like thoſe other Qualities of Heat, and Cold, *&c.* ariſing from certain particular Textures of Atoms; Now as thoſe firſt Principles of Bodies, namely ſingle Atoms, have none of thoſe Qualities in them, ſo neither hath the whole Univerſe any (that it can be denominated from) but, only the Parts of it. The whole World is neither Black nor White, Hot nor Cold, Pellucid nor Opake, it containing all thoſe Qualities in its ſeveral Parts: In like manner, the whole has no Life, Senſe, nor Underſtanding in it, but only the parts of it, which are called Animals. That is, Life and Senſe are qualities that ariſe, only from ſuch a Texture of Atoms as produceth ſoft Fleſh, Blood, and Brains, in Bodies organized, with Head, Heart, Bowels, Nerves, Muſcles, Veins, Arteries and the like;

——Senſus jungitur omnis
Viſceribus, Nervis, Venis, quæcunque videmus,
Mollia mortali conſiſtere Corpore creta;

And Reaſon and Underſtanding, properly ſo called, are peculiar Appendices to humane Shape; *Ratio nuſquam eſſe poteſt niſi in hominis figura.* From whence it is concluded that there is no Life, Soul nor Underſtanding acting the whole World, becauſe the World hath no Blood nor Brains, nor any Animaliſh or Humane Form. *Qui Mundum ipſum Animantem ſapientemque eſſe dixerunt, nullo modo viderunt Animi Naturam, in quam Figuram cadere poſſet.* Therefore the Epicurean Poet concludes upon this Ground, that there is no Divine Senſe in the whole World,

Diſpoſitum videtur ubi eſſe & creſcere poſſit
Seorſim Anima atque Animus; tanto magis inficiandum,
Totum poſſe extra Corpus Formámque Animalem,
Putribus in glebis terrarum, aut Solis in Igni,
Aut in Aqua durare, aut altis Ætheris oris.
Haud igitur conſtant Divino *prædita* Senſu,
Quandoquidem nequeunt vitaliter eſſe Animata.

Now if there be no Life nor Underſtanding above us, nor round about us, nor any where elſe in the World, but only in our ſelves and Fellow-Animals, and we be the higheſt of all Beings; if neither the

the whole Corporeal System be Animated, nor those greater parts of it, Sun, Moon nor Stars, then there can be no danger of any Deity.

XII. Eighthly, the Democritick Atheists dispute further against a Deity in this manner : The Deity is generally supposed to be ζῶον μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον, *a Perfectly Happy Animal, Incorruptible and Immortal.* Now there is no Living Being Incorruptible and Immortal, and therefore none perfectly Happy neither. For according to that Democritick *Hypothesis* of Atoms in Vacuity ; the only Incorruptible things will be These three : First of all, *Vacuum* or *Empty Space*, which must needs be such, because it cannot suffer from any thing, since it is *plagarum expers*,

Et manet intactum, nec ab ictu fungitur hilum.

Secondly, the *Single Atoms*, because by reason of their Parvitude and Solidity, they are Indivisible ; And lastly, the *Summa Summarum* of all things, that is the Comprehension of all Atoms dispersed every where throughout Infinite Space.

——Quia nulla loci sit copia certum
Quò quasi res possint discedere dissolúique.

But according to that other *Hypothesis* of some modern Atomists (which also was entertained of old by *Empedocles*) that supposes a Plenity, there is nothing at all Incorruptible, but the Substance of Matter it self. All Systems and Compages of it, all συγκρίματα and ἀθροίσματα, all Concretions and Coagmentations, of Matter divided by Motion, together with the Qualities resulting from them, are Corruptible and Destroyable : *Quæ est Coagmentatio rerum non dissolubilis ?* Death destroys not the Substance of any Matter ; For as no Matter came from Nothing but was Self-eternal, so none of it can ever vanish into Nothing ; but it dissolves all the Aggregations of it.

Non sic interimit Mors res ut Materiai
Corpora conficiat, sed cœtum dissupat ollis.

Life is no *Substantial thing*, nor any *Primitive* or *Simple Nature* ; it is only an *Accident* or *Quality* arising from the Aggregation and Contexture of Atoms or *Corpuscula*, which when the Compages of them is disunited and dissolved, though all the Substance still remain scattered and dispersed, yet the Life utterly perishes and vanisheth into Nothing. No Life is Immortal ; there is no Immortal Soul ; not Immortal Animal, or Deity. Though this whole Mundane System were it self an Animal, yet being but an Aggregation of Matter, it would be both Corruptible and Mortal. Wherefore since no living Being can possibly have any security of its future Permanency ; there is none that can be perfectly *Happy*. And it was rightly determined by our Fellow-Atheists, the *Hedonicks* and *Cyrenaicks*, εὐδαιμονία ἀνύπαρκτον, *Perfect Happiness is a mere Notion*, a Romantick Fiction, a thing which can have no Existence any where. This is recorded to have been one of *Democri-*

tus his chief Arguments against a Deity, because there can be no Living Being *Immortal*, and consequently none perfectly *Happy*. *Cum Democritus, quia nihil semper suo statu maneat, neget, esse quicquam sempiternum, nonne Deum ità tollit omnino, ut nullam Opinionem ejus reliquam faciat?*

XIII. A Ninth pretended Demonstration of the Democritick Atheists is as followeth. By God is understood a *First Cause* or *Mover*, which being not before acted upon by any thing else, but acting Originally from it self, was the Beginning of all things. Now it is an indubitable Axiom, and generally received amongst Philosophers, that Nothing can move it self, but *Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur, Whatsoever is moved is moved by something else*; nothing can act otherwise than it is made to act, by something without it, acting upon it. The necessary Consequence whereof is this, That there can be no such thing as any *First Mover*, or *First Cause*, that is, no God. This Argument is thus urged by a Modern Writer, agreeably to the Sence of the Ancient Democriticks; *Ex eo quòd nihil potest movere seipsum, non inferetur, id quod inferri solet, nempe* Æternum Immobile, *sed contrà* Æternum Motum, *siquidem ut verum est, nihil moveri à seipso, ita etiam verum est nihil moveri nisi à Moto. From hence, that Nothing can move it self, it cannot be rightly inferred, as commonly it is, that there is an Eternal Immoveable Mover* (that is, a God) *but only an Eternal Moved Mover; or that one thing was moved by another from Eternity, without any first Mover. Because as it is true that nothing can be Moved, but from it self; so it is likewise true, that nothing can be moved but from that which was it self also moved by something else before*; and so the progress upwards must needs be infinite, without any Beginning or first Mover. The plain Drift and Scope of this Ratiocination, is no other then this, to shew that the Argument commonly taken from Motion, to prove a God, (that is, a *First Mover* or *Cause*) is not only Ineffectual and Inconclusive; but also that on the contrary, it may be demonstrated from that very Topick of Motion; that there can be no Absolutely First Mover, No First in the order of Causes, that is, no God.

XIV. Tenthly, because the Theists conceive that though no Body can move it self, yet a perfect *Cogitative*, and *Thinking Being* might be the Beginning of all, and the first Cause of Motion; the Atheists will endeavour to evince the contrary, in this manner. No man can conceive how any Cogitation which was not before, should rise up at any time, but that there was some cause for it, without the *Thinker*. For else there can be no reason given, why this Thought rather than that, and at this time rather than another, should start up. Wherefore this is universally true, of all Motion and Action whatsoever, as it was rightly urged by the Stoicks, that there can be no κίνησις ἀναίτιος, no *Motion without a Cause*, *i. e.* no Motion which has not some Cause without the Subject of it. Or, as the same thing is expressed by a modern Writer, *Nothing taketh Beginning from it self, but from the Action of some other Immediate Agent without it.* Wherefore no *Thinking Being* could be a *First Cause*, any more than an *Automaton* or Machin could. To this, it is further argued, that these

these two Notions, the one of a *Knowing Understanding* Being, the other of a *Perfectly Happy* Being, are Contradictious, because all Knowledge Essentially implies Dependence upon something else, as its Cause; *Scientia & Intellectus signum est Potentiæ ab alio Dependentis, id quod non est Beatissimum.* They conclude that Cogitation and all Action whatsoever, is really nothing else but Local Motion, which is Essentially *Heterokineste*, that which can never rise of it self, but is caused by some other Agent without its Subject.

XV. In the Eleventh place, the Democritick Atheists reason thus: If the World were made by any Antecedent Mind or Understanding, that is, by a Deity; then there must needs be an *Idæa, Platform* and *Exemplar* of the whole World before it was made; and consequently Actual Knowledge, both in order of Time and Nature, before Things. But all Knowledge is the *Information* of the things themselves known, all Conception of the Mind is a *Passion* from the things Conceived, and their Activity upon it; and is therefore Juniour to them. Wherefore the World and Things, were before Knowledge and the Conception of any Mind, and no Knowledge, Mind or Deity before the World as its Cause. This Argument is thus proposed by the Atheistick Poet;

Exemplum porro gignundis rebus, & ipsa
Notities hominum Divis unde insita primùm,
Quid vellent facere ut scirent, animoq; viderent?
Quove modo est unquam Vis cognita Principiorum,
Quidnam inter sese permutato Ordine possent,
Si non ipsa dedit specimen Natura creandi?

How could the supposed Deity have a Pattern or Platform in his Mind, to frame the World by, and whence should he receive it? How could he have any Knowledge of Men before they were made, as also what himself should will to do when there was nothing? How could he understand the Force and Possibility of the Principles, what they would produce when variously combined together, before Nature and Things themselves, by Creating, had given a Specimen?

XVI. A Twelfth Argumentation of the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists against a Deity, is to this purpose: That things could not be made by a Deity that is supposed to be a Being every way Perfect; because they are so Faulty, and so Ill made: The Argument is thus propounded by *Lucretius*;

Quòd si jam rerum ignorem primordia quæ sint,
Hoc tamen ex ipsis Cœli Rationibus ausim
Confirmare, aliisque ex rebus reddere multis,
Nequaquam nobis Divinitùs *esse paratam*
Naturam rerum, tantâ stat prædita Culpâ.

This Argument, *à Cœli Rationibus*, from Astronomy, or the Constitution of the Heavens, is this: That the Mundane Sphere is so framed, in

reſpect of the Diſpoſition of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, as renders the greateſt part of the Earth uninhabitable to Men and moſt other Animals; partly by reaſon of that exceſs of Heat in the Torrid Zone (containing all between the Tropicks) and partly from the Extremity of Cold in both the Frigid Zones, towards either Pole. Again, whereas the Stoical Theiſts Contemporary with *Epicurus* concluded, that the whole World was made by a Deity, only for the ſake of Men,

——————— Horum omnia cauſâ
Conſtituiſſe Deum fingunt———————

It is urged on the contrary, that a great part of the Habitable Earth is taken up by Seas, Lakes and Rocks, barren Heaths and Sands, and thereby made uſeleſs for Mankind; and that the remainder of it yields no fruit to them, unleſs expugned by obſtinate Labour, after all which, men are often diſappointed of the Fruits of thoſe Labours, by unſeaſonable Weather, Storms and Tempeſts. Again, that Nature has not only produced many noxious and poiſonous Herbs, but alſo Deſtructive and Devouring Animals, whoſe Strength ſurpaſſeth that of Mens; and that the Condition of Mankind is ſo much Inferiour to that of Brutes, that Nature ſeems to have been but a Step-mother to the former, whilſt ſhe hath been an Indulgent Mother to the latter. And to this purpoſe, the manner of mens coming into the World is thus aggravated by the Poet:

Tum porro puer, ut ſævis projectus ab undis
Navita, nudus humi jacet, infans, indigus omni
Vitaî auxilio, cùm primùm in luminis oras
Nixibus ex alvo matris natura profudit:
Vagitúque locum lugubri complet, ut æquum 'ſt,
Quoî tantum in vita reſtet tranſire malorum.

But on the contrary, the Comparative Advantages of Brutes and their Privileges, which they have above men, are deſcribed after this manner:

At variæ creſcunt pecudes, armenta, feræque:
Nec crepitacula eis opu' ſunt, nec quoiquam adhibenda 'ſt
Almæ nutricis Blanda atque Infracta loquela;
Nec variàs quærunt veſtes pro tempore cœli.
Denique non armis opus eſt, non mœnibus altis,
Queis ſua tutentur, quando omnibus omnia largè
Tellus ipſa parit, naturáque Dædala rerum.

And Laſtly, The Topick of Evils in General, is inſiſted upon by them, not thoſe which are are called *Culpæ*, Evils of Fault (for that is a Thing which the Democritick Atheiſts utterly explode in the Genuine Sence of it) but the Evils of Pain and Trouble; which they diſpute concerning, after this manner. The Suppoſed Deity and Maker of the World, was either Willing to aboliſh all Evils, but

but not Able, or he was Able but not Willing; or Thirdly, he was neither Willing nor Able; or else Lastly, he was both Able and Willing. This Latter is the only thing that answers fully to the Notion of a God. Now that the supposed Creator of all things was not thus both Able and Willing to abolish all Evils, is plain, because then there would have been no Evils at all left. Wherefore since there is such a Deluge of Evils overflowing all, it must needs be, that either he was Willing and not Able to remove them, and then he was *Impotent*, or else he was Able and not Willing, and then he was *Envious*, or Lastly he was neither Able nor Willing, and then he was both *Impotent* and *Envious*.

XVII. In the Twelfth Place, the Atheists further dispute in this manner. If the World were made by any Deity, then it would be governed by a *Providence*, and if there were any *Providence*, it must appear in Humane Affairs. But here it is plain, that all is *Tohu* and *Bohu*, *Chaos* and *Confusion:* Things happening alike to all, to the Wise and Foolish, Religious and Impious, Virtuous and Vicious. (For these Names the Atheist cannot chuse but make use of, though by taking away Natural Morality, they really destroy the Things.) From whence it is concluded, that all things float up and down, as they are agitated and driven by the Tumbling Billows of Careless Fortune and Chance. The Impieties of *Dionysius*, his scoffing Abuses of Religion, and whatsoever was then Sacred, or worshipt under the Notion of a God, were most notorious; and yet it is observed, that he fared never a jot the worse for it. *Hunc nec Olympius Jupiter fulmine percussit, nec Æsculapius miserο diuturnóque morbo tabescentem interemit, verùm in suo lectulo mortuus, in Tympanidis rogum illatus est, eámque potestatem quam ipse per scelus nactus erat, quasi justam & legitimam, hæreditatis loco tradidit:* Neither did Jupiter Olympius *strike him with a Thunderbolt, nor* Æsculapius *inflict any languishing Disease upon him, but he died in his bed, and was honourably interred, and that Power which he had wickedly acquired, he transmitted, as a Just and Lawful Inheritance, to his Posterity.* And *Diogenes* the Cynick, though much a Theist, could not but acknowledge, that *Harpalus* a famous Robber or Pirate in those times, who committing many Villanous actions, notwithstanding lived prosperously, did thereby *Testimonium dicere contra Deos, bear testimony against the Gods.* Though it has been objected by the Theists, and thought to be a strong argument for Providence, that there were so many Tables hung up in Temples, the Monuments of such as having prayed to the Gods in Storms and Tempests, had escaped Shipwrack; yet as *Diagoras* observed, *Nusquam picti sunt qui Naufragium fecerunt, there are no Tables extant of those of them who were Shipwrackt.* Wherefore it was not considered by these Theists, how many of them that prayed as well to the Gods, did notwithstanding suffer Shipwrack; as also how many of those, which never made any Devotional Addresses at all, to any Deity, escaped equal Dangers of Storms and Tempests.

More

Moreover, it is consentaneous to the opinion of a God, to think that Thunder ratling in the Clouds with Thunder-bolts, should be the immediate Significations of his wrath and displeasure: whereas it is plain, that these are flung at random, and that the Fury of them often lights upon the Innocent, whilst the notoriously guilty scape untouched, and therefore we understand not, how this can be answered by any Theists.

Cur, quibus incautum Scelus aversabile cumque est,
Non faciunt, icti flammas ut fulguris halent,
Pectore perfixo; documen Mortalibus acre?
Et potiùs nullæ sibi turpis Conscius reii,
Volvitur in flammis innoxius, inque peditur,
Turbine cœlesti, subito correptus, & igni?

Now the force of this Argument appears to be very powerful, because it hath not only staggered and confounded *Theists* in all Ages, but also hath effectually transformed many of them into *Atheists*. For *Diagoras Melius* himself was once a Superstitious Religionist, in so much that being a *Dithyrambick* Poet, he began one of his Poems with these words, κ) δαίμονα κ) τύχω πάντα τελεῖται, *All things are done by God and Fortune.* But being injured afterwards by a Perjured Person, that suffered no Evil nor Disaster thereupon, he therefore took up this contrary Perswasion, that there was no Deity. And there have been innumerable others, who have been so far wrought upon by this Consideration, as if not absolutely to disclaim and discard a Deity, yet utterly to deny Providence, and all Care of Humane Affairs by any Invisible Powers. Amongst whom the Poet was one, who thus expressed his Sence.

Sed cùm res hominum tantâ caligine volvi
Aspicerem, lætósque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat
Religio, causæque viam non sponte sequebar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere Semina motu
Affirmat, magnúmque novas per Inane Figuras,
Fortunâ non Arte regi; quæ Numina sensu
Ambiguo vel Nulla putat, vel Nescia nostri.

XVIII. A thirteenth Argumentation of the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists is to this purpose; That whereas the Deity is supposed to be such a being, as both Knows all that is done every where in the most distant Places of the World at once, and doth himself immediately Order all things; this is, First, impossible for any one Being, thus to animadvert and order all things in the whole Universe,

Quis regere immensi Summam, quis habere profundi
Indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas?
Quîs pariter cœlos omneis convertere? & omneis

Ignibus

Ignibus ætheriis terras ſuffire feraceis?
Omnibus inque locis eſſe omni tempore præſtò;
Nubibus ut tenebras faciat, cœlique ſerena
Concutiat ſonitu? &c.

And Secondly, if it were ſuppoſed to be poſſible, yet ſuch infinite *Negotioſity* would be abſolutely inconſiſtent with a *Happy State*; Nor could ſuch a Deity ever have any quiet Enjoyment of himſelf, being Perpetually filled with Tumult and Hurliburly, ὁ συμφωνεῖσι πραγματείαι καὶ φροντίδες καὶ ὀργαὶ καὶ χάριτες μακαριότητι, ἀλλ' ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ προσδεήσει τοῦ πλησίον ταῦτα γίνεται· *Diſtraction of Buſineſs and Sollicitous Cares, Diſpleaſures and Favours, do not at all agree with Happineſs, but they proceed from Imbecillity, Indigency and Fear:* τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ὅτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει, ὅτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει, ὥστε ὅτε ὀργαῖς ὅτε χάρισι συνέχεται, ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον· *That which is Happy and Incorruptible, would neither have it ſelf any Buſineſs to do, nor create any to others, it would neither have Diſpleaſure nor Favour, towards any other Perſons, to engage it in Action; all this proceeding from Indigency.* That is, *Favour* and *Benevolence*, as well as Anger and Diſpleaſure, ariſe only from *Imbecillity*. That which is perfectly happy and wanteth nothing, ὅλον ὃν περὶ τὴν συνοχὴν τῆς ἰδίας εὐδαιμονίας, *being wholly poſſeſſed and taken up in the Enjoyment of its own Happineſs*, would be regardleſs of the Concernments of any others; and mind nothing beſides it ſelf, either to do it Good or Harm. Wherefore, this *Curioſus & plenus Negotii Deus, This Buſie, Reſtleſs, and Pragmatical Deity*, that muſt needs intermeddle and have to do with every thing in the whole World, is a Contradictious Notion, ſince it cannot but be the moſt Unhappy of all things.

XIX. In the Next Place, the Atheiſts diſpute further by propounding Several bold *Quæries*, which they conceive unanſwerable, after this manner. If the World were made by a Deity, why was it not made by him ſooner? or ſince it was ſo long unmade, why did he make it at all? *Cur mundi Ædificator repentè extiterit, innumerabili antè ſæcula dormîerit? How came this Builder and Architect of the World, to ſtart up upon a ſuddain, after he had ſlept for infinite Ages*, and bethink himſelf of making a World? For, certainly, if he had been awake all that while, he would either have made it ſooner, or not at all; becauſe there was either ſomething wanting to his Happineſs, before, or nothing; if there had been any thing wanting before, then the World could not have been ſo long unmade; but if he were completely Happy in himſelf without it, then μηδὲν ἐλλείπων κενοῖς ἐμέλλεν ὑπάρχειν πράξεσι, *wanting nothing, he vainly went about to make ſuperfluous things.* All deſire of Change and Novelty, argues a Faſtidious Satiety, proceeding from Defect and Indigency;

Quidve novi potuit tantò pòſt, antè quietos
Inlicere, ut cuperent vitam mutare priorem?
Nam gaudere novis rebus debere videtur
Quoi veteres obſunt; ſed quoi nil accidit ægri

Tempore

Tempore in anteacto, cùm pulchrè degeret ævum,
Quid potuit novitatis amorem accendere tali?

Did this Deity, therefore light up the Stars, as ſo many Lamps or Torches, in that vaſt Abyſs of infinite Darkneſs, that himſelf might thereby have a more comfortable and chearful Habitation? Why would he then content himſelf from Eternity, to dwell in ſuch a Melancholick, Horrid, and Forlorn Dungeon?

An Credo in tenebris vitâ & mœrore jacebat,
Donec diluxit rerum Genitalis Origo?

Was Company and that Variety of Things, by which Heaven and Earth are diſtinguiſhed, deſireable to him? Why then would he continue Solitary ſo long, wanting the pleaſure of ſuch a Spectacle? Did he make the World and men in it to this end, that himſelf might be worſhipped and adored, feared and honoured by them? But what could he be the better for that, who was ſufficiently happy alone in himſelf before? Or did he do it for the Sake of Men, to gratifie and oblige them?

——At quid immortalibus atque beatis
Gratia noſtra queat largirier emolumenti,
Ut noſtrâ quicquam causâ gerere aggrediantur?

Again, if this were done for the ſake of Men, then it muſt be either for Wiſe Men or for Fools; If for Wiſe men only, then all that Pains was taken but for a very few; but if for Fools, what reaſon could there be, why the Deity ſhould ſeek to deſerve ſo well at their hands? Beſides this, what hurt would it have been to any of us, (whether Wiſe or Fooliſh) never to have been made?

Quidve mali fuerat nobis non eſſe creatis?
Natus enim debet quicunque eſt, velle manere
In vita, donec retinebit blanda voluptas:
Qui nunquam verò vitæ guſtavit amorem,
Nec fuit in numero, quid obeſt non eſſe creatum?

Laſtly, if this Deity muſt needs go about moliminouſly to make a World, ἐργάτης ἀπλῶς ἢ τέκτονος; *like an Artificer and Carpenter*, what Tools and Inſtruments could he have to work withall? what Miniſters and Subſervient Opificers? what Engins and Machins for the rearing up of ſo huge a Fabrick? How could he make the Matter to underſtand his meaning, and obey his beck? how could he move it and turn it up and down? For if Incorporeal, he could neither touch nor be touched, but would run through all things, without faſtening upon any thing: but if Corporeal, then the ſame thing was both Materials and Architect, both Timber and Carpenter, and the Stones muſt hew themſelves, and bring themſelves together, with diſcretion, into a Structure.

XX. In the last Place, the Atheists argue from *Interest* (which proves many times the most effectual of all Arguments) against a Deity; endeavouring to perswade, that it is, First, the *Interest* of *Private Persons*, and of all *Man-kind* in General; and Secondly, the Particular *Interest* of *Civil Sovereigns*, and *Commonwealths*; that there should neither be a *God*, nor the Belief of any such thing entertained by the minds of Men; that is, no Religion. First, they say therefore, that it is the *Interesse* of Mankind in General; Because so long as men are perswaded, that there is an Understanding Being infinitely Powerful, having no Law but his own Will, (because he has no Superiour) that may do whatever he pleases at any Time to them, they can never Securely enjoy themselves or any thing, nor be ever free from disquieting Fear and Solicitude. What the Poets Fable of *Tantalus* in Hell, being alwaies in fear of a huge stone hanging over his Head, and ready every Moment to tumble down upon him, is nothiug to that true fear which men have of a Deity, and Religion, here in this Life, which indeed was the very thing mythologized in it.

Nec miser impendens magnum timet aëre Saxum
Tantalus, (ut fama est) cassâ formidine torpens:
Sed magis in vita, Divûm Metus urget inanis
Mortales, casúmque timent, quemcumque ferat Fors.

For besides mens *Insecurity*, from all manner of present Evils, upon the Supposition of a God, the Immortality of Souls can hardly be kept out, but it will crowd in after it, and then the fear of Eternal Punishments after Death will unavoidably follow thereupon, perpetually embittering all the Solaces of Life, and never suffering men to have the least sincere Enjoyment.

——si certam finem esse viderent
Ærumnarum homines, aliquâ ratione valerent,
Relligionibus, atque minis obsistere Vatum.
Nunc ratio nulla est restandi, nulla facultas:
Æternas quoniam Pœnas in morte timendum.
Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura Animaï,
Nata sit, an contrà nascentibus insinuetur;
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,
An Tenebras Orci visat vastásque Lacunas.

Wherefore it is plain, that they who first introduced the *Belief* of a *Deity* and *Religion*, whatever they might aim at in it, deserved very ill of all Mankind, because they did thereby infinitely debase and depress mens Spirits under a Servile Fear,

Efficiunt animos humiles, formidine Divûm,
Depressósque premunt ad Terram:

As also cause the greatest Griefs and Calamities that now disturb Humane Life,

Quantos

Quantos tum gemitus ipsi sibi, quantáq; nobis
Volnera, quas lachrymas peperere Minoribu' nostris?

There can be no comfortable and happy Living, without banishing from our Mind, the belief of these two things, of a Deity and the Souls Immortality,

Et metus ille foràs præceps Acheruntis agendus
Funditus, humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo,
Omnia suffundens Mortis Nigrore, neque ullam
Esse voluptatem Liquidam, Purámque relinquit.

It was therefore a Noble and Heroical Exploit of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, those two good-natured Men, who seeing the World thus oppressed under the grievous Yoke of Religion, the Fear of a Deity and Punishment after death, and taking pity of this sad Condition of Mankind, did manfully encounter that affrightful Spectre or *Empusa*, of a *Providential Deity*; and by clear Philosophick Reasons, chase it away, and banish it quite out of the World; laying down such Principles, as would salve all the *Phænomena* of Nature without a God;

Quæ bene cognita si teneas, Natura videtur
Libera continuò, Dominis privata Superbis,
Ipsa suâ per se sponte, Omnia Dis agere expers.

So that *Lucretius* does not without just Cause, erect a Triumphal Arch or Monument to *Epicurus*, for this Conquest or Victory of his, obtained over the Deity and Religion, in this manner;

Humana ante oculos fœdè quum vita jaceret,
In terris oppressa gravi sub Relligione,
Quæ caput à Cœli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans;
Primùm Graius homo mortales tendere contrà
Est oculos ausus, primúsque obsistere contrà;
Quem nec fama Deûm nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compressit cœlum, &c.

XXI. That it is also the Interests of Civil Sovereigns and of all Common-wealths, that there should neither be *Deity* nor *Religion*, the Democritick Atheists would perswade in this manner; A *Body Politick* or Common-wealth is made up of parts, that are all *naturally Dissociated* from one another, by reason of that Principle of *private Self-love*, who therefore can be no otherwise held together than by *Fear*; Now if there be any greater *Fear* than the *Fear* of the *Leviathan*, and Civil Representative, the whole Structure and Machin of this great Colosse must needs fall a-pieces, and tumble down. The Civil Sovereign reigns only in *Fear*, wherefore unless his Fear be the King and Sovereign of all *Fears*, his Empire and Dominion ceases.

ceases. But as the Rod of *Moses* devoured the Rods of the *Magicians*, so certainly will the fear of an omnipotent Deity, that can punish with eternal Torments after Death, quite swallow up and devour that comparatively Petty *Fear* of *Civil Sovereigns*, and consequently destroy the Being of *Commonwealths*, which have no Foundation in *Nature*, but are mere *Artificial Things*, made by the *Enchantment* and *Magical Art* of *Policy*. Wherefore it is well observed by a Modern Writer, *That men ought not to suffer themselves to be abused, by the Doctrine of Separated Essences and Incorporeal Substances*, (such as God and the Soul) *built upon the vain Philosophy of* Aristotle, *that would fright men from obeying the Laws of their Country, with Empty Names, (as of Hell, Damnation, Fire and Brimstone) as men fright Birds from the Corn, with an empty Hat, Dublet, and a crooked Stick.* And again; *If the fear of Spirits* (the chief of which is the Deity) *were taken away, men would be much more fitted than they are for Civil Obedience.*

Moreover, the Power of Civil Sovereigns is perfectly *Indivisible*; 'tis either *All* or *Nothing*, it must be *Absolute* and *Infinite*, or else 'tis none at all; now it cannot be so, if there be any other Power equal to it, to share with it, much less if there be any Superiour (as that of the Deity) to check it and controul it. Wherefore the Deity must of Necessity be removed and displaced, to make room for the *Leviathan* to spread himself in.

Lastly, 'Tis perfectly inconsistent with the Nature of a *Body Politick*, that there should be any *Private Judgment of Good or Evil, Lawful or Unlawful, Just or Unjust* allowed; but *Conscience* (which *Theism* and *Religion* introduces) is *Private Judgment* concerning *Good* and *Evil*; and therefore the Allowance of it, is contradictious to Civil Sovereignty and a Commonwealth. There ought to be no other *Conscience* (in a Kingdom or Commonwealth) besides the *Law of the Countrey*; the allowance of *Private Conscience* being, *ipso facto*, a Dissolution of the *Body Politick*, and a Return to the *State of Nature*. Upon all these accounts it must needs be acknowledged, that those Philosophers who undermine and weaken *Theism* and *Religion*, do highly deserve of all Civil *Sovereigns* and *Commonwealths*.

XXII. Now from all the premised Considerations, the *Democriticks* confidently conclude against a *Deity*; That the System and Compages of the Universe, had not its Original from any *Understanding Nature*, but that *Mind* and *Understanding* it self, as well as all things else in the World, sprung up from Senseless *Nature* and *Chance*, or from the *unguided* and *undirected Motion* of *Matter*. Which is therefore called by the Name of *Nature*, because whatsoever moves is moved by *Nature* and *Necessity*, and the mutual *Occursions* and *Rencounters* of Atoms, their *Plagæ*, their Stroaks and Dashings against one another, their Reflexions and Repercussions, their Cohesions, Implexions, and Entanglements, as also their Scattered Dispersions and Divulsions, are all *Natural* and *Necessary*; but it is called also by the

name of *Chance* and *Fortune*, becauſe it is all unguided by any *Mind*, *Counſel* or *Deſign*.

Wherefore *Infinite Atoms* of different ſizes and figures, devoid of all Life and Senſe, moving Fortuitouſly from Eternity in infinite Space, and making ſucceſſively ſeveral *Encounters*, and conſequently various *Implexions* and *Entanglements* with one another; produced firſt a confuſed *Chaos* of theſe Omnifarious Particles, jumbling together with infinite variety of Motions, which afterward by the tugging of their different and contrary forces, whereby they all hindred and abated each other, came, as it were by joint Conſpiracy, to be Conglomerated into a Vortex or Vortices; where after many Convolutions and Evolutions, Molitions and Eſſays (in which all manner of Tricks were tried, and all Forms imaginable experimented) they chanced in length of time here to ſettle, into this Form and Syſtem of things, which now is, of Earth, Water, Air and Fire; Sun, Moon and Stars; Plants, Animals and Men; So that *Senſleſs Atoms*, fortuitouſly moved, and *Material Chaos*, were the firſt Original of all things.

This Account of the *Coſmopœia*, and firſt Original of the Mundane Syſtem, is repreſented by *Lucretius* according to the mind of *Epicurus*, though without any mention of thoſe *Vortices*, which yet were an eſſential part of the old *Democritick Hypotheſis*.

Sed quibus ille modis conjectus materiaï
Fundarit cœlum, ae terram, pontîque profunda,
Solis, lunaï curſus, ex ordine ponam.
Nam certè neque conſilio primordia rerum,
Ordine ſe quæque atque ſagaci mente locarunt:
Nec, quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profectò:
Sed quia multa modis multis primordia rerum,
Ex infinito jam tempore percita plagis,
Ponderibúſque ſuis conſuerunt concita ferri,
Omni'modiſque coire, atque omnia pertentare,
Quæcunque inter ſe poſſent congreſſa creare:
Propterea fit, utì magnum volgata per ævum,
Omnigenos cœtus, & motus experiundo,
Tandem ea conveniant, quæ ut convenere, repentè
Magnarum rerum fiant exordia ſæpe,
Terraï, Maris, & Cœli, generiſque Animantum.

But becauſe ſome ſeem to think that *Epicurus* was the firſt Founder and Inventor of this Doctrine, we ſhall here obſerve, that this ſame Atheiſtick *Hypotheſis* was long before deſcribed by *Plato*, when *Epicurus* was, as yet unborn; and therefore doubtleſs according to the Doctrine of *Leucippus*, *Democritus* and *Protagoras*; though that Philoſopher, in a kind of diſdain (as it ſeems) refuſed to mention either of their Names, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα, φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασί· τέχνῃ δ' ὀδὲν τούτων. καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖ σώματα, γῆς τε καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἄστρων τε πέρι, διὰ τούτων γεγονέναι, παντελῶς ὄντων ἀψύχων.

τύχῃ

τύχῃ ὑ φερόμενα τῇ ς δυνάμεως ἕκαστα ἑκάστων, ᾗ ξυμπέπτωκεν, ἁρμόττοντα οἰκείως πως, &c. ταύτῃ ἢ κἀ ταῦτα ὅτω γεγεννῆκέναι τ τε ἠρανὸν ὅλον ἢ πάντα ὁπόσα κατ' ἠρανόν· ἢ ζῶα αὖ ἢ φυτὰ ξύμπαντα ὥρων πασῶν ἐκ τούτων γενομένων· ὑ διὰ νῦν (φασιν) ὐδὲ διά τινα θεὸν, ὐδὲ διὰ τέχνην· ἀλλὰ ὃ λέγομεν, φύσῃ ἢ τύχῃ· τέχνην ὑ ὕστερον ἐκ τούτων ὑστέρων γενομένην, &c. *The Atheists say that Fire, Water, Air and Earth* (*i. e.* the four Elements) *were all made by Nature and Chance; and none of them by Art or Mind* (that is, they were made by the fortuitous Motion of Atoms, and not by any Deity) *And that those other Bodies, of the Terrestrial Globe, of the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars* (which by all, except these Atheists, were, in those times, generally supposed to be Animated, and a kind of Inferiour Deities) *were afterwards made out of the foresaid Elements, being altogether Inanimate. For they being moved fortuitously or as it happened, and so making various commixtures together, did by that means, at length produce the whole Heavens and all things in them, as likewise Plants and Animals here upon earth, all which were not made by Mind, nor by Art, nor by any God; but, as we said before, by Nature and Chance. Art and Mind it self, rising up afterwards from the same Senseless Principles in Animals.*

CHAP. III.

An Introduction to the Confutation of the Atheiſtick Grounds, *in which is contained a particular Accompt of all the ſeveral* Forms *of* Atheiſm. 1. *That the Grounds of the* Hylozoick Atheiſm *could not be inſiſted on in the former Chapter, together with thoſe of the* Atomick, *they being directly contrary each to other; with a further Accompt of this* Hylozoick Atheiſm. 2. *A Suggeſtion, by way of Caution, for the preventing of all miſtakes, That every* Hylozoiſt *muſt not therefore be condemned for an* Atheiſt, *or a mere Counterfeit Hiſtrionical* Theiſt. 3. *That nevertheleſs, ſuch* Hylozoiſts *as are alſo* Corporealiſts, *can by no means be excuſed from the Imputation of* Atheiſm, *for Two Reaſons.* 4. *That* Strato Lampſacenus, *commonly called* Phyſicus, *ſeems to have been the firſt Aſſerter of the* Hylozoick Atheiſm, *he holding no other God but the* Life of Nature *in* Matter. 5. *Further proved, that* Strato *was an Atheiſt, and that of a different Form from* Democritus, *he attributing an Energetick Nature, but without Senſe and Animality, to all Matter:* 6. *That* Strato *not deriving all things from a mere Fortuitous Principle, as the* Democritick Atheiſts *did, nor yet acknowledging any one* Plaſtick Nature *to preſide over the Whole, but deducing the Original of things from a Mixture of* Chance *and* Plaſtick Nature *both together, in the ſeveral parts of* Matter, *muſt therefore needs be an* Hylozoick Atheiſt. 7. *That the famous* Hippocrates *was neither an* Hylozoick *nor* Democritick Atheiſt, *but rather an* Heraclitick Corporeal Theiſt. 8. *That* Plato *took no Notice of the Hylozoick Atheiſm, nor of any other, then what derives the Original of all things from a mere* Fortuitous Nature; *and therefore either the* Democritical, *or the* Anaximandrian *Atheiſm, which latter will be next declared.* 9. *That it is hardly imaginable, there ſhould have been no Philoſophick Atheiſts in the World before* Democritus *and* Leucippus, *there being in all Ages, as* Plato *obſerves, ſome or other ſick of the Atheiſtick Diſeaſe. That* Ariſtotle *affirms many of the firſt Philoſophers, to have aſſigned only* a Material Cauſe *of the Mundane Syſtem, without either Efficient or Intending Cauſe; They ſuppoſing* Matter *to be the only Subſtance, and all things elſe nothing but the* Paſſions *and* Accidents *of it, Generable and Corruptible.* 10. *That the Doctrine of theſe* Materialiſts *will be more fully underſtood from the Exceptions which Ariſtotle makes againſt them; His firſt Exception,*

tion, That they assigned no Cause of Motion, *but introduced it into the World unaccomptibly.* 11. Aristotle's *second Exception, That these Materialists did assign no Cause* τῶ εὖ καὶ καλῶς, *of* Well and Fit, *and give no accompt of the Orderly Regularity of things. That* Anaxagoras *was the first Ionick Philosopher who made* Mind *and* Good *a Principle of the Universe.* 12. *Concluded, That* Aristotle's Materialists *were downright* Atheists, *not merely because they held all Substance to be Body, since* Heraclitus *and* Zeno *did the like, and yet are not therefore accompted Atheists, (they supposing their* Fiery *Matter to be Originally Intellectual, and the whole World to be an* Animal) *but because these made* Stupid Matter, *devoid of all Understanding, and Life, to be the only Principle :* 13. *As also, because they supposed every thing besides the Substance of Matter, Life and Understanding, and all Particular Beings, to be Generable and Corruptible, and consequently that there could be no other God, then such as was* Native *and* Mortal. *That those ancient Theologers, who were* Theogonists, *and Generated all the Gods out of* Night *and* Chaos, *were only Verbal Theists but Real Atheists: Senseless Matter being to them the highest* Numen. 14. *The great difference observed betwixt* Aristotle's *Atheistical* Materialists, *and the* Italick Philosophers; *the former determining all things, besides the Substance of Matter, to be Made or Generated, the latter that no Real Entity was either Generated or Corrupted; thereupon both destroying Qualities and Forms of Body, and asserting the Ingenerability and Incorporeity of Souls.* 15. *How* Aristotle's *Atheistick Materialists endeavoured to baffle and elude that Axiom of the Italick Philosophers, That Nothing can come from Nothing nor go to Nothing, And that* Anaxagoras *was the first amongst the Ionicks who yielded so far to that Principle, as from thence to assert Incorporeal Substance, and the Pre-existence of Qualities and Forms in Similar Atoms, forasmuch as he conceived them to be things, really distinct from the Substance of Matter.* 16. *The Error of some Writers, who because* Aristotle *affirms, that the Ancient Philosophers did generally conclude the World to have been Made, from thence infer, that they were all Theists, and that* Aristotle *contradicts himself in representing many of them as Atheists. That the Ancient Atheists did generally* κοσμοποιεῖν, *assert the World to have been Made, or have had a Beginning; as also some Theists did maintain its Eternity, but in a way of Dependency upon the Deity. That we ought here to distinguish betwixt the System of the World, and the Substance of the Matter, all Atheists asserting the Matter to have been, not only Eternal, but also such Independently upon any other Being.* 17. *That* Plato *and others concluded this Materialism or Hylopathian Atheism, to have been at least as old as* Homer, *who made the* Ocean (*or fluid Matter*) *the Father of all the Gods. And that this was indeed the Ancientest of all Atheisms, which verbally acknowledging Gods, yet derived the Original of them all from* Night *and* Chaos. *The description of this Atheistick Hypothesis in* Aristophanes, *That* Night *and* Chaos *first laid an Egg, out of which sprung forth Love, which afterwards mingling with Chaos begat Heaven and Earth, Animals and all the Gods.* 18. *That notwithstanding this, in* Aristotle's *judgment,* Parmenides, Hesiod, *with* [illegible] *others, who made Love in like manner,*

ner, Senior to all the Gods, were to be exempted out of the number of Atheists; they understanding this Love to be an Active Principle, or Cause of Motion in the Universe, which therefore could be no Egg *of the* Night, *nor* Off-spring *of* Chaos, *but something in Order of Nature before Matter.* Simmias Rhodius *his* Wings, *a Poem in honour of this Heavenly Love. This not that Love which was the Off-spring of* Penia *and* Porus *in* Plato. *In what rectified sence it may pass for true Theology, that* Love *is the Supreme Deity and Original of all things.* 19. *That though* Democritus *and* Leucippus *be elsewhere taxed by* Aristotle, *for this very thing, that they assigned only a Material Cause of the Universe; yet they were not the Persons intended by him in the fore-cited Accusation, but certain Ancienter Philosophers, who also were not* Atomists *but* Hylopathians. 20. *That* Aristotle's *Atheistick* Materialists *were all the first* Ionick Philosophers *before* Anaxagoras, Thales *being the Head of them. But that* Thales *is acquitted from this Imputation of Atheism by several good Authors (with an Accompt how he came to be thus differently represented) and therefore that his next Successour* Anaximander *is rather to be accounted the Prince of this Atheistick Philosophy.* 21. *A Passage out of* Aristotle *objected which, at first sight, seems to make* Anaximander *a* Divine Philosopher, *and therefore hath led both Modern and Ancient Writers into that mistake. That this Place well considered, proves the contrary, That* Anaximander *was the Chief of the old* Atheistick Philosophers. 22. *That it is no wonder, if* Anaximander *called Senseless Matter the* τὸ θεῖον, *or God, since to all Atheists, that must needs be the the highest* Numen; *Also how this is said to be Immortal, and to Govern all; with the concurrent Judgment of the Greek Scholiasts upon this Place.* 23. *A further Accompt of the* Anaximandrian Philosophy, *manifesting it to have been purely Atheistical.* 24. *What ill Judges the Vulgar have been of Theists and Atheists; as also that learned men have commonly supposed fewer Atheists than indeed there were.* Anaximander *and* Democritus *Atheists both alike, though Philosophising different ways. That some Passages in* Plato *respect the* Anaximandrian *Form of Atheism, rather than the* Democritical. 25. *Why* Democritus *and* Leucippus *new modell'd Atheism into the Atomick Form.* 26. *That besides the Three Forms of Atheism already mentioned, we sometimes meet with a Fourth, which supposes the Universe though not to be an* Animal, *yet a kind of* Plant *or* Vegetable, *having one* Plastick Nature *in it, devoid of Understanding and Sense, which disposes and orders the Whole.* 27. *That this Form of Atheism which makes one* Plastick Life *to preside over the Whole, is different from the* Hylozoick, *in that it takes away all Fortuitousness, and subjects all to the Fate of one* Plastick Methodical Nature. 28. *Though it be possible that some in all ages might have entertained this Atheistical Conceipt, That things are dispensed by one Regular and Methodical but Unknowing Senseless Nature; yet it seems to have been chiefly asserted by certain Spurious Heracliticks and Stoicks. And therefore this Form of Atheism, which supposes one* Cosmoplastick Nature, *may be called* Pseudo-zenonian. 29. *That, besides the Philosophick Atheists, there have been always* Enthusiastick *and* Fanatical *Atheists, though*

in

in some sence all Atheists may be said also to be both Enthusiasts *and* Fanaticks, *they being led by an* ὁρμὴ ἄλογος, *or* Irrational Impetus. 30. *That there cannot easily be any other Form of Atheism, besides those Four already mentioned, because all Atheists are Corporealists, and yet all Corporealists not Atheists, but only such as make the first Principle of all things, not to be Intellectual.* 31. *A Distribution of Atheisms, producing the former Quaternio, and showing the Difference between them.* 32. *That they are but Bunglers at Atheism, who talk of Sensitive and Rational Matter; and that the Canting Astrological Atheists are not at all considerable, because not understanding themselves.* 33. *Another Distribution of Atheisms; That they either derive the Original of things from a* Merely Fortuitous Principle, *the Unguided Motion of Matter, or else from a* Plastick *and* Methodical, *but* Sensless Nature. *What Atheists denied the Eternity of the World, and what asserted it.* 34. *That of these Four Forms of Atheism, the* Atomick *or* Democritical, *and the* Hylozoick *or* Stratonical *are the chief, and that these Two being once confuted, all Atheism will be confuted.* 35. *These Two Forms of Atheism, being contrary to one another, how we ought in all reason to insist rather upon the Atomick; but that afterwards we shall confute the Hylozoick also, and prove against all Corporealists, that no Cogitation nor Life belongs to Matter.* 36. *That in the mean time, we shall not neglect any Form of Atheism, but confute them all together, as agreeing in one Principle; as also show, how the old* Atomick Atheists *did sufficiently overthrow the Foundation of the* Hylozoists. 37. *Observed here, that the* Hylozoists *are not condemned merely for asserting a* Plastick Life, *distinct from the* Animal, (*which with most other Philosophers we judge highly probable, if taken in a Right Sence*) *but for grosly misunderstanding it, and attributing the same to Matter.* ☞ *The Plastick Life of Nature largely explained.* 38. *That though the Confutation of the Atheistick grounds, according to the Laws of Method, ought to have been reserved for the last part of this Discourse, yet we having reasons to violate those Laws, crave the Readers Pardon for this Preposterousness. A considerable Observation of* Plato's, *that it is not only* Moral Vitiosity *which inclines men to Atheize, but also an Affectation of seeming wiser than the Generality of Mankind; As likewise that the Atheists, making such pretence to Wit, it is a Seasonable undertaking to evince that they fumble in all their Ratiocinations. That we hope to make it appear, that the Atheists are no* Conjurers; *and that all Forms of Atheism are Non-sence and Impossibility.*

I. WE have now represented the Grand *Mysteries* of *Atheism*, which may be also called the *Mysteries of the Kingdom of Darkness*; though indeed some of them are but briefly hinted here, they being again more fully to be insisted on afterward, where we are to give an account of the Atheists Endeavours to Salve the *Phænomenon* of Cogitation. We have represented the chief Grounds of Atheism in General, as also of that most Notorious Form of Atheism in particular, that is called *Atomical*: but whereas there hath been already mentioned,

mentioned, another Form of Atheism, called by us *Hylozoical*; the Principles hereof could not possibly be insisted on in this place, where we were to make the most Plausible Plea for Atheism; they being directly contrary to those of the Atomical, so that they would have mutually destroyed each other. For, whereas the *Atomick Atheism* supposes, the Notion or Idea of Body to be nothing but *Extended Resisting Bulk*, and consequently to include no manner of *Life* and *Cogitation* in it; *Hylozoism* on the contrary makes all Body, as such, and therefore every smallest Atom of it, to have *Life* Essentially belonging to it (Natural Perception, and Appetite) though without any *Animal Sense* or *Reflexive Knowledge*, as if *Life*, and *Matter* or *Extended Bulk*, were but two Incomplete and Inadequate Conceptions, of one and the same Substance, called Body. By reason of which Life (not *Animal* but only *Plastical*) all parts of Matter being supposed able, to form themselves *Artificially* and *Methodically* (though without any Deliberation or Attentive Consideration) to the greatest advantage of their present respective Capabilities, and therefore also sometimes, by Organization to improve themselves further, into *Sense* and *Self-enjoyment* in all Animals, as also to *Universal Reason* and *Reflexive Knowledge* in Men; it is plain that there is no Necessity at all left, either of any *Incorporeal Soul* in Men to make them Rational, or of any *Deity* in the whole Universe to salve the *Regularity* thereof. One main difference betwixt these two Forms of Atheism is this, that the *Atomical* supposes all *Life* whatsoever to be *Accidental*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*: But the *Hylozoick* admits of a certain *Natural* or *Plastick Life*, *Essential* and *Substantial*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, though attributing the same only to Matter, as supposing no other Substance in the World besides it.

II. Now to prevent all Mistakes, we think fit here by way of Caution to suggest; That as every *Atomist* is not therefore necessarily an *Atheist*, so neither must every *Hylozoist* needs be accounted such. For who ever so holds the *Life* of *Matter*, as notwithstanding to assert another kind of Substance also, that is Immaterial and Incorporeal, is no way obnoxious to that foul Imputation. However we ought not to dissemble, but that there is a great Difference here betwixt these two, *Atomism* and *Hylozoism*, in this regard; That the former of them, namely Atomism (as hath been already declared) hath in it self a Natural Cognation and Conjunction with *Incorporeism*, though violently cut off from it by the *Democritick Atheists*; whereas the latter of them, *Hylozoism*, seems to have altogether as close and intimate a Correspondence with *Corporealism*; Because, as hath been already signified, if all Matter, as such, have not only such a *Life*, *Perception* and *Self-active* Power in it, as whereby it can Form it self to the best advantage, making this a Sun and that an Earth or Planet, and fabricating the Bodies of Animals most Artificially; but also can improve it self into Sense and Self-enjoyment; it may as well be thought able to advance it self higher, into all the Acts of *Reason* and *Understanding* in Men: so that there will be no need either of an Incorporeal Immortal Soul in Men, or a Deity in the Universe. Nor indeed is it easily conceivable, how any should be induced to admit such

ſuch a Monſtrous Paradox as this is, That every Atom of Duſt or other Senſleſs Matter, is Wiſer than the greateſt Politician and the moſt acute Philoſopher that ever was; as having an Infallible Omniſcience of all its own *Capabilities* and *Congruities*; were it not by reaſon of ſome ſtrong Prepoſſeſſion, againſt Incorporeal Subſtance and a Deity, there being nothing ſo Extravagant and Outragiouſly Wild, which a Mind once infected with Atheiſtical Sottiſhneſs and Diſbelief, will not rather greedily ſwallow down, than admit a Deity, which to ſuch is the higheſt of all Paradoxes imaginable, and the moſt affrightful Bug-bear. Notwithſtanding all which, it may not be denied, but that it is poſſible for one, who really entertains the belief of a Deity and a Rational Soul Immortal, to be perſwaded, firſt, that the Senſitive Soul, in men as well as Brutes, is merely Corporeal; and then that there is a *Material Plaſtick Life* in the Seeds of all Plants and Animals, whereby they do Artificially form themſelves; and from thence afterward to deſcend alſo further, to Hylozoiſm, that all matter, as ſuch, hath a kind of *Natural*, though not *Animal Life* in it; in conſideration whereof, we ought not to Cenſure every *Hylozoiſt*, profeſſing to hold a Deity and a Rational Soul Immortal, for a mere Diſguiſed Atheiſt, or Counterfeit Hiſtrionical Theiſt.

III. But though every *Hylozoiſt* be not therefore neceſſarily an *Atheiſt*, yet whoſoever is an *Hylozoiſt* and *Corporealiſt* both together, he that both holds the *Life* of *Matter* in the Sence before declared, and alſo that there is no other Subſtance in the World beſides Body and Matter, cannot be excuſed from the Imputation of Atheiſm, for Two Reaſons. Firſt, becauſe though he derive the Original of all Things, not from what is perfectly Dead and Stupid, as the *Atomick Atheiſt* doth, but from that which hath a kind of Life or Perception in it, nay an *Infallible Omniſcience*, of whatſoever it ſelf can Do or Suffer, or of all its own Capabilities and Congruities, which ſeems to bear ſome Semblance of a Deity; yet all this being only in the way of *Natural* and not *Animal Perception*, is indeed nothing but a Dull and Drowſie, *Plaſtick* and *Spermatick Life*, devoid of all *Conſciouſneſs* and *Self-enjoyment*. The *Hylozoiſts Nature*, is a piece of very Myſterious Non-ſence, a thing perfectly Wiſe, without any Knowledge or Conſciouſneſs of it ſelf; Whereas a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, is ſuch a Perfect Underſtanding Being, as with full Conſciouſneſs and Self-enjoyment, is completely Happy. Secondly, becauſe the *Hylozoick Corporealiſt*, ſuppoſing all Matter, as ſuch, to have Life in it, muſt needs make Infinite of thoſe Lives, (foraſmuch as every Atom of Matter has a Life of its own) Coordinate and Independent on one another, and conſequently, as many Independent firſt Principles, no one Common Life or Mind ruling over the Whole. Whereas, to aſſert a God, is to derive all things ἀφ' ἑνός τινος, *from ſome one Principle*, or to ſuppoſe one Perfect Living and Underſtanding Being, to be the Original of all things, and the Architect of the whole Univerſe.

Thus we ſee that the Hylozoick Corporealiſt is really an Atheiſt, though carrying more the Semblance and Diſguiſe of a Theiſt, than other

other Atheists, in that he attributes a kind of Life to Matter. For indeed every Atheist must of necessity cast some of the Incommunicable Properties of the Deity, more or less, upon that which is not God, namely Matter: and they who do not attribute Life to it, yet must needs bestow upon it Necessary Self-existence, and make it the First *Principle* of all things, which are the Peculiarities of the Deity. The *Numen* which the Hylozoick Corporealist pays all his Devotions to, is a certain blind *Shee-god* or *Goddess*, called *Nature* or the *Life of Matter*; which is a very great Mystery, a thing that is Perfectly Wise, and Infallibly Omniscient, without any Knowledge or Consciousness at all. Something like to that τὸ παιδῶν αἴνιγμα (in * *Plato*) περὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον βολῆς τὸν νυκτερίδα, that vulgar Enigm or Riddle of Boys, concerning an Eunuch striking a Bat; *A Man and not a Man, Seeing and not Seeing, did Strike and not Strike, with a Stone and not a Stone, a Bird and not a Bird*, &c. The Difference being only this; that this was a thing Intelligible, but humoursomly expressed, whereas the other seems to be perfect Non-sence, being nothing but a misunderstanding of the Plastick Power, as shall be showed afterwards.

* *De Rep. l. 5.*

IV. Now the First and Chief Assertour of this Hylozoick Atheism was, as we conceive, *Strato Lampsacenus*, commonly called also *Physicus*, that had been once an Auditor of *Theophrastus* and a famous Peripatetick, but afterwards degenerated from a Genuine Peripatetick, into a new-formed kind of Atheist. For *Velleius*, an Epicurean Atheist in *Cicero*, reckoning up all the several sorts of Theists, which had been in former times, gives such a Character of this *Strato*, as whereby he makes him to be a strange kind of *Atheistical Theist*, or *Divine Atheist*, if we may use such a contradictious Expression; his words are these, * *Nec audiendus* Strato, *qui* Physicus *appellatur, qui omnem Vim Divinam in Natura sitam esse censet, quæ Causas gignendi, augendi minuendive habeat, sed careat omni sensu*; *Neither is* Strato, *commonly called the Naturalist or Physiologist, to be heard, who places all Divinity in Nature, as having within it self the Causes of all Generations, Corruptions and Augmentations, but without any manner of Sense.* *Strato's* Deity therefore was a certain *Living* and *Active*, but *Sensless Nature.* He did not fetch the Original of all things, as the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists, from a mere Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, by means whereof he bore some slight Semblance of a Theist, but yet he was a down-right Atheist for all that, his God being no other than such a *Life* of *Nature* in Matter, as was both devoid of Sense and Consciousness, and also multiplied together with the several parts of it. He is also in like manner described by *Seneca* in St. *Augustine* *, as a kind of Mongrel thing, betwixt an *Atheist* and a *Theist*; *Ego feram aut* Platonem, *aut Peripateticum* Stratonem, *quorum alter Deum sine Corpore fecit, alter sine Animo? Shall I endure either* Plato, *or the Peripatetick* Strato, *whereof the one made God to be without a Body, the other without a Mind?* In which words *Seneca* taxes these two Philosophers, as guilty of two contrary Extremes; *Plato*, because he made God to be a pure Mind or a perfectly Incorporeal Being; and *Strato*, because he made him to be a Body without

* *De Nat. Deo. l. 1.*

* *De Civ. Dei l. 6. c. 10.*

without a Mind, he acknowledging no other Deity than a certain Stupid and Plastick Life, in all the several parts of Matter, without Sense. Wherefore this seems to be the only reason, why *Strato* was thus sometimes reckoned amongst the Theists, though he were indeed an Atheist, because he dissented from that only form of Atheism, then so vulgarly received, the Democritick and Epicurean, attributing a kind of Life to Nature and Matter.

V. And that *Strato* was thus an Atheist, but of a different kind from *Democritus*, may further appear from this Passage of *Cicero*'s *, Strato Lampsacenus *negat operâ Deorum se uti ad fabricandum Mundum, quæcunque sint docet omnia esse Effecta Natura, nec ut ille, qui asperis, & lævibus, & hamatis uncinatisque Corporibus Concreta hæc esse dicat, interjecto Inani; Somnia censet hæc esse* Democriti, *non docentis sed optantis*: Strato *denies that he makes any use of a God, for the fabricating of the World, or the salving the Phænomena thereof; teaching all things to have been made by Nature; but yet not in such a manner as he who affirmed them to be all Concreted out of certain rough and smooth, hookey and crooked Atoms, he judging these things to be nothing but the mere Dreams and Dotages of* Democritus, *not teaching but wishing.* Here we see that *Strato* denied the World to be made by a Deity or perfect Understanding Nature, as well as *Democritus*, and yet that he dissented from *Democritus* notwithstanding, holding another kind of Nature, as the Original of things, than he did, who gave no account of any Active Principle and Cause of Motion, nor of the Regularity that is in Things. *Democritus* his *Nature* was nothing but the *Fortuitous Motion* of Matter, but *Strato*'s *Nature* was an *Inward Plastick Life* in the several Parts of Matter, whereby they could Artificially frame themselves to the best advantage, according to their several Capabilities, without any Conscious or Reflexive Knowledg. *Quicquid aut sit aut fiat,* (says the same Authour) *Naturalibus fieri, aut factum esse docet ponderibus & motibus*: Strato *teaches whatsoever is, or is made, to be made by certain inward Natural Forces and Activities.*

* *Acad. Quæst. l.* 4.

VI. Furthermore it is to be observed, that though *Strato* thus attributed a certain kind of Life to Matter, yet he did by no means allow of any one Common Life, whether *Sentient* and *Rational*, or *Plastick* and *Spermatick* only, as Ruling over the whole mass of Matter and Corporeal Universe; which is a thing in part affirmed by *Plutarch* *, and may in part be gathered from these words of his; Ἀκόσμον αὐτὸν ὃ ζῷον εἶναί φησι, τόδε δ' ἔπεσθαι τῷ τύχῃ, ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐνδιδόναι τὸ αὐτόματον, εἶτα οὕτω περαίνεσθαι τὰ φυσικῶν παθῶν ἕκαστον: Strato *affirmeth that the World is no Animal (or God) but that what is Natural in every thing, follows something Fortuitous antecedent, Chance first beginning, and Nature acting consequently thereupon.* The full sence whereof seems to be this, that though *Strato* did not derive the Original of all Mundane things from mere Fortuitous Mechanism, as *Democritus* before him had done, but supposed a Life and Natural Perception in the Matter, that was directive of it, yet not acknowledging any one Common Life, whether Animal or Plastick, as governing

* *Adversus Colotem.*

ing and ſwaying the whole, but only ſuppoſing the ſeveral Parts of Matter, to have ſo many ſeveral Plaſtick Lives of their own, he muſt needs attribute ſomething to *Fortune*, and make the Mundane Syſtem to depend upon a certain Mixture of *Chance* and *Plaſtick* or *Orderly Nature* both together, and conſequently muſt be an Hylozoiſt. Thus we ſee, that theſe are two Schemes of Atheiſm, very different from one another; that which fetches the Original of all things from the mere *Fortuitous* and Unguided Motion of Matter, without any Vital or Directive Principle; and that which derives it from a certain Mixture of *Chance* and the *Life of Matter* both together, it ſuppoſing a Plaſtick Life, not in the whole Univerſe, as one thing, but in all the ſeveral Parts of Matter by themſelves; the firſt of which is the *Atomick and Democritick Atheiſm*, the ſecond the *Hylozoick and Stratonick*.

VII. It may perhaps be ſuſpected by ſome, that the famous *Hippocrates*, who lived long before *Strato*, was an Aſſertour of the *Hylozoick Atheiſm*, becauſe of ſuch Paſſages in him as theſe, ἀπαίδευτος ἡ φύσις ἐκ τῶν σαὸς * μαθοῦσα τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν· *Nature is Unlearned or Untaught, but it learneth from it ſelf what things it ought to do*: And again, ἀνδρείσιται ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ ἑαυτῇ τὰς ἐφόδους ὄυκ ἐκ διανοίας· *Nature findeth out ways to it ſelf, not by Ratiocination.* But there is nothing more affirmed here concerning Nature by *Hippocrates*, than what might be affirmed likewiſe of the Ariſtotelick and Platonick Nature, which is ſuppoſed to act for Ends, though without Conſultation and Ratiocination. And I muſt confeſs, it ſeems to me no way miſ-becoming of a Theiſt, to acknowledge ſuch a *Nature* or *Principle* in the Univerſe, as may act according to *Rule* and *Method* for the *Sake* of *Ends*, and in order to the *Beſt*, though it ſelf do not underſtand the reaſon of what it doth; this being ſtill ſuppoſed to act dependently upon a higher Intellectual Principle, and to have been firſt ſet a work and employed by it, it being otherwiſe Non-ſence. But to aſſert any ſuch *Plaſtick Nature*, as is Independent upon any higher Intellectual Principle, and ſo it ſelf the firſt and higheſt Principle of Activity in the Univerſe, this indeed muſt needs be, either that Hylozoick Atheiſm, already ſpoken of, or elſe another different Form of Atheiſm, which ſhall afterwards be deſcribed. But though *Hippocrates* were a *Corporealiſt*, yet we conceive he ought not, to lie under the ſuſpicion of either of thoſe two Atheiſms; foraſmuch as himſelf plainly aſſerts a higher Intellectual Principle, than ſuch a *Plaſtick Nature*, in the Univerſe, namely an *Heraclitick Corporeal God*, or *Underſtanding Fire*, *Immortal*, pervading the whole World, in theſe words; δοκέει δέ μοι ὃ καλέομεν θερμὸν, ἀθάνατόν τε εἶναι, καὶ νοεῖν πάντα, καὶ ὁρᾶν, καὶ ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰδέναι πάντα τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι· *It ſeems to me, that that which is called Heat or Fire, is Immortal, and Omniſcient, and that it ſees, hears, and knows all things, not only ſuch as are preſent, but alſo future.* Wherefore we conclude, that *Hippocrates* was neither an *Hylozoick* nor *Democritick Atheiſt*, but an *Heraclitick Corporeal Theiſt*.

VI. Epidem. Sect. 5.
* *Al. lect.* ᾗ δὲ μαθοῦσα, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ.

De Princip. aut Carnibus. Sect. 1.

VIII. Possibly it may be thought also, that *Plato* in his *Sophist* intends this *Hylozoick Atheism*, where he declares it as the Opinion of many, τὴν φύσιν πάντα γεννᾶν, ἀπό τινος αἰτίας αὐτομάτης, καὶ ἄνευ διανοίας φύσεως· That *Nature generates all Things from a certain Spontaneous Principle, without any Reason and Understanding.* But here the word αὐτομάτης may be as well rendred Fortuitous, as Spontaneous; however there is no necessity, that this should be understood of an *Artificial* or *Methodical* Unknowing Nature. It is true indeed that *Plato* himself seems to acknowledge a certain *Plastick* or *Methodical* Nature in the Universe, Subordinate to the Deity, or that perfect Mind which is the supreme Governour of all things; as may be gathered from these words of his, τὴν φύσιν μετὰ λόγου καὶ οὐν λόγῳ καὶ νῷ τὰ πάντα διακοσμεῖν· That *Nature does rationally (or orderly) together with Reason and Mind, govern the whole Universe.* Where he supposes a certain *Regular* Nature to be a Partial and Subordinate Cause of things under the Divine Intellect. And it is very probable that *Aristotle* derived that whole Doctrine of his concerning a *Regular* and *Artificial* Nature which acts for Ends, from the Platonick School. But as for any such Form of Atheism, as should suppose a *Plastick* or *Regular*, but *Senseless* Nature either in the whole World, or the several parts of Matter by themselves, to be the highest Principle of all things, we do not conceive that there is any Intimation of it to be found any where in *Plato*. For in his *De Legibus*, where he professedly disputes against *Atheism*, he states the Doctrine of it after this manner, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχην, τὰ δ' σμικρότερα τέχνην· That *Nature and Chance produced all the first, greatest and most excellent things, but that the smaller things were produced by Humane Art.* The plain meaning whereof is this, that the First Original of things, and the frame of the whole Universe, proceeded from a mere *Fortuitous Nature*, or the Motion of Matter unguided by any *Art* or *Method*. And thus it is further explained in the following words, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασὶ· τέχνῃ δ' ὑστὲν τούτων, &c. *That the first Elements, Fire, water, Air and Earth, were all made by Nature and Chance, without any Art or Method*, and then, *that the bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and the whole Heavens, were afterward made out of those Elements, as devoid of all manner of Life*, and only fortuitously moved and mingled together; and lastly, that the whole Mundane System, together with the orderly Seasons of the year, as also Plants, Animals and Men did arise after the same manner, from the mere Fortuitous Motion of senseless and stupid Matter. In the very same manner does *Plato* state this Controversie again, betwixt Theists and Atheists, in his *Philebus*, πότερον ὦ Πρώταρχε, τὰ ξύμπαντα, καὶ τόδε τὸ καλούμενον ὅλον, ἀπερισκέπτως φῶμεν τὴν τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ εἰκῇ δύναμιν, καὶ τὰ ὅπη ἔτυχεν; ἢ τἀναντία, καθάπερ οἱ πρόσθεν ἡμῶν ἔλεγον, νοῦν καὶ φρόνησίν τινα θαυμασὴν συντάττεσθαι διακοσμοῦντα; *Whether shall we say, O* Protarchus, *that this whole Universe is dispensed and ordered, by a mere Irrational, Temerarious and Fortuitous Principle, and so as it happens; or contrariwise, (as our fore-fathers have instructed us) that Mind, and a certain Wonderful Wisdom, did at first frame, and does still govern all things?*

In Sophist.

Lib. 10.

p. 28. Ed. Ser.

Where-

Wherefore we conclude that *Plato* took no notice of any other Form of Atheism, as then set on foot, than such as derives all things from a mere *Fortuitous Principle*, from *Nature* and *Chance*, that is the unguided Motion of Matter, without any *Plastick Artificialness* or *Methodicalness*, either in the whole Universe, or the parts of it. But because this kind of Atheism, which derives all things from a mere *Fortuitous Nature*, had been managed two manner of ways; by *Democritus* in the way of Atoms, and by *Anaximander* and others in the way of Forms and Qualities; (of which we are to speak in the next place) therefore the Atheism which *Plato* opposes, was either the *Democritick* or the *Anaximandrian Atheism*; or else (which is most probable) both of them together.

IX. It is hardly imaginable that there should be no Philosophick Atheists in the world before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*. *Plato* long since concluded, that there have been Atheists, more or less, in every Age, when he bespeaks his young Atheist after this manner, οὐ σὺ μόνῳ σοὶ ἑταῖροι πρῶτοι ἢ πρώτων ταύτῃ δόξαν περὶ θεῶν ἔσχετε, γίγνονται ὅ ἀεὶ πλείους ἢ ἐλάττους ταύτῃ τὴν νόσον ἔχοντες. The full sence whereof seems to be this; *Neither you (my Son) nor your friends (Democritus, Leucippus* and *Protagoras) are the first who have entertained this Opinion concerning the Gods, but there have been always some more or less, sick of this Atheistick Disease.* Wherefore we shall now make a diligent search and enquiry, to see if we can find any other Philosophers who Atheized before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, as also what Form of Atheism they entertained. p.888. Ed. Ser.

Aristotle in his Metaphysicks, speaking of the Quaternio of Causes, affirms that many of those who first Philosophized, assigned only a *Material Cause* of the whole Mundane System, without either *Intending* or *Efficient Cause*. The reason whereof he intimates to have been this, because they asserted *Matter* to be the only Substance, and that whatsoever else was in the World, besides the substance or bulk of Matter, were all nothing else but πάθη, different *Passions* and *Affections*, *Accidents* and *Qualities* of *Matter* that were all Generated out of it, and Corruptible again into it, the Substance of Matter always remaining the same, neither Generated nor Corrupted, but from Eternity unmade; *Aristotle*'s words are *these: περὶ πρώτων φιλοσοφησάντων, οἱ πλεῖσοι τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἴδει μόνον φήθησαν ἀρχὰς εἶναι πάντων, ἐξ ὧν γάρ ἐστιν ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐξ ὧν γίγνεται πρώτων, καὶ εἰς ὃ φθείρεται τελευταῖον, τῆς μὲν οὐσίας ὑπομενούσης, τοῖς δὲ πάθεσι μεταβαλλούσης, τοῦτο στοιχεῖον, καὶ ταύτην περὶ ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν φασιν εἶναι· *Most of those who first philosophized, took notice of no other Principle of things in the Universe, than what is to be referred to the Material Cause; for that out of which all things are, and out of which they are first made, and into which they are all at last corrupted and resolved, the Substance always remaining the same, and being changed only in its Passions and Qualities; This they concluded to be the first Original and Principle of all things.* * Lib. 1. c. 3.

X. But the meaning of these old *Material Philosophers* will be better understood, by those Exceptions which *Aristotle* makes against them, which are Two: First, that because they acknowledged no other Substance besides Matter, that might be an Active Principle in the Universe, it was not possible for them to give any account of the Original of Motion and Action. Εἰ γὰρ ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶσα φθορὰ καὶ γένεσις ἐκ τινός· ὡς ἑνὸς ἢ καὶ πλειόνων ὄντων, διὰ τί τοῦτο συμβαίνει, καὶ τί τὸ αἴτιον; ὁ γὰρ διὰ τὸ γε ὑποκείμενον αὐτὸ ποιεῖ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτό· λέγω δ' οἷον, ὅτε τὸ ξύλον, ὅτε τὸ χαλκὸς αἴτιον τοῦ μεταβάλλειν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν· οὐδὲ ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν ξύλον κλίνην, ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς ἀνδριάντα, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι τῆς μεταβολῆς αἴτιον· τὸ δὲ τοῦτο ζητεῖν, ὅτι τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν ζητεῖν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς φαίημεν, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως· *Though all Generation be made never so much out of something as the Matter, yet the question still is, by what means this cometh to pass, and what is the Active Cause which produceth it? because the Subject-matter cannot change it self; As for example, neither Timber, nor Brass, is the cause that either of them are changed; for Timber alone does not make a Bed, nor Brass a Statue, but there must be something else as the Cause of the Change; and to enquire after this is to enquire after another Principle, besides Matter, which we would call that from whence Motion springs.* In which words *Aristotle* intimates that these old *Material Philosopers* shuffled in, *Motion* and *Action* into the World unaccountably, or without a Cause; forasmuch as they acknowledged no other Principle of Things besides *Passive Matter*, which could never move, change or alter it self.

Arist. Met. l. 1. c. 3.

XI. And *Aristotle's* second Exception against these old *Material Philosophers* is this; that since there could be no Intending Causality in Senseless and Stupid Matter, which they made to be the only Principle of all things, they were not able to assign τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς αἰτίαν, *any Cause of Well and Fit*, and so could give no account of the Regular and Orderly Frame of this Mundane System; τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὰ μὲν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ γίγνεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, ἴσως ὅτε γῆν, ὅτ' ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων ὄδωρ, εἰκὸς αἴτιον εἶναι. ὧδε δ' αὐτῷ αὐτομάτως, καὶ τύχῃ τοσοῦτον ὑπάρξαι πρᾶγμα καλῶς ἔχει· *That things partly are so well in the World, and partly are made so well, cannot be imputed either to Earth or Water, or any other Senseless Body; much less is it reasonable to attribute so noble and Excellent an Effect as this, to mere Chance or Fortune.* Where *Aristotle* again intimates, that as these Material Philosophers shuffled in Motion into the world without a Cause, so likewise they must needs suppose this Motion to be altogether *Fortuitous* and Unguided and thereby in a manner make Fortune, which is nothing but the absence or defect of an Intending Cause, to supply the room both of the Active and Intending Cause, that is, Efficient and Final. Whereupon *Aristotle* subjoyns a Commendation of *Anaxagoras*, as the first of the Ionick Philosophers, who introduced *Mind* or *Intellect* for a Principle in the Universe; that in this respect, he alone seemed to be sober and in his wits, comparatively with those others that went before him, who talked so idly and Atheistically. For *Anaxagoras* his Principle was such, saith *Aristotle*, as was ἅμα τοῦ καλῶς αἰτία, καὶ τοιαύτη ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ὑπάρξει, *at once a cause of Motion and also of Well and Fit;*

Met. l. 1. c. 3.

Fit; of all the Regularity, Aptitude, Pulchritude and Order that is in the whole Universe. And thus it seems *Anaxagoras* himself had determined: Ἀναξαγόρας τὸ αἴτιον τῆς καλῶς ἢ ὀρθῶς νῦν λέγει, *Anaxagoras saith that Mind is the only Cause of Right and Well*; this being proper to *Mind* to aim at *Ends* and *Good*, and to order one thing Fitly for the sake of another. Whence it was that *Anaxagoras* concluded *Good* also, as well as *Mind*, to have been a Principle of the Universe, Ἀναξαγόρας ὡς κινοῦν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἄρχει, ὁ γὰρ νοῦς κινεῖ, ἀλλὰ κινεῖ ἕνεκά τινος, ὥστε ἕτερον· *Anaxagoras makes Good a Principle, as that which moves; For though Mind move Matter, yet it moves it for the sake of something, and being it self, as it were, first moved by Good: So that Good is also a Principle.* And we note this the rather, to show how well these three Philosophers, *Aristotle*, *Plato* and *Anaxagoras*, agreed all together, in this excellent Truth, That *Mind* and *Good* are the *First Principle* of all things in the Universe.

Arist. de An. Lib. 1. c. 2.

Arist. Met. l. 14. c. 10.

XII. And now we think it is sufficiently evident, that these old *Materialists* in *Aristotle*, whoever they were, were downright *Atheists*; not so much, because they made all Substance to be Body or Matter, for *Heraclitus* first, and after him *Zeno*, did the like, deriving the Original of all things from Fire, as well as *Anaximenes* did from Air, and *Thales* is supposed by *Aristotle* to have done from Water, and that with some little more seeming plausibility, since Fire being a more Subtle and Moveable Body than any other, was therefore thought by some of those Ancients to be ἀσωματώτατον, the most Incorporeal of all Bodies, as Earth was for that cause rejected by all those Corporeal Philosophers, from being a Principle, by reason of the grossness of its parts. But *Heraclitus* and *Zeno*, notwithstanding this, are not accounted Atheists, because they supposed their *Fiery Matter*, to have not only *Life*, but also a perfect *Understanding* Originally belonging to it, as also the whole World to be an Animal: Whereas those *Materialists* of *Aristotle*, made *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*, devoid of all *Understanding* and *Life*, to be the first Principle and Root of all things. For when they supposed, *Life* and *Understanding*, as well as all other Differences of Things, to be nothing but mere *Passions* and *Accidents* of *Matter*, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it, and indeed to be produced, but in a Secundary way, from the Fortuitous Commixture of those first Elementary Qualities, Heat and Cold, Moist and Dry, Thick and Thin, they plainly implied the substance of Matter in it self to be devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*. Now if this be not Atheism, to derive the Original of all things, even of *Life* and *Mind* it self, from *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, *Fortuitously Moved*, then there can be no such thing at all.

XIII. Moreover, *Aristotle's* Materialists concluded every thing besides the Substance of Matter, (which is in it self indifferent to all things,) and consequently all particular and determinate Beings, to be Generable and Corruptible. Which is a thing that *Plato* takes notice of as an Atheistick Principle, expressing it in these words; ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν, ἀεὶ δὲ γίγνεται, that *Nothing ever is, but every thing*

In Theæt.

thing is Made and Generated. Foraſmuch as it plainly follows from hence, that not only all Animals and the Souls of men, but alſo if there were any Gods, which ſome of thoſe Materialiſts would not ſtick, at leaſt verbally, to acknowledge, (meaning thereby certain Underſtanding Beings ſuperiour to men) theſe likewiſe muſt needs have been all Generated, and conſequently be Corruptible. Now to ſay that there is no other God, than ſuch as was Made and Generated, and which may be again Unmade, Corrupted and Die, or that there was once no God at all till he was made out of the Matter, and that there may be none again, this is all one as to deny the thing it ſelf. For a *Native* and *Mortal God* is a pure Contradiction. Therefore whereas *Ariſtotle* in his Metaphyſicks, tells us of certain Theologers, οἱ ἐκ νυκτὸς πάντα γεννῶντες, *ſuch as did Generate all things* (even the Gods themſelves) *out of Night and Chaos*, we muſt needs pronounce of ſuch *Theologers* as theſe, who were *Theogoniſts*, and Generated all the Gods (without exception) out of Senſleſs and Stupid Matter, that they were but a kind of *Atheiſtical Theologers* or *Theological Atheiſts*. For though they did admit of certain Beings, to which they attributed the Name of Gods, yet according to the true Notion of God, they really acknowledged none at all, (*i. e.* no Underſtanding Nature as the Original of things) but *Night* and *Chaos*, *Senſleſs* and *Stupid Matter*, *Fortuitouſly Moved*, was to them the higheſt of all *Numens*. So that this Theology of theirs, was a thing wholly founded in *Atheiſtical Non-ſence*.

Lib. 14. *c.* 6.

XIV. And now we think it ſeaſonable, here to obſerve, how vaſt a difference there was betwixt theſe old *Materialiſts* in *Ariſtotle*, and thoſe other Philoſophers, mentioned before in the firſt Chapter, who determined, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ γίγνεσθαι οὐδ' ἐφθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων· *That no Real Entity at all was Generated or Corrupted*, for this reaſon, becauſe *Nothing could be made out of Nothing*. Theſe were chiefly the Philoſophers of the *Italick* or *Pythagorick* Succeſſion, and their deſign in it was not, as *Ariſtotle* was pleaſed ſomewhere to affirm, ἀνελεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν, to contradict common ſence and experience, in denying all *Natural Generations and Alterations*; but only to interpret Nature rightly in them, and that in way of oppoſition to thoſe *Atheiſtick Materialiſts*, after this manner; That in all the Mutations of Nature, Generations and Alterations, there was neither any new Subſtance Made, which was not before, nor any Entity really diſtinct from the Preexiſting Subſtances, but only that Subſtance which was before, diverſly Modified; and ſo Nothing Produced in Generations, but new Modifications, Mixtures, and Separations of preexiſtent Subſtances.

Now this Doctrine of theirs drove at theſe Two things; Firſt, the taking away of ſuch Qualities and Forms of Body, as were vulgarly conceived to be things really diſtinct from the Subſtance of extended Bulk, and all its Modifications of more or leſs Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion or Reſt: Becauſe, if there were any ſuch things as theſe, produced in the Natural Generations and Alterations of Bodies, there would then be ſome Real Entity Made ἐκ μηδενὸς ἐνυπάρχοντος· ἢ

περ-

πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, *out of Nothing Inexistent or Preexistent.* Wherefore they concluded, that these supposed Forms and Qualities of Bodies were really nothing else, but only the different *Modifications* of Preexistent Matter, in respect of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion or Rest, or different *Concretions* and *Secretions*, which are no Entities really distinct from the Substance, but only cause different *Phasmata*, *Phancies* and *Apparitions* in us.

The Second thing which this Doctrine aimed at, was the establishing the *Incorporiety* and *Ingenerability* of all *Souls*. For since Life, Cogitation, Sense and Understanding, could not be resolved into those Modifications of Matter, Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, or into Mechanism and Phancie, but must needs be Entities really distinct from Extended Bulk, or Dead and Stupid Matter; they concluded, that therefore *Souls* could not be Generated out of Matter, because this would be the Production of some Real Entity out of Nothing Inexisting or Preexisting; but that they must needs be another kind of Substance Incorporeal, which could no more be Generated or Corrupted, than the Substance of Matter it self; and therefore must either Preexist in Nature, before Generations, or else be divinely Created and Infused, in them.

It hath been already proved in the First Chapter, that the Upshot of that Pythagorick Doctrine, That *Nothing could be Generated out of Nothing preexisting*, amounted to those Two things mentioned, *viz.* the Asserting of the *Incorporiety* and *Ingenerability* of *Souls*, and the Rejecting of those *Phantastick Entities* of *Forms* and *Real Qualities* of Bodies, and resolving all Corporeal *Phænomena*, into *Figures* or *Atoms*, and the different *Apparitions* or *Phancies* caused by them; but the latter of these, may be further confirmed from this passage of *Aristotle*'s, where after he had declared that *Democritus* and *Leucippus* made the *Soul* and *Fire*, to consist of round *Atoms* or *Figures*, like those ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ξύσματα, *those Ramenta that appear in the Air* when the Sun-beams are transmitted through Cranies; he adds ἔοικε δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις λεγόμενον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν· ἔφασαν γάρ τινες αὐτῶν, ψυχὴν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ξύσματα, οἱ δὲ, τὸ ταῦτα κινοῦν· *And that which is said amongst the Pythagoreans, seems to have the same sence, for some of them affirm, that the Soul is those very* ξύσματα, Ramenta *or Atoms; but others of them, that it is That which Moves them*; which latter doubtless were the genuine Pythagoreans. However, it is plain from hence, that the old Pythagoreans Physiologized by ξύσματα, as well as *Democritus*; that is, Figures and Atoms, and not Qualities and Forms. *Nat. Ausc. l. 2. c. 2.*

But *Aristotle*'s *Materialists*, on the contrary, taking it for granted that *Matter* or Extended Bulk is the only *Substance*, and that the *Qualities* and *Forms* of Bodies, are Entities really distinct from those Modifications of Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest; and finding also by experience, that these were continually Generated and Corrupted, as likewise that Life, Sense and Understanding were produced in the Bodies of such Animals, where it had not been before, and

and again extinguished at the Death or Corruption of them, concluded, that the *Souls* of all Animals, as well as those other *Qualities* and *Forms* of Bodies, were *Generated* out of the Matter, and *Corrupted* again into it, and consequently that every thing that is in the whole World, besides the *Substance* of *Matter*, was *Made* or *Generated*, and might be again *Corrupted*.

L. 3. c. 1. Of this Atheistick Doctrine, *Aristotle* speaks elsewhere as in his Book *de Cœlo*. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἳ φασιν, ὀρθὲν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι· μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον, ἔπειτα ὅσοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογήσαντες· οἱ δὲ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα γίνεσθαί τε φασὶ, καὶ ῥεῖν, εἶναι δὲ παγίως ὀρθὲν. ἓν δέ τι μόνον ὑπομένειν, ἐξ οὗ ταῦτα πάντα μεταχηματίζεσθαι πέφυκεν· *There are some who affirm, that Nothing is Ingenerable, but that all things are Made; as* Hesiod *especially, and also among the rest they, who First Physiologized, whose meaning was, that all other things are Made* (or Generated) *and did Flow, none of them having any Stability; only that there was one thing* (namely Matter) *which always remained, out of which all those other things were transformed and Metamorphiz'd.* Though as to *Hesiod*, *Aristotle* afterwards speaks differently. So likewise in his Physicks, after he had declared that some of the Ancients made Air, some Water, and some other Matter, the Principle of all things; he adds,* L. 2. c. 1. τοῦτο μὲν τοσαυταχῶς φασὶν εἶναι τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα πάθη τούτων, καὶ ἕξεις, καὶ διαθέσεις· καὶ τούτων μὲν ὁτιοῦν εἶναι ἀΐδιον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα γίγνεσθαι καὶ φθείρεσθαι ἀπείρακις· *This they affirmed to be all the Substance or Essence that was; but all other things, the Passions, Affections and Dispositions of it; and that this therefore was Eternal, as being capable of no Change, but all other things, Infinitely Generated and Corrupted.*

XV. But these Materialists being sometimes assaulted by the other Italick Philosophers, in the manner before declared, That *no Real Entities, distinct from the Modifications of any Substance, could be Generated or Corrupted, because Nothing could come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*; they would not seem plainly to Contradict that Theorem, but only endeavoured to interpret it into a compliance with their own *Hypothesis*, and distinguish concerning the Sence of it in this manner; That it ought to be understood, only of the *Substance* of *Matter* and Nothing else, *viz.* That no *Matter* could be *Made* or *Corrupted*, but that all other things whatsoever, not only *Forms* and *Qualities* of Bodies, but also *Souls*; Life, Sense and Understanding, though really different from Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, yet ought to be accounted only the πάθη, the Passions and Accidents of this Matter, and therefore might be generated out of it and Corrupted again into it, and that without the Production or Destruction of any real Entity, Matter being the only thing that is accounted such. All this we learn from these words of *Aristotle*, διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτε γίνεσθαι ὀρθὲν οἴονται, ὅτε ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὡς τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως ἀεὶ σωζομένης. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐ σωφρονοῦντα φαμὲν ὅτε γίγνεσθαι ἁπλῶς, ὅταν γίγνεται καλὸς ἢ μουσικὸς, ὅτε ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὅταν ἀποβάλῃ ταύτας τὰς ἕξεις, διὰ τὸ ὑπομένειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τὸν σωφρονοῦντα αὐτὸν, ὅτως ὀρθὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀρθέν· διὸ εἶναί τινα φύσιν, ἢ μίαν, ἢ πλείους μᾶς, ἐξ ὧν γίγνεται τὰ ἄλλα σωζομένης ἐκείνης· *Metaph. l. 11. c. 3.*

The

The ſence whereof is this; *And therefore as to that Axiom of ſome Philoſophers, That Nothing is either Generated or Deſtroyed, theſe Materialiſts admit it to be true in reſpect of the Subſtance of matter only, which is always preſerved the ſame, As,* ſay they, *We do not ſay that* Socrates *is ſimply or abſolutely Made, when he is made either Handſom or Muſical, or that he is Deſtroyed, when he loſeth thoſe Diſpoſitions, becauſe the Subject* Socrates *ſtill remains the ſame; ſo neither are we to ſay that any thing elſe is abſolutely ether Generated or Corrupted, becauſe the Subſtance or Matter of every thing always Continues. For there muſt needs be ſome certain Nature, from which all other things are Generated, that ſtill remaining one and the ſame.*

We have noted this Paſſage of *Ariſtotle*'s the rather, becauſe this is juſt the very Doctrine of Atheiſts at this day. That the Subſtance of Matter or Extended Bulk is the only Real Entity, and therefore the only Unmade thing, that is neither Generable nor Creatable, but Neceſſarily Exiſtent from Eternity; But whatever elſe is in the World, as Life and Animality, Soul and Mind, being all but Accidents and Affections of this Matter (as if therefore they had no Real Entity at all in them) are Generable out of Nothing and Corruptible into Nothing, ſo long as the Matter in which they are, ſtill remains the ſame. The Reſult of which is no leſs than this, That there can be no other Gods or God, than ſuch as was at firſt Made or Generated out of Senſleſs Matter, and may be Corrupted again into it. And here indeed lies the *Grand Myſtery* of *Atheiſm*, that every thing beſides the *Subſtance* of *Matter* is *Made* or *Generated*, and may be again Unmade or Corrupted.

However *Anaxagoras*, though an Ionick Philoſopher, and therefore, as ſhall be declared afterward, Succeſſor to thoſe Atheiſtick Materialiſts, was at length ſo far Convinced by that Pythagorick Doctrine, That no Entity could be naturally Generated out of Nothing, as that he departed from his Predeceſſors herein, and did for this reaſon acknowledge Mind and Soul, that is, all Cogitative Being to be a Subſtance really diſtinct from Matter, neither Generable out of it nor Corruptible into it; as alſo that the Forms and Qualities of Bodies (which he could not yet otherwiſe conceive of than as things really diſtinct from thoſe Modifications of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion) muſt for the ſame cauſe pre-exiſt before Generations in certain *Similar Atoms*, and remain after Corruptions, being only Secreted and Concreted in them. By means whereof he introduced a certain *Spurious Atomiſm* of his own; For whereas the Genuine Atomiſts before his time had ſuppoſed ὄγκους ἀνομοίους, *Diſſimilar Atoms* devoid of all Forms and Qualities to be the Principles of all Bodies, *Anaxagoras* ſubſtituted in the room of them his ὁμοιομέρεια, his *Similar Atoms*, endued from Eternity with all Manner of Forms and Qualities Incorruptibly.

XVI. We have made it manifeſt that thoſe *Material Philoſophers*, deſcribed by *Ariſtotle*, were abſolute *Atheiſts*, not merely becauſe they made Body to be the only Subſtance, though that be a thing which *Ariſtotle* himſelf juſtly reprehends them for alſo in

theſe

Metaph. l. 1. c. 7. these words of his, ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἕν ἔντε τὸ πᾶν καὶ μίαν εἶναί τινα φύσιν, ὡς ὕλην τιθέασι, καὶ ταύτην σωματικὴν, καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσαν, δῆλον ὅτι πολλαχῶς ἁμαρτάνουσι, καὶ δὴ σωμάτων τὰ στοιχεῖα τιθέασι μόνον, τῶνδε ἀσωμάτων δὲ, ὄντων καὶ ἀσωμάτων· *They who suppose the World to be one uniform thing, and acknowledge only one nature as the matter, and this Corporeal or indued with Magnitude, it is evident that they erre many ways, and particularly in this, that they set down only the Elements of Bodies, and not of Incorporeal things, though there be also things Incorporeal.* I say, we have not concluded them Atheists, merely for this reason, because they denied Incorporeal Substance, but because they deduced all things whatsoever from Dead and Stupid Matter, and made every thing in the World, besides the bare Substance of Matter, devoid of all Quality, *Generable* and *Corruptible.*

Now we shall take notice of an Objection, made by some late Writers, against this Aristotelick Accusation of the old Philosophers, founded upon a passage of *Aristotle's* own, who elsewhere in his Book *De Cœlo*, speaking of the Heaven or World, plainly affirms, *L. 1. c. 10.* γενόμενον μὲν ὃν ἅπαντες εἶναί φασιν, that *all the Philosophers before himself, did assert the World to have been Made, or have had a Beginning.* From whence these Writers infer, that therefore they must needs be all *Theists*, and hold the *Divine Creation* of the World, and consequently, that *Aristotle* contradicts himself, in representing many of them as Atheists, acknowledging only one Material Principle of the whole Universe, without any Intending or Efficient Cause. But we cannot but pronounce this to be a great Errour in these Writers, to conclude all those who held the World to have been Made, therefore to have been Theists, whereas it is certain on the contrary, that all the First and most Ancient Atheists did (in *Aristotle's* language) κοσμοποιεῖν ἢ γεννᾶν τὸν κόσμον, *Make or Generate the World*, that is, suppose it not to have been from Eternity, but to have had a Temporary Beginning; as likewise that it was Corruptible, and would sometime or other, have an End again. The sence of which Atheistick Philosophers is represented by *Lucretius* in this manner:

Et quoniam docui, Mundi Mortalia Templa
Esse, & Nativo consistere Corpore Cœlum,
Et quæcunque in eo fiunt, fientque, necesse
Esse ea Dissolvi.

And there seems to be indeed a Necessity, in reason, that they who derive all things from a Fortuitous Principle, and hold every thing besides the Substance of Matter to have been Generated, should suppose the World to have been Generated likewise, as also to be Corruptible. Wherefore it may well be reckoned for one of the Vulgar Errours; *That all Atheists held the Eternity of the World.*

Moreover, when *Aristotle* subjoins immediately after, ἀλλὰ γενόμενον, οἱ μὲν ἀΐδιον, οἱ δ' φθαρτὸν, that though the Ancient Philosophers all held the World to have been Made, yet notwithstanding, they were divided in this, that some of them supposed for all that, that it would *continue*

tinue to Eternity such as it is, others, that it would be Corrupted again; the former of these, who conceived the World to be γενόμενον, but ἀΐδιον, *Made*, but *Eternal*, were none of them Atheists, but all Theists. Such as *Plato*, whom *Aristotle* seems particularly to perstringe for this, who in his *Timæus* introduceth the Supreme Deity bespeaking those Inferiour Gods, the Sun, Moon and Stars (supposed by that Philosopher to be Animated) after this manner; ἃ δὲ ἐμοῦ γενόμενα, ἄλυτα, ἐμοῦγε θέλοντος· τὸ μὲν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν, λυτὸν· τόγε μὴν κακῶς ἁρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον ὧδε, λύειν ἐθέλειν, κακοῦ· διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπεὶ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστὲ, οὐδ' ἄλυτοι τὸ παράπαν· ὅτι μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθέ γε, οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας· τῇ ἐμῆς βουλήσεως, μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες· *Those things which are made by me are Indissoluble by my will, and though every thing which is compacted, be in its own nature dissolvable, yet it is not the part of one that is good, to will the dissolution or destruction of any thing, that was once well made. Wherefore though you are not absolutely Immortal, nor altogether Indissolvable, yet notwithstanding, you shall not be dissolved, nor ever die. My will being a stronger Band to hold you together, than any thing else can be to loosen you.* *Philo* and other Theists followed *Plato* in this, asserting that though the world was Made, yet it would never be Corrupted, but have a Post-eternity. Whereas all the Ancient Atheists, namely those who derived the Original of things from Nature and Fortune, did at once deny both Eternities to the World; Past and Future. Though we cannot say that none but Atheists did this, for *Empedocles* and *Heraclitus*, and afterward the Stoicks, did not only suppose the World likewise Generated, and to be again Corrupted, but also that this had been, and would be done over and over again, in Infinite vicissitudes. *Tim. p. 41.*

Furthermore, as the World's Eternity was generally opposed by all the Ancient Atheists, so it was maintained also by some Theists, and that not only *Aristotle*, but also before him, by *Ocellus Lucanus* at least, though *Aristotle* thought not fit to take any notice of him; as likewise the latter Platonists universally went that way, yet so, as that they always supposed the World to have as much depended upon the Deity, as if it had been once Created out of Nothing by it.

To conclude therefore; neither they who asserted the world's Generation and Temporary Beginning, were all Theists; nor they who maintained its Eternity, all Atheists; but before *Aristotle*'s time, the Atheists universally, and most of the Theists, did both alike conclude the World to have been Made; the difference between them lying in this, that the one affirmed the World to have been Made by God, the other by the Fortuitous Motion of Matter.

Wherefore if we would put another difference betwixt the Theists and Atheists here, as to this particular, we must distinguish betwixt the System of the World and the Substance of the Matter: For the Ancient Atheists, though they generally denied the Eternity of the World, yet they supposed the *Substance* of the *Matter*, not only to have been *Eternal*, but also *Self-existent* and *Independent* upon any other Being; they making it the first Principle and Original of all things

things, and conſequently the only *Numen*. Whereas the Genuine Theiſts, though many of them maintained the Worlds Eternity, yet they all concluded, both the Form and Subſtance of it, to have always depended upon the Deity, as the Light doth upon the Sun. The Stoicks with ſome others being here excepted.

XVII. *Ariſtotle* tells us, ſome were of opinion, that this Atheiſtick Philoſophy, which derives all things from *ſenſleſs* and *ſtupid Matter*, in the way of *Forms* and *Qualities*, was of great Antiquity, and as old as any Records of Time amongſt the Greeks; and not only ſo, but alſo that the Ancient *Theologers* themſelves entertained it; εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ καὶ τὰς παμπαλαίας, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ νῦν γενέσεως, καὶ πρώτας θεολογησάντας, ὅτω οἴονται καθ' ὑπόληψιν καὶ τοῦ φύσεως διαλαβεῖν. Ὠκεανόν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθὺν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας, καὶ τὸ ὅρκον τῶν θεῶν ὕδωρ, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν Στύγα τοῦ ποιητοῦ. τιμιώτατον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον· ὅρκος δὲ τὸ τιμιώτατόν ἐστιν· *There are ſome who conceive that even the moſt ancient of all, and the moſt remote from this preſent Generation; and they alſo who firſt Theologized, did Phyſiologize after this manner; foraſmuch as they made the* Ocean *and* Tethys *to have been the Original of Generation; and for this cauſe the Oath of the Gods is ſaid to be by water (called by the Poets* Styx*) as being that from which they all derived their Original. For an Oath ought to be by that which is moſt Honourable; and that which is moſt Ancient, is moſt Honourable.* In which words it is very probable that *Ariſtotle* aimed at *Plato*; however it is certain that *Plato* in his *Theætetus*, affirms this Atheiſtick Doctrine to have been very ancient, ὅτι πάντα ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως, *that all things were the off-ſpring of Flux and Motion*, that is, that all things were *Made* and *Generated* out of *Matter*; and that he chargeth *Homer* with it, in deriving the Original of the Gods themſelves in like manner, from the *Ocean*, (or *Floating Matter*) in this Verſe of his,

Met. l. 1. c. 3.

Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

The Father of all Gods, the Ocean is,
Tethys *their Mother.*

Wherefore theſe indeed ſeem to have been the ancienteſt of all Atheiſts, who though they acknowledged certain Beings ſuperiour to men, which they called by the Name of Gods, did notwithſtanding really deny a God, according to the true Notion of him, deriving the Original of all things whatſoever in the Univerſe, from the *Ocean*, that is, *Fluid Matter*, or, which is all one, from *Night* and *Chaos*; and ſuppoſing all their Gods to have been Made and Generated, and conſequently to be Mortal and Corruptible. Of which *Atheiſtick Theology*, *Ariſtophanes* gives us the deſcription, in his * *Aves*, after this manner: *That at firſt was Nothing but* Night *and* Chaos, *which laying an* Egg, *from thence was produced* Love, *that mingling again with Chaos, begot Heaven, and Earth, and Animals, and all the Gods.*

* P. 573.

Χάος

Χάος ὣν ἠ νύξ. ἔρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον, ἠ τάρταρος εὐρύς·
Γῆ δ', εὐδ' ἀὴρ, εὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν. ἐρέβεσ δ' ἐν ἀπείρονι κόλποις
Τίκτε πρώτιστον ὑπωόεμον νὺξ ἠ μελανόπτερος ᾠόν.
Ἐξ οὗ περιτελομένοις ὥραις, ἔβλαστεν Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινός.
Στίλβων νώτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν. εἰκὼς ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις.
Οὗτος δ' χάει πτερόεντι μιγεὶς νυχίῳ, κατὰ τάρταρον εὐρὺν,
Ἐνεόττευσε γένος ἡμέτερον, ἠ πρῶτον ἀνήγαγεν εἰς φῶς,
Πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν Ἔρως συνέμιξεν ἅπαντα·

First all was Chaos, one confused Heap,
Darkness enwrapt the disagreeing Deep,
In a mixt croud, the Jumbled Elements were,
Nor Earth, nor Air, nor Heaven did appear;
Till on this horrid vast Abyss of things,
Teeming Night *spreading o'er her cole-black Wings,*
Laid the first Egg; *whence, after times due course,*
Issu'd forth Love *(the World's Prolifick Source)*
Glistering with golden Wings; which fluttering o'er
Dark Chaos, *gendred all the numerous store*
Of Animals and Gods, &c.

And whereas the Poet there makes the Birds to have been begotten between *Love* and *Chaos* before all the *Gods*; though one might think this to have been done Jocularly by him, merely to humour his Plot; yet *Salmasius* conceives, and not without some reason, that it was really a piece of the old *Atheistick Cabala*, which therefore seems to have run thus. That Chaos or Matter confusedly moved, being the first Original of all; Things did from thence rise up gradually, from lesser to greater Perfection. First Inanimate things as the Elements, Heaven, Earth and Seas, then Brute-animals, afterwards Men, and last of all the Gods. As if not only the Substance of Matter, and those Inanimate Bodies of the Elements, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, were, as *Aristotle* somewhere speaks, according to the sence of those Atheistick Theologers, φύσει πρότερα τῶν θεῶν, θεοὶ δ' ἦσαν ταῦτα, *First in order of Nature before God, as being themselves also Gods*, but also Brute-animals at least, if not men too. And this is the *Atheistick Creation* of the World, Gods and all, out of Senseless and Stupid Matter, or Dark *Chaos*, as the only *Original Numen*; the perfectly Inverted order of the Universe. * * *De Gen. & Cor. Lib. 2. c. 6.*

XVIII. But though this *Hypothesis* be purely Atheistical, that makes Love, which is supposed to be the Original Deity, to have it self sprung at first from an *Egg* of the *Night*; and consequently that all *Deity* was the *Creature* or *Off-spring* of *Matter* and *Chaos*, or Dark *Fortuitous Nature*; yet *Aristotle* somewhere conceives that not only *Parmenides*, but also *Hesiod*, and some others, who did in like manner make *Love* the *Supreme Deity*, and derive all things from *Love* and *Chaos*, were to be exempted out of the number of those Atheistick Materialists before described; forasmuch as they seemed to understand by *Love*, an *Active Principle*, and *Cause of Motion* in the Universe; which there-

fore could not ſpring from an *Egg* of the *Night*, nor be the Creature of Matter, but muſt needs be ſomething Independent on it, and in order of Nature before it, ὑποπτεύσειε δ' ἂν τις Ἡσίοδον πρῶτον, ζητῆσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον, κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος, Ἔρωτα ἢ Ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἔθηκεν ὡς ἀρχήν, οἷον καὶ Παρμενίδης. Καὶ γὰρ ἔτος κατασκευάζων τὴν τοῦ παντὸς γένεσιν

Πρώτιστον μὲν (φησιν) ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων.

Ἡσίοδος δέ,

Πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, ——
Ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν.

ὡς δέον ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν τινὰ αἰτίαν, ἥτις κινήσει τε συνέξει τὰ πράγματα· τούτου μὲν οὖν πᾶς χρὴ διανεῖμαι περὶ τοῦ τις πρῶτος, ἐξέστω κρίνειν ὕστερον· *One would ſuſpect that* Heſiod, *and if there be any other who made Love or Deſire, a Principle of things in the Univerſe, aimed at this very thing, (namely, the ſetling of another Active Principle beſides Matter:) For* Parmenides, *deſcribing the Generation of the Univerſe, makes Love to be the Senior of all the Gods, and* Heſiod, *after he had mentioned Chaos, introduced Love, as the ſupreme Deity. As intimating herein, that beſides Matter, there ought to be another Cauſe or Principle, that ſhould be the Original of Motion and Activity, and alſo hold and conjoyn all things together. But how theſe two Principles are to be ordered, and which of them was to be placed firſt, whether Love or Chaos, may be judged of afterwards.* In which latter words *Ariſtotle* ſeems to intimate, that Love, as taken for an Active Principle, was not to be ſuppoſed to ſpring from *Chaos*, but rather to be in order of Nature before it; and therefore by this *Love* of theirs muſt needs be meant the *Deity*. And indeed *Simmias Rhodius* in his *Wings*, a Hymn made in Honour of this Love, that is Senior to all the Gods, and a Principle in the Univerſe, tells us plainly, that it is not *Cupid*, *Venuses* ſoft and effeminate Son, but another kind of Love

οὔτί γε Κύπριδος παῖς·
Ὠκυπέτας δ' αὐτὸς Ἔρως καλεῦμαι·
οὔτι γὰρ ἔκφυλα βιάζειν, ἁβδάγω δὲ πειθοῖ·
Γαῖα, θαλάσσας τε μυχοὶ, ὀρανίων πᾶς τε θεός μοι ἕπεται·
Τῶν δ' ἐγὼν ἐκνοσφισάμην ἀγύγιον σκᾶπτρον, ἐρᾳλιά τέ σφιν ἥμισας·

I'm not that Wanton Boy,
The Sea-froath Goddeſs's only Joy.
Pure Heavenly Love I hight, and my
Soft Magick Charms, not Iron Bands, faſt tye
Heaven, Earth and Seas. The Gods themſelves do readily
Stoop to my Laws. The whole World daunces to my Harmony.

Moreover, this cannot be that *Love* neither, which is deſcribed in *Plato*'s *Sympoſium* (as ſome learned men have conceived) that was begotten between *Penia* and *Porus*, this being not a *Divine*

Divine but *Demoniack thing* (as the Philosopher there declares) no *God* but a *Dæmon* only, or of a Middle Nature. For it is nothing but φιλοκαλία, or *the Love of Pulchritude, as such*, which though rightly used, may perhaps Wing and Inspire the Mind, to Noble and Generous Attempts, and beget a scornful disdeign in it, of Mean, Dirty, and Sordid things; yet it is capable of being abused also, and then it will strike downward into Brutishness and Sensuality. But at best it is an Affection, belonging only to Imperfect and *Parturient* Beings; and therefore could not be the First Principle of all things. Wherefore we see no very great reason, but that in a Rectified and Qualified sence, this may pass for true Theology; That *Love* is the *Supreme Deity* and *Original* of all things; namely, if by it be meant, Eternal, Self-originated, Intellectual Love, or Essential and Substantial Goodness, that having an Infinite overflowing Fulness and Fecundity, dispenses it self Uninvidiously, according to the best Wisdom, Sweetly Governs all, without any Force or Violence (all things being Naturally subject to its Autority, and readily obeying its Laws) and reconciles the whole World into Harmony. For the Scripture telling us, that *God is Love*, seems to warrant thus much to us, that *Love* in some rightly Qualified sence, is *God*.

XIX. But we are to omit the Fabulous Age, and to descend to the Philosophical, to enquire there, who they were among the professed Philosophers, who Atheized in that manner, before described. It is true indeed, that *Aristotle* in other Places, accuses *Democritus* and *Leucippus* of the very same thing, that is, of assigning only a *Material Cause* of the Universe, and giving no account of the *Original* of *Motion*; but yet it is certain that these were not the Persons intended by him here; Those which he speaks of, being τινὲς τῶν πρώτων φιλοσοφησάντων, *some of the first and most ancient Philosophers of all*. Moreover it appears by his Description of them, that they were such as did not Philosophize in the way of *Atoms*, but resolved all things whatsoever in the Universe, into ὕλη and πάθη τῆς ὕλης, *Matter*, and the *Passions* or *Affections*, *Qualities* and *Forms* of *Matter*; so that they were not Atomical, but Hylopathian Philosophers. These two, the old Materialists and the Democriticks, did both alike derive all things from Dead and Stupid Matter, fortuitously Moved; and the Difference between them was only this, that the Democriticks manag'd this business in the way of *Atoms*, the other in that more vulgar way of *Qualities* and *Forms*: So that indeed, this is really but one and the same Atheistick *Hypothesis*, in two several Schemes. And as one of them is called the *Atomick Atheism*, so the other, for Distinctions sake, may be called the *Hylopathian*.

XX. Now *Aristotle* tells us plainly, that these *Hylopathian Atheists* of his, were all the first Philosophers of the *Ionick* Order and Succession, before *Anaxagoras*.. Whereof *Thales* being the Head, he is consentaneously thereunto by *Aristotle*, made to be ἀρχηγὸς τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοσοφίας, *the Prince and Leader of this kind of Atheistical Philosophy*, he deriving all things whatsoever, as *Homer* had done before him, from Water, and acknowledging no other Principle but the Fluid Matter.

Notwithstanding which Accusation of *Aristotle*'s, *Thales* is far otherwise represented by good Authors; *Cicero* telling us, that besides *Water*, which he made to be the Original of all Corporeal things, he asserted also *Mind* for another Principle, which formed all things out of the Water; and *Laertius* and *Plutarch* recording, that he was thought to be the first of all Philosophers who determined Souls to be Immortal; He is said also to have affirmed, that God was πρεσβύτατον πάντων, *the oldest of all things*, and that the World was ποίημα θεοῦ, *the Workmanship of God*; *Clemens* likewise tells us that being asked εἰ λανθάνει τὸ θεῖον πράσσων τι ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἢ πῶς εἶπεν ὅσῳ γε καὶ διανοήμιος; *Whether any of a mans Actions could be concealed from the Deity? he replied, not so much as any Thought.* Moreover *Laertius* further writes of him, that he held τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη, *That the World was animated, and full of Dæmons.* Lastly *Aristotle* himself elsewhere speaks of him as a Theist, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δέ τινες ψυχὴν μεμίχθαι φασὶν. ὅθεν ἴσως καὶ Θαλῆς ᾠήθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι. *Some think* (saith he) *that Soul and Life is mingled with the whole Universe, and thence perhaps was that of* Thales, *that all things are full of Gods.* Wherefore we conceive that there is very good reason, why *Thales* should be acquitted from this Accusation of Atheism. Only we shall observe the occasion of his being thus differently represented, which seems to have been this; Because as *Laertius* and *Themistius* intimate, he left no Philosophick Writings or Monuments of his own behind him, (*Anaximander* being the first of all the Philosophick Writers:) Whence probably it came to pass, that in after times some did interpret his Philosopy one way, some another, and that he is sometimes represented as a Theist, and sometime again as a down-right Atheist.

De An. l. 1. c. 8.

But though *Thales* be thus by good Authority acquitted, yet his next Successor *Anaximander* can by no means be excused from this Imputation, and therefore we think it more reasonable to fasten that Title upon him, which *Aristotle* bestows on *Thales*, that he was ἄρχηγος τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοσοφίας, *the Prince and Founder of this Atheistick Philosophy*; who derived all things from Matter, in the way of Forms and Qualities; he supposing a certain Infinite *Materia Prima*, which was neither Air nor Water nor Fire, but indifferent to every thing, or a mixture of all, to be the only Principle of the Universe, and leading a Train of many other Atheists after him, such as *Hippo* surnamed ἄθεος, by *Simplicius* and others, *Anaximines*, and *Diogenes Apolloniates*, and many more; who though they had some petty Differences amongst themselves, yet all agreed in this one thing, that *Matter* devoid of *Understanding* and *Life*, was the first *Principle* of all things; till at length *Anaxagoras* stopt this Atheistick Current, amongst these Ionick Philosophers; introducing *Mind* as a Principle of the Universe.

XXI. But there is a Passage in *Aristotle*'s Physicks, which seems at first sight, to contradict this again; and to make *Anaximander* also, not to have been an *Atheist*, but a *Divine Philosopher*. Where having

having declared that several of the Ancient Physiologers, made ἄπειρον or Infinite to be the Principle of all things, he subjoyns these words, διὸ καθάπερ λέγομεν, ὁ ταύτης ἀρχὴ, ἀλλ' αὕτη τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι δοκεῖ. Καὶ περιέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν, ὡς φασιν ὅσοι μὴ ποιοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἄπειρον ἄλλας αἰτίας, οἷον νοῦν, ἢ φιλίαν. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, ἀθάνατον γὰρ καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, ὥσπερ φησὶν ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων. *Therefore there seems to be no Principle of this Infinite, but this to be the Principle of other things, and to Contain all things and Govern all things, as they all say who do not make besides Infinite, any other Causes, such as Mind, or Friendship, and that this is the only real* Numen *or God in the World, it it being Immortal and Incorruptible, as* Anaximander *affirms, and most of the Physiologers.* From which Place some Late Writers have confidently concluded, that *Anaximander*, with those other Physiologers, there mentioned, did by *Infinite*, understand *God*, according to the True Notion of him, or an *Infinite Mind*, the *Efficient* Cause of the Universe, and not *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*; since this could not be said to be *Immortal* and to *Govern all things*; and consequently, that *Aristotle* grosly contradicts himself, in making all those Ionick Philosophers before *Anaxagoras*, to have been Mere Materialists or Atheists. And it is possible, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* also, might from this very Passage of *Aristotle's*, not sufficiently considered, have been induced to rank *Anaximander*, amongst the Divine Philosophers, as he doth in his Protreptick to the Greeks; where after he had condemned certain of the old Philosophers, as Atheistick Corporealists, he subjoyns these words * τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φιλοσόφων, ὅσοι τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπερβάντες, ἐπολυπραγμόνησάν τι ὑψηλότερον καὶ θειότερον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὸ ἄπειρον καθύμνησαν, ὧν Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἦν, καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Κλαζομένιος, καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρχέλαος. *But of the other Philosophers, who transcending all the Elements, searched after some higher and more excellent thing, some of them praised Infinite, amongst which was* Anaximander *the Milesian*, Anaxagoras *the Clazomenian, and the Athenian* Archelaus. As if these Three had all alike acknowledged an Incorporeal Deity, and made an *Infinite Mind*, distinct from *Matter*, the First Original of all things.

Lib. 3. *c.* 4.

* *Clem. Prot.* p. 43.

But that forecited Passage of *Aristotle's* alone, well consider'd, will it self afford a sufficient Confutation of this Opinion; where *Anaximander*, with those other Physiologers, is plainly opposed to *Anaxagoras*, who besides Infinite Senseless *Matter*, or *Similar Atoms*, made *Mind* to be a Principle of the *Universe*, as also to *Empedocles*, who made a *Plastick Life* and *Nature*, called *Friendship*, another Principle of the Corporeal World; from whence it plainly follows, that *Anaximander* and the rest, supposed not *Infinite Mind*, but *Infinite Matter*, without either *Mind* or *Plastick Nature*, to have been the only Original of all things, and therefore the Only Deity or *Numen*.

Moreover, *Democritus* being linked in the Context with *Anaximander*, as making both of them alike, τὸ ἄπειρον, or *Infinite*, to be the First Principle of all; it might as well be inferred from this Place, that *Democritus* was a Genuine Theist, as *Anaximander*. But as *Democritus*

mocritus his only Principle, was *Infinite Atoms*, without any thing of *Mind* or *Plaſtick Nature*; ſo likewiſe was *Anaximander*'s, an *Infinity* of *Senſleſs* and *Stupid Matter*; and therefore they were both of them Atheiſts alike, though *Anaximander*, in the cited words, had the Honour (if it may be ſo called) to be only named, as being the moſt ancient of all thoſe Atheiſtical Phyſiologers, and the Ringleader of them.

XXII. Neither ought it at all to ſeem ſtrange, that *Anaximander*, and thoſe other Atheiſtical Materialiſts ſhould call *Infinite Matter*, devoid of all *Underſtanding* and *Life*, the τὸ θεῖον, *the Deity* or *Numen*, ſince to all thoſe who deny a God, (according to the true Notion of him) whatſoever elſe they ſubſtitute in his room, by making it the *Firſt Principle* of all things, though it be *Senſleſs* and *Stupid Matter*, yet this muſt needs be accounted the Only *Numen*, and *Divineſt* thing of all.

Nor is it to be wondred at neither, that this *Infinite*, being underſtood of *Matter*, ſhould be ſaid to be, not only *Incorruptible*, but alſo *Immortal*, theſe two being often uſed as Synonymous, and Equivalent Expreſſions. For thus in *Lucretius*, the Corruption of all Inanimate Bodies is called Death,

——Mors ejus quod fuit ante;

And again,

Quando aliud ex alio reficit Natura, nec ullam
Rem Gigni patitur, niſi Morte adjutam alienâ.

In like manner Mortal is uſed by him for Corruptible,

Nam ſiquid Mortale à cunctis partibus eſſet,
Ex oculis res quæque repentè erepta periret.

And this kind of Language was very familiar with *Heraclitus*, as appears from theſe Paſſages of his, πυρὸς θάνατος, ἀέρι γένεσις· ἠ ἀέρος θάνατος, ὕδατι γένεσις· *The Death of Fire, is Generation to Air; and the Death of Air, is Generation to Water*, that is, the *Corruption* of them. And again, ψυχῇσιν θάνατος, ὕδωρ γενέσθαι· ὕδατι ἢ θάνατος, γῇ γενέσθαι; *It is Death to Vapour or Air, to be made Water; and Death to Water, to be made Earth.* In which *Heraclitus* did but imitate *Orpheus*, as appears from this Verſe of his, cited by *Clemens Alexand.*

Εστιν ὕδωρ ψυχῇ, θάνατος δ' ὑδάτεσσιν ἀμοιβή.

Beſides which, there are many Examples of this uſe of the word ἀθάνατος, in other Greek Writers, and ſome in *Ariſtotle* himſelf, who ſpeaking of the Heavens, attributes ἀθανασία and ἀϊδιότης to them,

as one and the same thing: as also affirms, that the Ancients therefore made Heaven to be the Seat of the Deity, ὡς ὄντα μόνον ἀθάνατον, *as being only Immortal*, that is *Incorruptible*.

Indeed that other Expression, at first sight, would stagger one more, where it is said of this ἄπειρον, or *Infinite*, that it doth not only *Contein*, but also *Govern* all things; but *Simplicius* tells us, that this is to be understood likewise of *Matter*, and that no more was meant by it, than that all things were *derived from it*, and *depended on it*, as the First Principle; ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῖς τοιούτοις περὶ τῆς φυσικῶν ἀρχῶν; ἀλλ' ὄχι περὶ τῆς ὑφ' ἡμῶν φύσιν, εἰ δὲ καὶ περιέχειν ἔλεγον καὶ κυβερνᾶν οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ περιέχειν ὑπάρχει τῇ ὑλικῷ αἰτίᾳ, ὡς διὰ πάντων χωροῦντι, τὸ δὲ κυβερνᾶν ὡς κατὰ τινὰ ὑποτεταγμένην αὐτῷ, παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένην· *These Philosophers spake only of natural Principles, and not of Supernatural; and though they say, that this Infinite of theirs, does both Contein and Govern all things, yet this is not at all to be wondered at; forasmuch as Conteining belongs to the Material Cause, as that which goes through all things, and likewise Governing, as that from which all things, according to a certain aptitude of it, are made.* *Philoponus* (who was a Christian) represents *Aristotle*'s sence in this whole place more fully, after this manner. *Those of the ancient Physiologers who had no respect to any Active Efficient Cause, as* Anaxagoras *had to Mind, and* Empedocles *to Friendship and Contention, supposed Matter to be the only Cause of all things, and that it was Infinite in Magnitude, Ingenerable and Incorruptible, esteeming it to be a certain Divine thing, which did Govern all, or preside over the Compages of the Universe, and to be Immortal, that is, Undestroyable. This* Anaximenes *said to be Air,* Thales *to be Water, but* Anaximander, *a certain Middle thing; some one thing, and some another.* Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θαυμαστόν φησιν, ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς περιόδῳ τοὺς πρώτους μὴ ἐπισκοπουμένους τὴν ἐφεστηκυῖαν τοῖς ὅλων δυνάμει, ἐν τοῖς στοιχείων, ὅπερ ἂν ὑπόπτευεν ἕκαστος, αἴτιον τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ εἶναι, τοῦτο δοῦναι καὶ θεὸν ὑπονοῆσαι· *And* Aristotle *in this Passage, tells us, that it is no wonder, if they who did not attend to the Active Cause, that presides over the Universe, did look upon some one of the Elements (that which each of them thought to be the Cause of all other things) as God. But as they considering only the Material Principle, conceived that to be the Cause of all things; so* Anaxagoras *supposed Mind to be the Principle of all things, and* Empedocles *Friendship and Contention.*

XXIII. But to make it further appear, that *Anaximander*'s Philosophy was purely Atheistical; we think it convenient to shew what account is given of it by other Writers. *Plutarch* in his *Placita Philosophorum*, does at once briefly represent the *Anaximandrian Philosophy*, and Censure it after this manner. Ἀναξίμανδρος φησι, τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον, ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ γεννᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους, καὶ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι· λέγει δὲ διὰ τί ἄπειρόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλλείπῃ ἡ γένεσις ἡ ὑφισαμένη· ἀμαρτάνει δὲ ὅτος, τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἀποφαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀναιρῶν, τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ ὕλην ἐστίν· ὃ δύναται ἢ ἡ ὕλη εἶναι ἐνέργεια, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ ποιοῦν ὑπολείπηται· Anaximander *the Milesian affirms, Infinite to be the First Principle. And that all things are Generated out of it, and Corrupted again into it, and* Lib. 1. c. 3.

therefore

therefore that Infinite Worlds, are ſucceſſively thus Generated and Corrupted. And he gives the reaſon why it is Infinite, that ſo there might be never any Fail of Generations. But he erreth in this, that aſſigning only a Material Cauſe, he takes away the Active Principle of things. For Anaximander's *Infinite, is nothing elſe but matter; but Matter can produce nothing, unleſs there be alſo an Active Cauſe.* Where he ſhews alſo, how *Anaximenes* followed *Anaximander* herein, in aſſigning only a Material Cauſe of the Univerſe, without any Efficient; though he differed from him, in making the Firſt Matter to be Air, and deriving all things from thence, by Rarefaction and Condenſation. Thus, we ſee, it is plain, that *Anaximander*'s *Infinite*, was no *Infinite Mind*, which is the true Deity, but only *Infinite Matter*, devoid of any Life or Active Power. *Euſebius* is more particular in giving an account of *Anaximander*'s *Coſmopœia.* τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν τῆς τῶν παντὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς τε οὐρανοὺς ἀποκεκρίθαι, καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἀπείρους κόσμους· φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἀΐδιον, γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ, κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι, καί τινα ἐκ τότε φλογὸς σφαῖραν, περιφυῆναι τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρος, ὡς τοῦ δένδρου φλοιόν. ἧς τινα ἀποῤῥαγείσης, καὶ εἰς τινας ἀποκλεισθείσας κύκλους, ὑποζῶναι τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας· Anaximander *affirms*, *Infinite* (Matter) *to be the only Cauſe of the Generation and Corruption of all things. And that the Heavens, and Infinite Worlds, were made out of it, by way of Secretion or Segregation. Alſo that thoſe Generative Principles of Heat and Cold, that were conteined in it from Eternity, being Segregated, when this World was made, a certain Sphere of Flame or Fire, did firſt ariſe and incompaſs the Air, which ſurrounds this Earth, (as a Bark doth a Tree) which being afterwards broken, and divided into ſmaller Spherical Bodies, conſtituted the Sun and Moon and all the Stars.* Which Anaximandrian *Coſmopœia*, was briefly hinted by *Ariſtotle* in theſe words, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς, ἐκκρίσεις τὰς ἐναντιότητας, ἀποκρίνουσιν, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός φησι· *Some Philoſophers Generate the World, by the Secretion and Segregation of inexiſtent Contrarieties, as* Anaximander *ſpeaks.* And elſewere in his Metaphyſicks, he takes notice of Ἀναξιμάνδρου τὸ μίγμα, Anaximander's *Mixture of things.* Whence we conclude, that *Anaximander*'s Infinite, was nothing elſe but an Infinite Chaos of Matter, in which were either Actually, or Potentially, conteined all manner of Qualities; by the Fortuitous Secretion and Segregation of which, he ſuppoſed Infinite Worlds to be ſucceſſively Generated and Corrupted. So that we may now eaſily gueſs, whence *Leucippus* and *Democritus* had their Infinite Worlds, and perceive how near a kin, theſe two Atheiſtick Hypotheſes were. But it will not be amiſs to take notice alſo of that Particular Conceit, which *Anaximander* had, concerning the Firſt Original of Brute Animals, and Mankind. Of the Former *Plutarch* gives us this account; Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ὑγρῷ γεννηθῆναι τὰ πρῶτα ζῶα, φλοιοῖς ἀκανθώδεσι περιφραττόμενα, προβαινόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, ἀποβαίνειν ὅτι τὸ ξηρότερον, καὶ περιῤῥηγνυμένου τοῦ φλοιοῦ, ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον μεταβιῶναι· *That the Firſt Animals were generated in Moiſture, and encompaſs'd about with certain Thorny Barks, by which they were guarded and defended, which after further growth, coming to be more Dry and Cracking, they iſſued forth, but lived only a ſhort time after.* And as for the firſt Original of Men, *Euſebius* repreſents

Ev. Prap. Lib. 1. p. 15. Ed. Steph.

Phyſ. L. 1. c. 4.

L. 14. c. 4.

Pla. Ph. l. 5. c. 19

represents his Sence, thus: Ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη, ὡς τῶν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δι' ἑαυτῶν ταχὺ νέμεσθαι, μόνον ὃ τροφῆς ἀνθρωπον πολυχρονίσ δεῖσθαι τιθηνήσεως, διὸ κὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἂν ποτε τοιοῦτον ὄντα διασωθῆναι· *Men were at first generated in the Bellies of other Animals, foraſmuch as all other Animals, after they are brought forth, are quickly able to feed and nouriſh themſelves, but Man alone needs to be nurſed up a long time; and therefore could not be preſerved at firſt, in any other way.* But *Plutarch* expreſſeth this ſomething more particularly. Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἐγγενέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπους ἀποφαίνεται, κὴ τραφέντας κὴ γενομένους ἱκανοὺς ἑαυτοῖς βοηθεῖν, ἐκβληθῆναι τηνικαῦτα κὴ γῆς λαβέσθαι. Anaximander *concludes that Men were at firſt Generated in the Bellies of Fiſhes, and being there nouriſhed, till they grew ſtrong, and were able to ſhift for themſelves, they were afterward caſt out upon Dry Land.* Laſtly, *Anaximander*'s Theology, is thus both repreſented to us, and cenſured, by *Velleius* the Epicurean Philoſopher in *Cicero*: *Anaximandri opinio eſt Nativos eſſe Deos, longis Intervallis Orientes Occidentéſque, eóſque innumerabiles eſſe Mundos, ſed nos Deum niſi Sempiternum intelligere quî poſſumus?* Anaximander*'s Opinion is, that the Gods are Native, riſing and vaniſhing again, in long Periods of times; and that theſe Gods are Innumerable Worlds; but how can we conceive that to be a God, which is not Eternal?* We learn from hence, that *Anaximander* did indeed ſo far comply with Vulgar Opinion, as that he retained the Name of Gods, but however that he really denied the Exiſtence of the thing it ſelf, even according to the judgment of this Epicurean Philoſopher. Foraſmuch as all his Gods were *Native* and *Mortal*, and indeed nothing elſe, but thoſe *Innumerable Worlds*, which he ſuppoſed in certain Periods of Time, to be ſucceſſively Generated and Deſtroyed. Wherefore it is plain, that *Anaximander*'s only Real *Numen*, that is, his *Firſt Principle*, that was *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, was nothing but *Infinite Matter*, devoid of all Underſtanding and Life, by the Fortuitous Secretion of whoſe inexiſtent Qualities and Parts, he ſuppoſed, Firſt, the Elements of Earth, Water, Air and Fire, and then, the Bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and both Bodies and Souls of men and other Animals, and laſtly, Innumerable or Infinite ſuch Worlds as theſe, as ſo many Secundary and Native Gods, (that were alſo Mortal) to have been Generated, according to that Atheiſtical *Hypotheſis* deſcribed in *Plato*.

E. P. l. 1.

Symp. lib. 8. q. 8.

De Nat. Deo. lib. 1.

XXIV. It is certain that the Vulgar in all Ages have been very ill Judges of Theiſts and Atheiſts, they having condemned many hearty Theiſts, as guilty of Atheiſm, merely becauſe they diſſented from them, in ſome of their Superſtitious Rites and Opinions. As for example; *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, though he was the firſt of all the Ionick Philoſophers, (unleſs *Thales* ought to be excepted) who made an Infinite *Mind* to be a Principle, that is, aſſerted a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, yet he was notwithſtanding, generally cried down for an Atheiſt, merely becauſe he affirmed the Sun to be μύδρον διάπυρον, *a Maſs of Fire*, or a *Fiery Globe*, and *the Moon to be an Earth*, that is, becauſe he denied them to be *Animated* and endued with Underſtanding Souls, and conſequently to be *Gods*. So likewiſe *Socrates* was both accuſed, and condemned, for Atheiſti-

Pla. Apol. Socr.

cal

cal Impiety, as denying all Gods, though nothing was pretended to be proved against him, but only this, that he did Θεὸς διδάσκειν μὴ νομίζειν, ὃς ἡ πόλις νομίζει, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινὰ εἰσφέρειν, *Teach that those were not true Gods which the City worshipt, and in the room thereof introduce other new Gods.* And lastly, the Christians in the Primitive times, for the same reason, were vulgarly traduced for Atheists, by the Pagans, as *Justin Martyr* declares in his Apology, ἄθεοι κεκλήμεθα, καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν περὶ τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι, *We are called Atheists, and we confess our selves such, in respect of those Gods which they worship, but not of the true God.* And as the Vulgar have unjustly condemned many *Theists* for Atheists, so have they also acquitted many *Rank Atheists* from the Guilt of that Crime, merely because they externally complied with them, in their Religious Worship, and Forms of Speech. Neither is it only the Vulgar that have been imposed upon herein, but also the Generality of Learned men, who have been commonly so superficial in this business, as that they have hardly taken notice of above three or four Atheists that ever were in former times, as namely, *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Euemerus*, and *Protagoras*; whereas *Democritus* and *Anaximander*, were as rank Atheists, as any of them all, though they had the wit to carry themselves externally, with more Cautiousness. And indeed it was really one and the self-same Form of Atheism, which both these entertained, they deriving all things alike, from *Dead* and *Stupid Matter Fortuitously Moved*, the Difference between them being only this, that they managed it two different ways; *Anaximander* in the way of *Qualities* and *Forms*, which is the more Vulgar and Obvious kind of Atheism; but *Democritus* in the way of *Atoms* and *Figures*, which seems to be a more learned kind of Atheism.

Plat. Apol.

And though we do not doubt at all, but that *Plato*, in his Tenth *De Legibus*, where he attacques Atheism, did intend the Confutation as well of the *Democritick* as the *Anaximandrian* Atheism; yet whether it were, because he had no mind to take any notice at all of *Democritus*, who is not so much as once mentioned by him any where, or else because he was not so perfectly acquainted with that Atomick way of Physiologizing, certain it is, that he there describes the Atheistick *Hypothesis* more according to the *Anaximandrian* than the *Democritick* Form. For when he represents the Atheistick Generation of Heaven and Earth, and all things in them, as resulting from the Fortuitous Commixture of Hot and Cold, Hard and Soft, Moist and Dry *Corpuscula*; this is clearly more agreeable with the *Anaximandrian Generation* of the World, by the Secretion of Inexistent Contrarieties in the Matter, than the *Democritick Cosmopœia*, by the Fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, devoid of all manner of Qualities and Forms.

Some indeed seem to call that Scheme of Atheism, that deduces all things from Matter, in the way of Qualities and Forms, by the name of *Peripatetick* or *Aristotelick Atheism*; we suppose for this reason, because *Aristotle* Physiologized in that way of Forms and Qualities, educing them out of the Power of the Matter. But since *Aristotle* himself

himself cannot be justly Taxed for an Atheist, this Form of Atheism ought rather, as we conceive, to be denominated from *Anaximander*, and called the *Anaximandrian Atheism*.

XXV. Now the Reasons why *Democritus* and *Leucippus* New-modelled Atheism, from the *Anaximandrian* and *Hylopathian*, into the *Atomick Form*, seem to have been chiefly these; First, because, they being well instructed in that Atomick way of Physiologizing, were really convinced, that it was not only more Ingenious, but also more agreeable to Truth; the other by Real Qualities and Forms, seeming a thing Unintelligible. Secondly, because they foresaw, as *Lucretius* intimates, that the Production of Forms and Qualities out of Nothing, and the Corruption of them again into Nothing, would prepare an Easie way, for mens Belief of a *Divine Creation* and *Annihilation*. And lastly, because, as we have already suggested, they plainly perceived, that these *Forms* and *Qualities* of *Matter* were of a doubtful Nature, and therefore, as they were sometimes made a shelter for Atheism, so they might also prove, on the contrary, an *Asylum* for Corporeal Theism; in that it might possibly be supposed, that either the *Matter* of the whole World, or else the more Subtle and Fiery Part of it, was Originally endued with an Understanding Form or Quality, and consequently the Whole an *Animal* or *God*. Wherefore they took another more Effectual Course, to secure their Atheism, and exclude all Possibility of a Corporeal God, by deriving the Original of all things from Atoms, devoid of all Forms and Qualities, and having nothing in them, but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, as the First Principles; it following unavoidably from thence, that *Life* and *Understanding*, as well as those other Qualities, could be only *Accidental* and *Secundary* Results from certain Fortuitous *Concretions* and *Contextures* of *Atoms*; so that the World could be made by no Previous Counsel or Understanding, and therefore by no Deity.

XXVI. We have here represented, Three several Forms of Atheism, the *Anaximandrian*, the *Democritical* and the *Stratonical*. But there is yet another Form of Atheism, different from them all, to be taken notice of, which is such, as supposes one kind of *Plastick* and *Spermatick*, *Methodical* and *Artificial* Nature, but without any Sense or Conscious Understanding, to preside over the whole World, and dispose and conserve all things, in that Regular Frame in which they are. Such a Form of Atheism as this, is hinted to us in that doubtful Passage of *Seneca*'s; *Sive Animal est Mundus*, (for so it ought to be read, and not *Anima*) *sive Corpus Naturâ Gubernante, ut Arbores, ut Sata*; *Whether the whole World be an Animal* (i. e. *endued with one Sentient and Rational Life*) *or whether it be only a Body Governed, by* (*a certain Plastick and Methodical, but Senseless*) *Nature, as Trees, and other Plants or Vegetables*. In which words are two several *Hypotheses*, of the Mundane System, Sceptically proposed, by one who was a Corporealist, and took it for granted that all was Body. First, that the whole World, though having nothing but Body in it, yet was notwithstanding an *Animal*, as our Humane Bodies are, endued with one *Senti-*

Nat Quæst. l. 3. Sect. 29.

ent;

ent or *Rational Life and Nature*, one *Soul* or *Mind*, governing and ordering the Whole. Which *Corporeal Cosmo-zoism* we do not reckon amongst the Forms of Atheism, but rather account it for a kind of Spurious Theism, or Theism disguized in a Paganick Dress, and not without a Complication of many false apprehensions, concerning the Deity, in it. The Second is, that the whole World is no *Animal*, but as it were, one *Huge Plant* or *Vegetable*, a Body endued with one *Plastick* or *Spermatick Nature*, branching out the whole, Orderly and Methodically, but without any Understanding or Sense. And this must needs be accounted a Form of Atheism, because it does not derive the Original of things in the Universe, from any clearly Intellectual Principle or Conscious Nature.

XXVII. Now this Form of Atheism which supposes the Whole World (there being nothing but Body in it) not to be an *Animal*, but only a *Great Plant* or *Vegetable*, having one *Spermatick Form*, or *Plastick Nature*, which without any Conscious Reason or Understanding, orders the whole, though it have some nearer Correspondence with that *Hylozoick Form* of Atheism before described, in that it does not suppose Nature to be a mere *Fortuitous*, but a kind of *Artificial* thing; yet it differs from it in this, that the Hylozoick supposing all Matter, as such, to have Life, Essentially belonging to it, must therefore needs attribute to every part of Matter (or at least every Particular *Totum*, that is one by Continuity) a Distinct *Plastick Life* of its own, but acknowledge no one Common Life, as ruling over the whole Corporeal Universe, and consequently impute the Original of all things (as hath been already observed) to a certain Mixture of *Chance*, and *Plastick* or Methodical Nature, both together. Whereas the *Cosmo-plastick Atheism*, quite excludes *Fortune* or *Chance*, subjecting all things to the Regular and Orderly Fate, of one Plastick or Plantal Nature, ruling over the Whole. Thus that Philosopher before mentioned concludes, that whether the World were an *Animal* (in the Stoical sence) or whether it were a mere *Plant* or *Vegetable*, *Ab initio ejus usque ad exitum, quicquid facere, quicquid pati debeat, inclusum est. Ut in Semine, omnis futuri ratio hominis comprehensa est. Et Legem Barbæ & Canorum, nondum natus Infans habet. Totius enim Corporis, & sequentis ætatis, in parvo occultoque, Lineamenta sunt. Sic Origo Mundi, non magis Solem & Lunam, & Vices Syderum, & Animalium Ortus, quàm quibus mutarentur Terrena, continuit. In his fuit Inundatio, quæ non secus quàm Hyems, quàm Æstas, Lege Mundi venit. Whatsoever, from the beginning to the end of it, it can either Do or Suffer, it was all at first included in the Nature of the whole; As in the Seed is conteined the Whole Delineation of the Future man, and the* Embryo *or Unborn infant, hath already in it, the Law of a Beard and Gray Hairs. The Lineaments of the whole Body, and of its following age, being there described as it were in a little and obscure Compendium. In like manner, the Original and First Rudiments of the World, conteined in them, not only the Sun and Moon, the Courses of the Stars, and the Generations of Animals, but also the Vicissitudes of all Terrestrial things. And every Deluge or Inundation of Water, comes to pass no less, by the Law of the World* (its Spermatick or Plastick Nature) *than Winter and Summer doth.*

Nat. Q. l. 3. c. 29.

XXVIII. We

XXVIII. We do not deny it to be possible, but that some in all Ages might have entertained such an Atheistical Conceit as this, That the Original of this whole Mundane System was from one *Artificial, Orderly* and *Methodical*, but *Senseless Nature* lodged in the Matter; but we cannot trace the footsteps of this Doctrine any where so much as among the Stoicks, to which Sect *Seneca*, who speaks so waveringly and uncertainly in this point, (Whether the World were an *Animal* or a *Plant*) belonged. And indeed diverse learned men have suspected, that even the *Zenonian* and *Heraclitick Deity* it self, was no other than such a *Plastick Nature* or *Spermatick Principle* in the Universe, as in the *Seeds* of *Vegetables* and *Animals*, doth frame their respective Bodies, *Orderly* and *Artificially*. Nor can it be denied, but that there hath been just cause given for such a suspicion; foraſmuch as the best of the *Stoicks*, sometimes confounding *God* with *Nature*, seemed to make him nothing but an *Artificial Fire*, *Orderly* and *Methodically proceeding to Generation*. And it was Familiar with them, as *Laertius* tells us, to call God σπερματικὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου, *the Spermatick Reason* or *Form of the World*. Nevertheless, because *Zeno* and others of the chief Stoical Doctors, did also many times assert, that there was φύσις νοερὰ καὶ λογικὴ, *a Rational and Intellectual Nature* (and therefore not a Plastick Principle only) in the *Matter* of the Universe; as likewise that the whole World was an *Animal*, and not a mere *Plant*: Therefore we incline rather, to excuse the generality of the first and most ancient Stoicks from the imputation of Atheism; and to account this Form of Atheism which we now speak of, to be but a certain Degeneracy from the right *Heraclitick* and *Zenonian Cabala*, which seemed to contain these two things in it; First, that there was an *Animalish*, *Sentient* and *Intellectual Nature*, or a *Conscious Soul* and *Mind*, that presided over the whole World, though lodged immediately in the *Fiery Matter* of it: Secondly, that this *Sentient* and *Intellectual Nature*, or *Corporeal Soul* and *Mind* of the Universe, did contain also under it, or within it, as the inferiour part of it, a certain *Plastick Nature* or *Spermatick Principle* which was properly the *Fate* of *all things*. For thus *Heraclitus* defined Fate λόγον τὸν διὰ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ παντὸς διήκοντα, ἢ αἰθέριον σῶμα σπέρμα τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως, *A certain Reason passing through the Substance of the whole World*, or an *Ethereal Body*, *that was the Seed of the Generation of the Universe*. And *Zeno*'s first Principle, as it is said to be an *Intellectual Nature*, so it is also said, to have contained in it πάντας τοὺς σπερματικοὺς λόγους καθ' οὓς ἕκαστα καθ' εἱμαρμένην γίγνεται, *All the Spermatick Reasons and forms*, *by which every thing is done according to Fate*. However, though this seem to have been the genuine Doctrine, both of *Heraclitus* and *Zeno*; yet others of their Followers afterwards, divided these two things from one another, and taking only the latter of them, made the *Plastick* or *Spermatick Nature*, devoid of all *Animality* or *Conscious Intellectuality*, to be the highest *Principle* in the Universe. Thus *Laertius* tells us, that *Boethus*, an eminent and famous Stoical Doctor did plainly deny the World to be an *Animal*, that is, to have any *Sentient*, *Conscious* or *Intellectual Nature* presiding over it, and consequently must needs make it to be but *Corpus Naturâ gubernante*, *ut Arbores*, *ut Sata*, *A Body governed*

ed by a Plaſtick or Vegetative Nature, as Trees, Plants and Herbs. And as it is poſſible that other Stoicks and Heracliticks, might have done the like before *Boethus*, ſo it is very probable that he had after him many Followers; amongſt which, as *Plinius Secundus* may be reckoned for one, ſo *Seneca* himſelf was not without a doubtful Tincture of this Atheiſm, as hath been already ſhewed. Wherefore this *Form of Atheiſm*, which ſuppoſes one *Plaſtick* or *Spermatick* Nature, one *Plantal* or *Vegetative Life* in the whole World, as the *Higheſt Principle*, may, for diſtinction ſake, be called the *Pſeudo-Stoical* or *Stoical Atheiſm.*

XXIX. Beſides theſe *Philoſophick Atheiſts*, whoſe ſeveral Forms we have now deſcribed, it cannot be doubted, but that there have been in all Ages many other Atheiſts that have not at all Philoſophized, nor pretended to maintain any particular *Atheiſtick Syſtem* or *Hypotheſis*, in a way of Reaſon, but were only led by a certain dull and ſottiſh, though confident, Disbelief of whatſoever they could not either See or Feel: Which kind of Atheiſts may therefore well be accompted *Enthuſiaſtical* or *Fanatical Atheiſts.* Though it be true in the mean time, that even all manner of Atheiſts whatſoever, and thoſe of them who moſt of all pretend to Reaſon and Philoſophy, may in ſome ſence be juſtly ſtiled alſo both *Enthuſiaſts* and *Fanaticks.* Forasmuch as they are not led or carried on, into this way of Atheizing, by any clear Dictates of their Reaſon or Underſtanding, but only by an ὁρμὴ ἄλογος, *a certain Blind and Irrational Impetus*, they being as it were *Inſpired* to it, by that lower *Earthly Life* and *Nature*, which is called in the Scripture-oracles τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ κόσμου, *the Spirit of the World*, or a *Mundane Spirit*, and is oppoſed to the τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, *the Spirit that is of God.* For when the Apoſtle ſpeaks after this manner, *We have not received the Spirit of the World, but the Spirit that is of God*, he ſeems to intimate thus much unto us; That as ſome men were Led and *Inſpired* by a *Divine Spirit*, ſo others again are *Inſpired* by a *Mundane Spirit*, by which is meant the *Earthly Life.* Now the former of theſe Two, are not to be accompted *Enthuſiaſts*, as the word is now commonly taken in a Bad Sence, becauſe the *Spirit of God* is no *Irrational thing*, but either the very ſelf ſame thing with *Reaſon*, or elſe ſuch a thing as *Ariſtotle* (as it were Vaticinating concerning it) ſomewhere calls λόγου τι κρεῖττον, *a certain Better and Diviner thing than Reaſon*, and *Plotinus* ῥίζαν λόγου, *the Root of Reaſon.* But on the contrary, the *Mundane Spirit*, or *Earthly Life*, is *Irrational Sottiſhneſs*; and they who are *Atheiſtically Inſpired* by it (how abhorrent ſoever they may otherwiſe ſeem to be from *Enthuſiaſm* and *Revelations*) are notwithſtanding really no better, than a kind of *Bewitched Enthuſiaſts* and *Blind Spiritati*, that are wholly ridden and acted by a dark, narrow and captivated Principle of Life, and, to uſe their own Language, *In-blown* by it, and by it bereft, even in Speculative things, of all Free Reaſon and Underſtanding. Nay they are *Fanaticks* too, however that word ſeem to have a more peculiar reſpect to ſomething of a Deity: All Atheiſts being that *Blind Goddeſs, Natures Fanaticks.*

XXX. We have deſcribed four ſeveral Forms of Atheiſm; Firſt, the

the *Hylopathian* or *Anaximandrian*, that derives all things from Dead and Stupid Matter in the way of *Qualities and Forms*, Generable and Corruptible: Secondly, the *Atomical* or *Democritical*, which doth the same thing in the way of *Atoms* and *Figures*: Thirdly, the *Cosmoplastick* or *Stoical Atheism*, which supposes one *Plastick* and *Methodical* but *Senseless Nature*, to preside over the whole Corporeal Universe: And lastly, the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical*, that attributes to all Matter, as such, a certain *Living* and *Energetick Nature*, but devoid of all *Animality*, *Sense* and *Consciousness*. And as we do not meet with any other *Forms* or *Schemes* of *Atheism*, besides these *Four*, so we conceive that there cannot easily be any other excogitated or devised: and that upon these two following Considerations. First, because all *Atheists* are mere *Corporealists*, that is, acknowledge no other *Substance* besides *Body* or *Matter*. For as there was never any yet known, who asserting *Incorporeal Substance*, did deny a *Deity*; so neither can there be any reason, why he that admits the former should exclude the latter. Again, the same Dull and Earthly Disbelief or confounded Sottishness of Mind, which makes men deny a *God*, must needs incline them to deny all *Incorporeal Substance* also. Wherefore as the Physicians speak of a certain *Disease* or *Madness*, called *Hydrophobia*, *the Symptome of those that have been bitten by a mad Dog*, which makes them have a monstrous Antipathy to Water; so all Atheists are possessed with a certain kind of *Madness*, that may be called *Pneumatophobia*, that makes them have an irrational but desperate Abhorrence from *Spirits* or *Incorporeal Substances*, they being acted also, at the same time, with an *Hylomania*, whereby they *Madly dote* upon *Matter*, and *Devoutly worship* it, as the only *Numen*.

The Second Consideration is this, because as there are no Atheists but such as are *mere Corporealists*, so all *Corporealists* are not to be accompted Atheists neither: Those of them, who notwithstanding they make all things to be Matter, yet suppose an Intellectual Nature in that Matter, to preside over the Corporeal Universe, being in Reason and Charity to be exempted out of that number. And there have been always some, who though so strongly captivated under the power of gross Imagination, as that an Incorporeal God seemed to them, to be nothing but a *God of Words* (as some of them call it) a mere Empty Sound or Contradictious Expression, Something and Nothing put together; yet notwithstanding, they have been possessed with a firm belief and persuasion of a Deity, or that the System of the Universe depends upon one Perfect Understanding Being as the Head of it; and thereupon have concluded that ὕλη πᾶς ἔχουσα, a certain *kind of Body or Matter*, *is God*. The grossest and most sottish of all which Corporeal Theists, seem to be those, who contend that God is only one particular Piece of Organized Matter, of Humane Form and Bigness, which endued with Perfect Reason and Understanding, exerciseth an Universal Dominion over all the rest. Which *Hypothesis*, however it hath been entertained by some of the Christian Profession, both in former and later times, yet it hath seemed very ridiculous, even to many of those Heathen Philosophers themselves, who were mere Corporealists, such as the *Stoicks*, who exploded it with a kind of Indig-

nation, contending earnestly μὴ εἶναι θεὸν ἀνθρωπόμορφον, That *God (though Corporeal)* yet must not be *conceived* to be of *any Humane Shape.* And *Xenophanes*, an Ancient Philosophick Poet, expresseth the Childishness of this Conceit after this manner;

Ἀλλ' εἴτοι χεῖρας γ' εἶχον βόες ἠὲ λέοντες,
Ἢ γράψαι χείρεσσι, καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἅπερ ἄνδρες,
Καί κε θεῶν ἰδίας ἐγράφον, καὶ σώματ' ἐποίουν
Τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὶ αὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ὁμοῖον.

If Oxen, Lions, Horses and Asses, had all of them a Sense of a Deity, and were able to Limn and Paint, there is no question to be made, but that each of these several Animals would paint God according to their respective Form & Likeness, and contend that he was of that shape & no other. But that other Corporeal Theism, seems to be of the two, rather more Generous and Gentile, which supposes the whole World to be one *Animal*, and *God* to be a certain Subtle and Etherial, but *Intellectual Matter*, pervading it as a *Soul*; which was the Doctrine of others before the Stoicks, τὸ πῦρ θεὸν ὑπειλήφατον Ἵππασός τε ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ ὁ Ἐφέσιος Ἡράκλειτος, Hippasus *of* Metapontus *and* Heraclitus *the Ephesian supposed the Fiery and Etherial Matter of the World to be God.* However, neither these *Heracliticks* and *Stoicks*, nor yet the other *Anthropomorphites*, are by us condemned for downright Atheists, but rather look'd upon as a sort of Ignorant, Childish and *Unskilful Theists.*

Wherefore we see that *Atheists* are now reduced into a narrow Compass, since none are concluded to be *Atheists*, but such as are mere *Corporealists*, and all *Corporealists* must not be condemned for *Atheists* neither, but only those of them who assert, that there is no *Conscious Intellectual Nature*, presiding over the whole Universe. For this is that which the *Adepti* in *Atheism*, of what Form soever, all agree in, That the first Principle of the Universe, is no *Animalish*, *Sentient* and *Conscious Nature*, but that all *Animality*, *Sense* and *Consciousness*, is a *Secondary*, *Derivative* and *Accidental thing*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, arising out of particular Concretions of Matter organized and dissolved together with them.

XXXI. Now if the First Principle and Original of all things in the Universe, be thus supposed to be Body or Matter, devoid of all *Animality*, *Sense* and *Consciousness*, then it must of necessity be either perfectly Dead and Stupid, and without all manner of *Life*, or else endued with such a kind of *Life* only, as is by some called *Plastick*, *Spermatical* and *Vegetative*, by others the *Life of Nature*, or *Natural Perception.* And those Atheists who derive all things from Dead and Stupid Matter, must also needs do this, either in the way of *Qualities and Forms*, and these are the *Anaximandrian Atheists*; or else in the way of *Atoms* and *Figures*, which are the *Democritical.* But those who make Matter endued with a *Plastick Life*, to be the first Original of all things, must needs suppose either *One such Plastick* and *Spermatick Life* only, in the whole Mass of Matter or Corporeal Universe, which are the *Stoical Atheists*; or else *all Matter* as such to have

have *Life* and an *Energetick Nature* belonging to it (though without any *Animal Sense* or *Self-perception*) and consequently all the Particular Parts of Matter, and every *Totum* by Continuity, to have a distinct *Plastick Life* of its own, which are the *Stratonick Atheists*. Wherefore there does not seem to be any room now left, for any other *Form* of *Atheism*, besides these *Four*, to thrust in.

And we think fit here again to inculcate, what hath been already intimated, That one Grand *Difference* amongst these several *Forms of Atheism* is this, That some of them attributing no *Life* at all to *Matter*, as such, nor indeed acknowledging any *Plastick Life* of Nature, distinct from the *Animal*, and supposing every thing whatsoever is in the world, besides ὕλη ἄποιος, the bare Substance of Matter considered as devoid of all Qualities, (that is, mere *extended Bulk*) to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, consequently resolve, that all manner *of Life* whatsoever is *Generable* and *Corruptible*, or *educible out of Nothing* and *reducible to Nothing* again, and these are the *Anaximandrian and Democritick Atheisms*. But the other, which are the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*, do on the contrary suppose some *Life* to be *Fundamental* and *Original*, *Essential* and *Substantial*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, as being a *First Principle* of things. Nevertheless, this not to be any *Animal*, *Conscious* and *Self-perceptive* Life, but a *Plastick Life of Nature* only; all Atheists still agreeing in those Two forementioned Things; First, that there is no other *Substance* in the World besides Body; Secondly, that all Animal *Life*, *Sense* and *Self-perception*, *Conscious Understanding* and *Personality* are *Generated* and *Corrupted*, successively *Educed* out of *Nothing* and *Reduced* into *Nothing* again.

XXXII. Indeed we are not ignorant, that some, who seem to be Well-wishers to Atheism, have talk'd sometimes of *Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*, as having a mind to suppose, *Three* several sorts of *Matter* in the Universe, Specifically different from one another, that were Originally such, and Self-existent from Eternity; namely *Sensless*, *Sensitive* and *Rational*: As if the *Mundane System* might be conceived to arise, from a certain Jumble of these *Three several sorts* of *Matter*, as it were scuffling together in the Dark, without a God, and so producing Brute Animals and Men. But as this is a mere Precarious *Hypothesis*, there being no imaginable accompt to be given, how there should come to be such an Essential Difference betwixt *Matters*, or why this Piece of Matter should be *Sensitive*, and that *Rational*, when another is altogether *Sensless*; so the Suggestors of it are but mere *Novices in Atheism*, and a kind of Bungling *Well-wishers* to it. First, because, according to this *Hypothesis*, no *Life* would be Produced or Destroyed in the successive *Generations* and *Corruptions* of Animals, but only *Concreted* and *Secreted* in them; and consequently all humane *Personalities* must be *Eternal* and *Incorruptible*: Which is all one, as to assert the *Præ* and *Post-existence* of all Souls, from Eternity to Eternity, a thing that all Genuine and Thorow-pac'd Atheists are in a manner as abhorrent from, as they are from the Deity it self. And Secondly, because there can be no imaginable Reason given by them, Why there might not be as well, a certain *Divine Mat-*

ter perfectly Intellectual and Self-exiſtent from Eternity, as a *Senſitive* and *Rational Matter*. And therefore ſuch an *Hypotheſis* as this, can never ſerve the turn of Atheiſts. But all thoſe that are Maſters of the *Craft of Atheiſm*, and thorowly Catechized or Initiated in the *Dark Myſteries* thereof, (as hath been already inculcated) do perfectly agree in this, That all *Animal*, *Sentient* and *Conſcious Life*, all *Souls* and *Minds*, and conſequently all humane *Perſonalities*, are *Generated* out of *Matter*, and *Corrupted again* into it, or rather *Educed* out of Nothing and *Reduced* into Nothing again.

We underſtand alſo that there are certain *Canting Aſtrological Atheiſts*, who would deduce all things from the *Occult Qualities* and *Influences* of the Stars, according to their different *Conjunctions*, *Oppoſitions* and *Aſpects*, in a certain blind and unaccomptable manner. But theſe being Perſons devoid of all manner of Senſe, who neither ſo much as pretend to give an Accompt of theſe Stars, whether they be Animals or not, as alſo whence they derive their Original, (which if they did undertake to do *Atheiſtically*, they muſt needs reſolve themſelves at length into one or other of thoſe *Hypotheſes* already propoſed) therefore, as we conceive, they deſerve not the leaſt Conſideration. But we think fit here to obſerve, that ſuch Devotoes to the heavenly Bodies, as look upon all the other Stars as petty Deities, but the Sun as the *Supreme Deity* and *Monarch* of the Univerſe, in the mean time conceiving it alſo to be *Perfectly Intellectual*, (which is in a manner the ſame with the *Cleanthean Hypotheſis*) are not ſo much to be accompted *Atheiſts*, as *Spurious*, *Paganical* and *Idolatrous Theiſts*. And upon all theſe Conſiderations we conclude again, that there is no other *Philoſophick Form* of *Atheiſm*, that can eaſily be deviſed, beſides theſe *Four* mentioned, the *Anaximandrian*, the *Democritical*, the *Stoical* and the *Stratonical*.

XXXIII. Amongſt which Forms of Atheiſm, there is yet another *Difference* to be obſerved, and accordingly another *Diſtribution* to be made of them. It being firſt premiſed, that all theſe forementioned Sorts of Atheiſts (if they will ſpeak conſiſtently and agreeably to their own Principles) muſt needs ſuppoſe all things to be one way or other *Neceſſary*. For though *Epicurus* introduced *Contingent Liberty*, yet it is well known, that he therein plainly contradicted his own Principles. And this indeed, was the Firſt and Principal thing intended by us, in this whole Undertaking, to confute that Falſe *Hypotheſis* of the *Mundane Syſtem*, which makes all *Actions and Events Neceſſary upon Atheiſtick Grounds*, but eſpecially in the *Mechanick way*. Wherefore in the next place we muſt obſerve, that though the Principles of all Atheiſts *introduce Neceſſity*, yet the *Neceſſity* of theſe *Atheiſts* is not one and the ſame, but of two different kinds; ſome of them ſuppoſing a *Neceſſity* of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, which is that which is commonly meant by ὑλικὴ ἀνάγκη, or *Material Neceſſity*, and is alſo called by *Ariſtotle*, an *Abſolute Neceſſity* of things: Others the Neceſſity of a *Plaſtick Life*, which the ſame *Ariſtotle* calls an *Hypothetical Neceſſity*. For the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheiſts* do both of them aſſert a *Material and Abſolute Neceſſity* of all things; one in the way of *Qualities*,

Qualities, and the other of *Motion and Mechanism*: But the *Stoical* and *Stratonical Atheists* assert a *Plastical* and *Hypothetical Necessity* of things only.

Now one grand Difference betwixt these two Sorts of Atheisms and their Necessities lies in this, That the Former, though they make all things *Necessary*, yet they suppose them also to be *Fortuitous*; there being no Inconsistency between these Two. And the Sence of both the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheisms* seems to be thus described by *Plato*, πάντα κατὰ τύχην ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεκυκλοῦτο, *All things were mingled together by Necessity according to Fortune.* For that *Nature* from whence these Atheists derived all things, is at once both *Necessary* and *Fortuitous*. But the *Plastick Atheisms* suppose such a *Necessary Nature*, for the *First Principle* of things, as is not merely *Fortuitous*, but *Regular*, *Orderly* and *Methodical*; the *Stoical* excluding all *Chance* and *Fortune* universally, because they subject all things to *One Plastick Nature* ruling over the whole Universe, but the *Stratonical* doing it in part only, because they derive things, from a *Mixture* of *Chance* and *Plastick Nature* both together.

And thus we see that there is a Double Notion of *Nature* amongst Atheists, as well as Theists; which we cannot better express than in the words of *Balbus* the Stoick, personated by *Cicero*: *Alii Naturam censent esse Vim quandam sine Ratione, cientem motus in corporibus necessarios; Alii autem Vim participem Ordinis, tanquam Viâ progredientem. Cujus Solertiam, nulla Ars, nulla Manus, nemo Opifex, consequi potest imitando; Seminis enim Vim esse tantam, ut id quanquam perexiguum, nactumque sit Materiam, quâ ali augerique possit, ita fingat & efficiat, in suo quidque genere, partim ut per stirpes alantur suas, partim ut movere etiam possint, & ex se similia sui generare. Some by Nature mean a certain Force without Reason and Order, exciting Necessary Motions in Bodies; but others understand by it, such a Force as participating of Order, proceeds as it were Methodically. Whose exquisiteness, no Art, no Hand, no Opificer can reach to by Imitation. For the Force of Seed is such, that though the Bulk of it be very small, yet if it get convenient Matter for its nourishment and increase, it so Forms and Frames things in their several kinds, as that they can partly through their Stocks and Trunks be nourished, and partly Move themselves also, and Generate their like.* And again; *Sunt qui omnia Naturæ Nomine appellent, ut* Epicurus; *Sed nos, cum dicimus Naturâ constare administrariq; Mundum, non ita dicimus, ut Glebam, aut Fragmentum Lapidis, aut aliquid ejusmodi, nulla cohærendi Natura; Sed ut Arborem, ut Animalia, in quibus nulla* Temeritas, *sed* Ordo *apparet &* Artis *quædam Similitudo. There are some who call all things by the name of Nature, as* Epicurus: *But we, when we say that the World is administred by Nature, do not mean such a Nature as is in Clods of Earth and Pieces of Stone; but such as is in a Tree or Animal, in whose Constitution there is no Temerity, but Order and Similitude of Art.* Now according to these Two different Notions of *Nature*, the Four forementioned Forms of Atheism may be again Dichotomized after this manner; into such as derive all things from a mere *Fortuitous* and *Temerarious Nature*, devoid of all Order and

De Nat. De. l. 2.

and Methodicalness; and such as deduce the Original of things from a certain *Orderly*, *Regular* and *Artificial*, though *Senseless* Nature in Matter. The former of which are the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheisms*, the latter the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*.

It hath been already observed, that those Atheisms that derive all things from a mere Fortutious Principle, as also suppose every thing besides ὕλη ἄποιος, *the bare Substance of Matter* or Extended Bulk, to be Generated and Corrupted; though they asserted the *Eternity of Matter*, yet they could not, agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, maintain the *Eternity* and *Incorruptibility* of the World. And accordingly hereunto, both the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists* did conclude the World to be γενόμενον καὶ φθαρτὸν, *such as was at first Made and should be again Corrupted*. And upon this accompt, *Lucretius* concerns himself highly herein, to prove both the *Novity* of the World, and also its *Future Dissolution* and *Extinction*, that

Totum Nativum Mortali Corpore constat.

But instead of the *Worlds Eternity*, these Two sorts of Atheists, introduced another Paradox, namely an ἀπειρία κόσμων, *an Infinity of Worlds*, and that not only Successive, in that space which this World of ours is conceived now to occupy, in respect of the *Infinity* of *Past* and *Future Time*, but also a *Contemporary Infinity* of *Coexistent Worlds*, at all times throughout Endless and Unbounded Space.

However it is certain, that some Persons Atheistically inclined, have been always apt to run out another way, and to suppose that the *Frame* of things, and *System* of the World, ever was from Eternity, and ever will be to Eternity, such as now it is, dispensed by a certain *Orderly* and *Regular*, but yet *Senseless* and *Unknowing Nature*. And it is Propheſied in Scripture, that such Atheists as these should especially abound in these latter days of ours; *There shall come in the last days* (ἐμπαῖκται) *Atheistical Scoffers, walking after their own Lusts and saying, Where is the promise of his Coming? For since the Fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the Creation.* Which latter words are spoken only according to the received *Hypothesis* of the Jews, the meaning of these Atheists being quite otherwise, that there was neither *Creation* nor *Beginning* of the *World*; but that things had continued, such as now they are, from all *Eternity*. As appears also from what the Apostle there adds by way of Confutation, That they *were wilfully Ignorant of this, that by the word of God the Heavens were of old, and the Earth standing out of the Water and in the Water; and that as the World that then was, overflowing with Water perished, so the Heavens & Earth which now are, by the same word are kept in store, and reserved unto Fire against the day of Judgment & Perdition of Ungodly men.* And it is evident, that some of these Atheists at this very day, march in the garb of Enthusiastical Religionists, acknowledging no more a *God* than a *Christ without* them, and Allegorizing the *day of Judgment* and future *Conflagration*, into a kind of seemingly *Mystical*, but really *Atheistical Non-sence*. These, if they did *Philosophize*, would resolve themselves into one or other of those Two *Hypotheses* before mentioned

2 *Pet.* 3.

mentioned; either that of *One Plastick Orderly* and *Methodical*, but *Senseless Nature*, ruling over the whole Universe; or else that *of the Life of Matter*, making one or other of these two *Natures* to be their only *God* or *Numen*. It being sufficiently agreeable to the Principles of both these Atheistick *Hypotheses* (and no others) to maintain the Worlds both *Antè* and *Post-Eternity*; yet so as that the latter of them, namely the *Hylozoists*, admitting a certain Mixture of *Chance* together with the *Life of Matter*, would suppose, that though the main Strokes of things, might be preserved the same, and some kind of constant Regularity always kept up in the World, yet that the whole *Mundane System* did not in all respects continue the same, from *Eternity to Eternity*, without any *Variation*. But as *Strabo* tells us that *Strato Physicus* maintained, *the Euxine Sea at first to have had no Outlet by* Byzantium *into the Mediterranean, but that by the continual running in of Rivers into it, causing it to overflow, there was in length of time a passage opened by the* Propontis *and* Hellespont. *As also that the Mediterranean Sea forced open that passage of the Herculean straits, being a continual* Isthmus *or neck of Land before; that many parts of the present Continent were heretofore Sea, as also much of the present Ocean habitable Land:* So it cannot be doubted, but that the same *Strato* did likewise suppose such kind of *Alternations* and *Vicissitudes* as these, in all the greater parts of the Mundane System. *Strab. l.* 1.

But the *Stoical Atheists*, who made the whole World to be dispensed by one *Orderly* and *Plastick* Nature, might very well, and agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, maintain, besides the *Worlds Eternity*, one *Constant* and *Invariable* Course or *Tenor* of things in it, as *Plinius Secundus* doth, who, if he were any thing, seems to have been one of these *Atheists*; *Mundum & hoc quod nomine alio Cœlum appellare libuit, (cujus circumflexu reguntur cuncta) Numen esse, credi par est, Æternum, Immensum, neque Genitum neque Interiturum——— Idem rerum Naturæ Opus, & rerum ipsa Natura*; *The World, and that which by another name is called the Heavens, by whose Circumgyration all things are governed, ought to be believed to be a Numen, Eternal, Immense, such as was never Made, and shall never be Destroyed.* Where by the way, it may be again observed, that those Atheists who denied a *God* according to the *True Notion* of him, as a *Conscious, Understanding Being*, presiding over the whole World, did notwithstanding look upon either the World it self, or else a mere Senseless Plastick Nature in it, as a kind of *Numen* or *Deity*, they supposing it to be *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*. Which same *Pliny*, as upon the grounds of the Stoical Atheism, he maintained against the Anaximandrians and Democriticks the *Worlds Eternity* and *Incorruptibility*; so did he likewise in way of Opposition to that ἀπειρία κόσμων, that *Infinity of Worlds* of theirs, assert that there was but *One World*, and that *Finite*. In like manner we read concerning that Famous Stoick *Boethus*, whom *Laertius* affirms, to have denied the World to be an *Animal* (which according to the language and sence of those times was all one as to deny a *God*) that he also maintained, contrary to the received Doctrine of the Stoicks, the Worlds Ante-Eternity and Incorruptibility, *Philo* in his Treatise περὶ ἀφθαρσίας κόσμου, or *the Incorruptibility of the World* testifying the same of him. *Nat. H. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

Nevertheless

Nevertheleſs it ſeems, that ſome of theſe Stoical Atheiſts did alſo agree with the Generality of the other Stoical Theiſts, in ſuppoſing a ſucceſſive *Infinity of Worlds* Generated and Corrupted, by reaſon of intervening *Periodical Conflagrations*; though all diſpenſed by ſuch a *Stupid* and *Senſleſs Nature* as governs *Plants* and *Trees*. For thus much we gather from thoſe words of *Seneca* before cited, where deſcribing this *Atheiſtical Hypotheſis*, he tells us, that though the World were a *Plant*, that is, governed by a *Vegetative* or *Plaſtick Nature*, without any *Animality*, yet notwithſtanding, *ab initio ejus uſque ad exitum*, &c. it had both a Beginning and will have an End, and from its Beginning to its End, all was diſpenſed by a kind of *Regular Law*, even its Succeſſive *Conflagrations* too, as well as thoſe *Inundations* or *Deluges* which have ſometimes hapned. Which yet they underſtood after ſuch a manner, as that in theſe ſeveral *Revolutions* and *Succeſſive Circuits* or Periods of Worlds, all things ſhould be ἀπαραλλακτα, *exactly alike*, to what had been Infinitely before, and ſhould be again Infinitely afterwards. Of which more elſewhere.

XXXIV. This *Quadripartite Atheiſm* which we have now repreſented, is the *Kingdom of Darkneſs Divided*, or Labouring with an *Inteſtine Seditious War* in its own Bowels, and thereby deſtroying it ſelf. Inſomuch that we might well ſave our ſelves the labour of any further Confutation of Atheiſm, merely by committing theſe ſeveral *Forms of Atheiſm* together, and daſhing them one againſt another, they oppoſing and contradicting each other, no leſs than they do *Theiſm* it ſelf. For firſt, thoſe two *Pairs* of *Atheiſms*, on the one hand the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick*, on the other the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*, do abſolutely deſtroy each other; the Former of them ſuppoſing the Firſt Principle of all things to be *Stupid Matter* devoid of all manner of Life, and contending that all *Life* as well as other Qualities is *Generable* and *Corruptible*, or a mere Accidental thing, and looking upon the *Plaſtick Life* of Nature as a Figment or Phantaſtick Capritio, a thing almoſt as formidable and altogether as impoſſible as a Deity; the other on the contrary, founding all upon this Principle, That there is a *Life* and *Natural Perception* Eſſential to *Matter*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, and contending it to be utterly impoſſible to give any accompt of the *Phænomena* of the World, the *Original of Motion*, the *Orderly Frame and Diſpoſition of things*, and the *Nature of Animals*, without this *Fundamental Life of Nature*.

Again, the Single Atheiſms belonging to each of theſe ſeveral Pairs, quarrel as much alſo between themſelves. For the *Democritick Atheiſm* explodes the *Anaximandrian Qualities* and *Forms*, demonſtrating that the Natural Production of ſuch *Entities out of Nothing*, and the *Corruption* of them again into *Nothing*, is of the two, rather more impoſſible, than a Divine *Creation* and *Annihilation*. And on the other ſide, the *Anaximandrian Atheiſt* plainly diſcovers, that when the Democriticks and Atomicks have ſpent all their Fury againſt theſe *Qualities and Forms*, and done what they can to ſalve the *Phænomena* of Nature, without them another way, themſelves do notwithſtanding like

like drunken men reel and ſtagger back again into them, and are unavoidably neceſſitated at laſt, to take up their Sanctuary in them.

In like manner the *Stoical* and *Stratonical* Atheiſts, may as effectually undo and confute each other; the Former of them urging againſt the Latter, That beſides that Prodigious Abſurdity, of making every Atom of Senſleſs Matter *Infallibly Wiſe* or *Omniſcient*, without any *Conſciouſneſs*, there can be no reaſon at all given by the *Hylozoiſts*, why the Matter of the whole Univerſe, might not as well *Conſpire and Confederate* together into *One*, as all the ſingle Atoms that compound the Body of any Animal or Man, or why one Conſcious Life might not as well reſult from the *Totum* of the former, as of the latter; by which means the *whole World* would become an *Animal* or *God*. Again, the Latter contending, that the *Stoical* or *Coſmo-plaſtick Atheiſt* can pretend no reaſon, why the whole World might not have one *Sentient* and *Rational*, as well as one *Plaſtick Soul* in it, that is, as well be an *Animal as a Plant*. Moreover, that the Senſitive Souls of Brute Animals, and the Rational Souls of Men, could never poſſibly emerge out of one *Single*, *Plaſtick* and *Vegetative Soul* in the whole Univerſe. And laſtly, that it is altogether as impoſſible, that the whole World ſhould have *Life* in it, and yet none of its Parts have any *Life* of their own, as that the whole World ſhould be White or Black, and yet no part of it have any Whiteneſs or Blackneſs at all in it. And therefore that the *Stoical Atheiſts*, as well as the *Stoical Theiſts*, do both alike deny *Incorporeal Subſtance* but in words only, whilſt they really admit the thing it ſelf; becauſe *One* and the ſame *Life*, ruling over all the diſtant parts of the Corporeal Univerſe, muſt needs be an *Incorporeal Subſtance*, it being all in the Whole, and all acting upon every part, and yet none of it in any part by it ſelf; for then it would be many and not one. From all which it may be concluded, That Atheiſm is a certain ſtrange kind of *Monſter*, with *Four Heads*, that are all of them perpetually biting, tearing and devouring one another.

Now though theſe ſeveral Forms of Atheiſm do mutually deſtroy each other, and none of them be really Conſiderable or Formidable in it ſelf, as to any ſtrength of Reaſon which it hath; yet as they are compared together among themſelves; ſo ſome of them may be more conſiderable than the reſt. For firſt, as the *Qualities* and *Forms* of the *Anaximandrian Atheiſt*, ſuppoſed to be really diſtinct from the Subſtances, are things unintelligible in themſelves; ſo he cannot, with any colour or pretence of Reaſon, maintain the Natural Production of them out of *Nothing*, and the *Reduction of them again* into Nothing, and yet withſtand a *Divine Creation* and *Annihilation*, as an Impoſſibility. Moreover the *Anaximandrian Atheiſm*, is as it were ſwallowed up into the *Democritick*, and further improved in it, this latter carrying on the ſame Deſign, with more ſeeming Artifice, greater Plauſibility of Wit, and a more pompous Show of Something where indeed there is Nothing. Upon which accompt, it hath for many Ages paſt beaten the *Anaximandrian*

drian Atheism, in a manner quite off the Stage, and reigned there alone. So that the *Democritick* or *Atomick Atheism*, seems to be much more considerable of the Two, than the *Anaximandrian* or *Hylopathian*.

Again; as for the two other Forms of Atheism, if there were any *Life* at all in Matter, as the First and Immediate Recipient of it, then in reason this must needs be supposed to be after the same manner in it, that all other Corporeal Qualities are in Bodies, so as to be *Divisible* together with it, and some of it be in every part of the Matter; which is according to the *Hypothesis* of the *Hylozoists*: Whereas on the contrary the *Stoical Atheists* supposing one *Life* only in the whole Mass of Matter, after such a manner, as that none of the parts of it by themselves should have any Life of their own, do thereby no less than the *Stoical Theists*, make this *Life* of theirs to be no *Corporeal Quality* or *Form*, but an *Incorporeal Substance*; which is to contradict their own *Hypothesis*. From whence we may conclude, that the *Cosmoplastick* or *Stoical Atheism*, is of the two, less considerable than the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical*.

Wherefore amongst these *Four Forms of Atheism*, that have been propounded, these Two, the *Atomick* or *Democritical*, and the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical* are the Chief. The former of which, namely the *Democritick Atheism*, admitting a true Notion of Body, that (according to the Doctrine of the first and most Ancient Atomists) it is nothing but *Resisting Bulk*, devoid of all manner of *Life*; yet because it takes for granted, that there is no other *Substance* in the World besides *Body*, does therefore conclude, that all *Life* and *Understanding* in Animals and Men, is *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, though not as *Qualities* and *Forms* (which is the *Anaximandrian way*) but as resulting from the *Contextures* of *Atoms*, or some peculiar Composition of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites* and *Motions*, and consequently that they are themselves really nothing else but *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*: Which is a thing, that sometime since, was very Pertinently and Judiciously both observed and perstringed, by the Learned Author of the *Exercitatio Epistolica*, now a Reverend Bishop. But the latter, namely the *Hylozoick*, though truly acknowledging on the contrary, that *Life*, *Cogitation* and *Understanding* are *Entities* really distinct from *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*, and that therefore they cannot be *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, but must needs be somewhere in the World, *Originally*, *Essentially*, and *Fundamentally*; yet because they take it also for granted, that there is no other *Substance* besides *Matter*, do thereupon adulterate the *Notion of Matter* or *Body*, blending and confounding it with *Life*, as making them but two *Inadequate Conceptions of Substance*, and concluding that all Matter and Substance as such, hath *Life* and *Perception* or *Understanding Natural* and *Inconscious*, Essentially belonging to it; and that *Sense* and *Conscious Reason* or *Understanding* in Animals arises only from the *Accidental Modification* of this *Fundamental Life* of *Matter* by *Organization*.

Sect. 4. *c.* 3.

We

We conclude therefore, that if these Two Atheistick *Hypotheses*, which are found to be the most Considerable, be once Confuted, the Reality of all Atheism will be *ipso facto* Confuted. There being indeed nothing more requisite, to a thorough Confutation of *Atheism*, than the proving of these *Two things*; First, that *Life* and *Understanding* are not Essential to Matter as such; and Secondly, that they can never possibly rise out of any *Mixture* or *Modification* of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter* whatsoever. The reason of which Assertion is, because all Atheists, as was before observed, are mere Corporealists, of which there can be but these Two Sorts; Either such as make *Life* to be Essential to Matter, and therefore to be Ingenerable and Incorruptible; or else such as suppose Life and Every thing besides ὕλη ἄποιος, *the Bare Substance of Matter*, or *Extended Bulk* to be merely Accidental, Generable or Corruptible, as rising out of some Mixture or Modification of it. And as the Proving of those Two Things will overthrow all Atheism, so it will likewise lay a clear Foundation, for the demonstrating of a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

XXXV. Now that *Life* and *Perception* or *Understanding*, should be *Essential* to *Matter* as such, or that all *Senseless Matter* should be *Perfectly* and *Infallibly wise* (though without Consciousness) as to all its own Congruities and Capabilities, which is the Doctrine of the *Hylozoists*; This I say, is an *Hypothesis* so Prodigiously Paradoxical, and so Outragiously Wild, as that very few men ever could have Atheistick Faith enough, to swallow it down and digest it. Wherefore this *Hylozoick Atheism* hath been very obscure ever since its first Emersion, and hath found so few Fautors and Abettors, that it hath look'd like a forlorn and deserted thing. Neither indeed are there any Publick Monuments at all extant, in which it is avowedly Maintained, Stated and Reduced into any System. Insomuch that we should not have taken any notice of it at this time, as a Particular *Form* of *Atheism*, nor have Conjured it up out of its Grave, had we not Understood, that *Strato's Ghost* had begun *to walk* of late, and that among some Well-wishers to Atheism, despairing in a manner of the *Atomick Form*, this *Hylozoick Hypothesis*, began already to be look'd upon, as the Rising Sun of Atheism,---——*Et tanquam Spes altera Trojæ*, it seeming to smile upon them, and flatter them at a distance, with some fairer hopes of supporting that Ruinous and Desperate Cause.

Whereas on the Contrary, that other *Atomick Atheism*, as it insists upon a *True Notion* of *Body*, that it is nothing but *Resisting Bulk*; by which means we, joyning issue thereupon, shall be fairly conducted on to a clear Decision of this present Controversie, as likewise to the disintangling of many other points of Philosophy; so it is that which hath filled the World with the Noise of it, for Two Thousand years past; that concerning which several Volumes have been formerly written, in which it hath been stated and brought into a kind of System; and which hath of late obteined a Resurrection amongst us, together with the *Atomick Physiology*, and been recommended to

the World anew, under a Specious Shew of Wit and profound Philoſophy.

Wherefore as we could not here inſiſt upon both theſe Forms of Atheiſm together, becauſe that would have been to confound the Language of Atheiſts, and to have made them like the Cadmean Offſpring, to do immediate Execution upon themſelves; ſo we were in all reaſon obliged to make our Firſt and Principal Aſſault upon the *Atomick Atheiſm*, as being the only conſiderable, upon this accompt, becauſe it is that alone which publickly confronts the World, and like that proud *Uncircumciſed Philiſtine*, openly *defies the Hoſts of the Living God*. Intending nevertheleſs in the Cloſe of this whole Diſcourſe, (that is, the Laſt Book) where we are to determine the *Right Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe*, and to aſſert an *Incorporeal Deity*, to demonſtrate, That *Life*, *Cogitation* and *Underſtanding* do not Eſſentially belong *to Matter*, and all *Subſtance* as ſuch, but are the Peculiar *Attributes* and *Characteriſticks* of *Subſtance Incorporeal*.

XXXVI. However ſince we have now ſtarted theſe Several Forms of Atheiſm, we ſhall not in the mean time neglect any of them neither. For in the Anſwer to the *Second Atheiſtick Ground*, we ſhall Confute them all together at once, as agreeing in this One Fundamental Principle, *That the Original of all things in the Univerſe is Senſleſs Matter*, or *Matter devoid of all Animality or Conſcious Life*. In the Reply to the *Fourth* Atheiſtick Argumentation, we ſhall briefly hint the Grounds of Reaſon, from which Incorporeal Subſtance is Demonſtrated. In the Examination of the *Fifth*, we ſhall confute the *Anaximandrian Atheiſm* there propounded, which is as it were, the *Firſt Sciography*, and *Rude Delineation* of *Atheiſm*. And in the Confutation of the *Sixth*, we ſhall ſhew, how the ancient *Atomick Atheiſts*, did preventively overtherthrow the Foundation of *Hylozoiſm*. Beſides all which, in order to a Fuller and more Thorough Confutation, both of the *Coſmo-plaſtick* and *Hylozoick Atheiſms*, we ſhall in this very place take occaſion to inſiſt largely upon the *Plaſtick life of Nature*, giving in the Firſt Place, a True Accompt of it; and then afterwards ſhewing, how groſly it is miſunderſtood, and the Pretence of it abuſed by the Aſſerters of both theſe Atheiſtick *Hypotheſes*. The Heads of which Larger *Digreſſion*, becauſe they could not be ſo conveniently inſerted in the Contents of the Chapter, ſhall be repreſented to the Readers View, at the End of it.

XXXVII. For we think fit here to obſerve, that neither the *Coſmo-plaſtick* or *Stoical*, nor the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical Atheiſts* are therefore condemned by us, becauſe they ſuppoſe ſuch a thing, as a *Plaſtick Nature*, or *Life diſtinct from the Animal*; albeit this be not only exploded, as an Abſolute Non-entity, by the Atomick Atheiſts, who might poſſibly be afraid of it, as that which approached too near to a Deity, or elſe would hazard the introducing of it; but alſo utterly diſcarded by ſome *Profeſſed Theiſts* of later times; who might notwithſtanding have an Undiſcerned Tang of the *Mechanick*

Atheiſm

Atheism, hanging about them, in that their so confident rejecting of all *Final* and *Intending Causality* in Nature, and admitting of no other *Causes* of things, as *Philosophical*, save the *Material* and *Mechanical* only. This being really to banish all *Mental*, and consequently *Divine Causality*, quite out of the World; and to make the whole World to be nothing else, but a mere *Heap* of *Dust*, Fortuitously agitated, or a *Dead Cadaverous* thing, that hath no *Signatures* of *Mind* and *Understanding*, *Counsel* and *Wisdom* at all upon it; nor indeed any other *Vitality* acting in it, than only the Production of a certain *Quantity* of *Local Motion* and the Conservation of it according to some *General Laws*; which things the Democritick Atheists take for granted, would all be as they are, though there were no God. And thus *Aristotle describes this kind of Philosophy, That it made the whole World to consist, ἐκ σωμάτων μόνον, καὶ μονάδων τάξιν μὴ ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπομπαν, *of nothing but Bodies and Monads* (that is, Atoms or Small Particles of Matter) *only ranged and disposed together into such an order, but altogether Dead and Inanimate.*

*De Cæl. l. 2. c. 12.

2. For unless there be such a thing admitted as a Plastick Nature, that acts ἕνεκά του, *for the sake of something*, and *in order to Ends*, Regularly, Artificially aud Methodically, it seems that one or other of these Two Things must be concluded, That Either in the Efformation and Organization of the Bodies of Animals, as well as the other Phenomena, every thing comes to pass *Fortuitously*, and happens to be as it is, without the Guidance and Direction of any *Mind* or *Understanding*; Or else, that God himself doth all *Immediately*, and as it were with his own Hands, Form the Body of every Gnat and Fly, Insect and Mite, as of other Animals in Generations, all whose Members have so much of Contrivance in them, that *Galen* professed he could never enough admire that Artifice which was in the Leg of a Fly, (and yet he would have admired the Wisdom of Nature more, had he been but acquainted with the Use of Microscopes.) I say, upon supposition of no *Plastick Nature*, one or other of these Two things must be concluded; because it is not conceived by any, that the things of Nature are all thus administred, with such exact Regularity and Constancy every where, merely by the Wisdom, Providence and Efficiency, of those Inferior Spirits, *Dæmons* or Angels. As also, though it be true that the Works of Nature are dispensed by a *Divine Law* and *Command*, yet this is not to be understood in a *Vulgar Sence*, as if they were all effected by the mere Force of a *Verbal Law* or *Outward Command*, because Inanimate things are not *Commandable* nor *Governable* by such a *Law*; and therefore besides the Divine Will and Pleasure, there must needs be some other Immediate *Agent* and *Executioner* provided, for the producing of every Effect; since not so much as a Stone or other Heavy Body, could at any time fall downward, merely by the Force of a *Verbal Law*, without any other *Efficient Cause*; but either God himself must immediately impel it, or else there must be some other subordinate Cause in Nature for that Motion. Wherefore the *Divine Law* and *Command*, by which the things of Nature are administred, must be conceived to be the Real Appointment of some *Energetick*, *Effectual* and *Operative Cause* for the Production of every Effect.

3. Now to aſſert the Former of theſe Two things, that all the Effects of Nature come to paſs by *Material* and *Mechanical Neceſſity*, or the mere *Fortuitous Motion* of *Matter*, without any Guidance or Direction, is a thing no leſs Irrational than it is Impious and Atheiſtical. Not only becauſe it is utterly Unconceivable and Impoſſible, that ſuch Infinite Regularity and Artificialneſs, as is every where throughout the whole World, ſhould conſtantly reſult out of the *Fortuitous Motion of Matter*, but alſo becauſe there are many ſuch Particular *Phænomena* in Nature, as do plainly tranſcend the *Powers of Mechaniſm*, of which therefore no Sufficient Mechanical Reaſons can be deviſed, as the *Motion of Reſpiration* in Animals; as there are alſo other *Phænomena* that are perfectly Croſs to the *Laws of Mechaniſm*; as for Example, that of the *Diſtant Poles* of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, which we ſhall inſiſt upon afterward. Of both which kinds, there have been other Inſtances propoſed, by my Learned Friend Dr. *More* in his *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum*, and very ingeniouſly improved by him to this very purpoſe, namely to Evince that there is ſomething in Nature beſides Mechaniſm, and conſequently Subſtance Incorporeal.

Moreover thoſe Theiſts, who Philoſophize after this manner, by reſolving all the Corporeal *Phænomena* into *Fortuitous Mechaniſm*, or the *Neceſſary and Unguided Motion of Matter*, make God to be nothing elſe in the World, but an *Idle Spectator* of the Various Reſults of the *Fortuitous* and *Neceſſary Motions* of Bodies; and render his Wiſdom altogether Uſeleſs and Inſignificant, as being a thing wholly Incloſed and ſhut up within his own breaſt, and not at all acting abroad upon any thing without him.

De part. An. l. 1. c. 1.

Furthermore all ſuch *Mechaniſts* as theſe, whether *Theiſts* or *Atheiſts*, do, according to that Judicious Cenſure paſſed by *Ariſtotle* long ſince upon *Democritus*, but ſubſtitute as it were χεῖρα ξυλίνην τεκτονος, *a Carpenters or Artificers Wooden Hand, moved by Strings and Wires, inſtead of a Living Hand.* They make a kind of Dead and Wooden World, as it were a Carved Statue, that hath nothing neither *Vital* nor *Magical* at all in it. Whereas to thoſe who are Conſiderative, it will plainly appear, that there is a *Mixture* of *Life* or *Plaſtick Nature* together with *Mechaniſm*, which runs through the whole Corporeal Univerſe.

And whereas it is pretended, not only that all *Corporeal Phænomena* may be ſufficiently ſalved *Mechanically*, without any *Final*, *Intending* and *Directive Cauſality*, but alſo that all other Reaſons of things in Nature, beſides the *Material* and *Mechanical*, are altogether *Unphiloſophical*, the ſame *Ariſtotle* ingeniouſly expoſes the Ridiculouſneſs of this Pretence after this manner; telling us, That it is juſt as if a Carpenter, Joyner or Carver ſhould give this accompt, as the only Satisfactory, of any Artificial Fabrick or Piece of Carved Imagery, ὅτι ἐμπεσόντος τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸ μὲν ποίλον ἐγίνετο, τόδε δὲ πρίπεδον, *that becauſe the Inſtruments, Axes and Hatchets, Plains and Chiſſels, happened to fall*

fall ſo and ſo upon the Timber, cutting it here and there, that therefore it was hollow in one place, and plain in another, and the like, and by that means the whole came to be of ſuch a Form. For is it not altogether as Abſurd and Ridiculous, for men to undertake to give an accompt of the Formation and Organization of the Bodies of Animals, by mere Fortuitous Mechaniſm, without any *Final* or *Intending Cauſality*, as why there was an Heart here and Brains there, and why the Heart had ſo many and ſuch different Valves in the Entrance and Outlet of its Ventricles, and why all the other Organick Parts, Veins and Arteries, Nerves and Muſcles, Bones and Cartilages, with the Joints and Members, were of ſuch a Form? Becauſe forſooth, the Fluid Matter of the Seed happened to move ſo and ſo, in ſeveral places, and thereby to cauſe all thoſe Differences, which are alſo divers in different Animals; all being the Neceſſary Reſult of a certain Quantity of Motion at firſt indifferently impreſſed, upon the ſmall Particles of the Matter of this Univerſe turned round in a *Vortex*. But as the ſame *Ariſtotle* adds, no Carpenter or Artificer is ſo ſimple, as to give ſuch an Accompt as this, and think it ſatisfactory, but he will rather declare, that himſelf directed the Motion of the Inſtruments, after ſuch a manner, and in order to ſuch Ends: * βέλτιον ὁ τέκτων, ὃ ἂν ἱκανὸν ἔχοι αὐτῷ, τὸ τοσόνδε εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐμπεσόντος τοῦ ὀργάνου, &c. ἀλλὰ διότι τῷ πληγῷ ἐποιήσατο τοιαύτῃ, ἢ τίνος ἕνεκα, ἕρεῖ τῷ αἰτίαν, ὅπως τοιόνδε ἢ τοιονδὶ ἔσται τὴν μορφήν γένηται· *A Carpenter would give a better account than ſo, for he would not think it ſufficient to ſay, that the Fabrick came to be of ſuch a form, becauſe the Inſtruments happened to fall ſo and ſo, but he will tell you that it was becauſe himſelf made ſuch ſtrokes, and that he directed the Inſtruments and determined their motion after ſuch a manner, to this End that he might make the Whole a Fabrick fit and uſeful for ſuch purpoſes.* And this is to aſſign the *Final Cauſe*. And certainly there is ſcarcely any man in his Wits, that will not acknowledge the Reaſon of the different *Valves* in the Heart, from the apparent Uſefulneſs of them, according to thoſe particular Structures of theirs, to be more Satisfactory, than any which can be brought from mere Fortuitous Mechaniſm, or the Unguided Motion of the Seminal Matter.

* De Part. Anim. l. 1. c. 1.

4. And as for the Latter Part of the Disjunction, That every thing in Nature ſhould be done Immediately by God himſelf; this, as according to Vulgar Apprehenſion, it would render Divine Providence Operoſe, Sollicitous and Diſtractious, and thereby make the Belief of it to be entertained with greater difficulty, and give advantage to Atheiſts; ſo in the Judgment of the Writer *De Mundo*, it is not ſo Decorous in reſpect of God neither, that he ſhould αὐτουργεῖν ἅπαντα, ſet his own Hand, as it were, to every Work, and immediately do all the Meaneſt and Triflingeſt things himſelf Drudgingly, without making uſe of any Inferior and Subordinate Inſtruments. * Εἰ μὴ ἄσεμνον ἦν αὐτὸν δοκεῖν χεῖρας αὐτουργεῖν ἅπαντα, ἢ διατελεῖν ἃ βούλοιτο, ἢ ἐφισάμενον διοικεῖν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἄπρεπες ἂν εἴη τοῦ θεοῦ. Σεμνότερον δὲ ἢ πρεπωδέστερον τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου διηκόσαν, ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην, &c. *If it were not congruous in reſpect of the State & Majeſty of* Xerxes *the Great King of* Perſia *that he ſhould condeſcend to do all the meaneſt Offices himſelf;*

* Cap. 7.

ſelf; much leſs can this be thought decorous in reſpect of God. But it ſeems far more Auguſt, and becoming of the Divine Majeſty, that a certain Power and Vertue, derived from him, and paſſing through the Univerſe, ſhould move the Sun and Moon, and be the Immediate Cauſe of thoſe lower things done here upon Earth.

Moreover it ſeems not ſo agreeable to Reaſon neither, that Nature as a Diſtinct thing from the Deity, ſhould be quite Superſeded or made to Signifie Nothing, God himſelf doing all things Immediately and Miraculouſly; from whence it would follow alſo, that they are all done either *Forcibly* and *Violently*, or elſe *Artificially* only, and none of them by any *Inward Principle* of their own.

Laſtly; This Opinion is further Confuted, by that Slow and Gradual Proceſs that is in the Generations of things, which would ſeem to be but a Vain and Idle Pomp, or a Trifling Formality, if the Agent were Omnipotent: as alſo by thoſe ἁμαρτήματα (as *Ariſtotle* calls them) thoſe *Errors* and *Bungles* which are committed, when the Matter is Inept and Contumacious; which argue the Agent not to be Irreſiſtible, and that *Nature* is ſuch a thing, as is not altogether uncapable (as well as *Humane Art*) of being ſometimes fruſtrated and diſappointed, by the Indiſpoſition of Matter. Whereas an *Omnipotent Agent*, as it could diſpatch its work in a Moment, ſo it would always do it *Infallibly* and *Irreſiſtibly*; no *Ineptitude* or *Stubbornneſs* of Matter, being ever able to hinder ſuch a one, or make him *Bungle* or *Fumble* in any thing.

5. Wherefore ſince neither all things are produced Fortuitouſly, or by the Unguided Mechaniſm of Matter, nor God himſelf may reaſonably be thought to do all things Immediately and Miraculouſly; it may well be concluded, that there is a *Plaſtick Nature* under him, which as an Inferior and Subordinate Inſtrument, doth Drudgingly Execute that Part of his Providence, which conſiſts in the Regular and Orderly Motion of Matter: yet ſo as that there is alſo beſides this, a Higher Providence to be acknowledged, which preſiding over it, doth often ſupply the Defects of it, and ſometimes Overrule it; foraſmuch as this *Plaſtick Nature* cannot act *Electively* nor with *Diſcretion*. And by this means the Wiſdom of God will not be ſhut up nor concluded wholly within his own Breaſt, but will diſplay it ſelf abroad, and print its Stamps and Signatures every where throughout the World; ſo that God, as *Plato* (after *Orpheus*) ſpeaks, will be not only the *Beginning* and *End*, but alſo the *Middle* of all things, they being as much to be aſcribed to his Cauſality, as if himſelf had done them all Immediately, without the concurrent Inſtrumentality of any Subordinate Natural Cauſe. Notwithſtanding which, in this way it will appear alſo to Humane Reaſon, that all things are Diſpoſed and Ordered by the Deity, without any Sollicitous Care or Diſtractious Providence.

And indeed thoſe Mechanick Theiſts, who rejecting a Plaſtick Nature, affect to concern the Deity as little as is poſſible in Mundane Affairs, either for fear of debaſing him and bringing him down to too

too mean Offices, or elſe of ſubjecting him to Sollicitous Encumberment, and for that Cauſe would have God to contribute nothing more to the Mundane Syſtem and Oeconomy, than only the Firſt Impreſſing of a certain Quantity of Motion, upon the Matter, and the After-conſerving of it, according to ſome General Laws: Theſe men (I ſay) ſeem not very well to underſtand themſelves in this. Foraſmuch as they muſt of neceſſity, ether ſuppoſe theſe their *Laws* of *Motion* to execute themſelves, or elſe be forced perpetually to concern the Deity in the Immediate Motion of every Atom of Matter throughout the Univerſe, in order to the Execution and Obſervation of them. The Former of which being a Thing plainly Abſurd and Ridiculous, and the Latter that, which theſe Philoſophers themſelves are extremely abhorrent from, we cannot make any other Concluſion than this, That they do but unskilfully and unawares eſtabliſh that very Thing which in words they oppoſe; and that their *Laws* of *Nature* concerning *Motion*, are Really nothing elſe, but a *Plaſtick Nature*, acting upon the Matter of the whole Corporeal Univerſe, both Maintaining the Same Quantity of Motion always in it, and alſo Diſpenſing it (by Transferring it out of one Body into another) according to ſuch Laws, Fatally Impreſt upon it. Now if there be a *Plaſtick Nature*, that governs the *Motion* of *Matter*, every where according to *Laws*, there can be no Reaſon given, why the ſame might not alſo extend further, to the Regular Diſpoſal of that Matter, in the *Formation* of *Plants* and *Animals* and other things, in order to that Apt Coherent Frame and Harmony of the whole Univerſe.

6. And as this Plaſtick Nature is a thing which ſeems to be in it ſelf moſt Reaſonable, ſo hath it alſo had the Suffrage of the beſt Philoſophers in all Ages. For Firſt, it is well known, that *Ariſtotle* concerns himſelf in nothing more zealouſly than this, That Mundane things are not Effected, merely by the *Neceſſary* and *Unguided Motion* of *Matter*, or by *Fortuitous Mechaniſm*, but by ſuch a *Nature* as acts *Regularly* and *Artificially* for *Ends*; yet ſo as that this *Nature* is not the Higheſt Principle neither, or the Supreme *Numen*, but Subordinate to a Perfect *Mind* or *Intellect*, he affirming, that νοῦς αἴτιον ἦν φύσις τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς, *That Mind together with Nature was the Cauſe of this Univerſe*; and that Heaven and Earth, Plants and Animals were framed by them both; that is, by *Mind* as the Principal and Directive Cauſe, but by *Nature* as a Subſervient or Executive Inſtrument: and elſewhere joyning in like manner *God* and *Nature* both together, as when he concludes, *That God and Nature do nothing in Vain.*

Neither was *Ariſtotle* the Firſt Broacher or Inventor of this Doctrine; *Plato* before him having plainly aſſerted the ſame. For in a Paſſage already cited, he affirms that *Nature together with Reaſon, and according to it, orders all things*; thereby making Nature, as a Diſtinct thing from the Deity, to be a Subordinate Cauſe under the Reaſon and Wiſdom of it. And elſewhere he reſolves, that there are ἔμφρονος φύσεως αἰτίαι, αἷς ὑπηρετήσαις ὁ Θεὸς χρῆται, *Certain Cauſes of a Wiſe and Artificial Nature, which the Deity uſes as Subſervient to it ſelf*; as alſo, that there are ξυναίτια οἷς ξυνεργοῖς Θεὸς χρῆται, *Con-cauſes which God makes uſe of, as Subordinately Cooperative with himſelf.* More-

Moreover before *Plato*, *Empedocles* Philoſophized alſo in the ſame manner, when ſuppoſing Two Worlds, the one *Archetypal*, the other *Extypal*, he made φιλία and νεῖκος, *Friendſhip* & *Diſcord*, to be the ἀρχὴ ἀφασίεως, the *Active Principle* and *Immediate Operator* in this Lower World. He not underſtanding thereby, as *Plutarch* and ſome others have conceited, Two Subſtantial Principles in the World, the one of *Good* the other of *Evil*, but only a *Plaſtick Nature*, as *Ariſtotle* in ſundry places intimates: which he called by that name, partly becauſe he apprehended that the Reſult and Upſhot of *Nature* in all *Generations* and *Corruptions*, amounted to nothing more than *Mixtures* and *Separations*, or *Concretion* and *Secretion* of *Preexiſtent things*, and partly becauſe this *Plaſtick Nature* is that which doth reconcile the *Contrarieties* and *Enmities* of Particular things, and bring them into one *General Harmony* in the *Whole*. Which latter is a Notion that *Plotinus*, deſcribing this very *Seminary Reaſon* or *Plaſtick Nature* of the World, (though taking it in ſomething a larger ſence, than we do in this place) doth ingeniouſly purſue after this manner; ἀντιθεὶς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰ μέρη ἢ ποιήσας ἐνδεᾶ, πόλεμόν ἢ μάχης σύστασιν ἢ γένεσιν ἐργάσατο· ἢ ὅπως ἔξιν εἰς πᾶς; εἰ μὴ ἓν εἴη· γενόμενον δὲ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς μέρεσι πολέμιον, ὅπως ἓν ἔξι ἢ φίλον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ δράματος λόγος εἷς, ὁ τοῦ δράματος, ἔχων ἐν αὑτῷ πολλὰς μάχας. τὸ μὲν οὖν δράμα τὰ μεμαχημένα, οἷον εἰς μίαν ἁρμονίαν, ἄγει σύμφωνον.——ὥς τε μᾶλλον ἂν τις τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ τῇ ἐκ μαχομένων εἰκάσειε. *The Seminary Reaſon or Plaſtick Nature of the Univerſe, oppoſing the Parts to one another and making them ſeverally Indigent, produces by that means War and Contention. And therefore though it be One, yet notwithſtanding it conſiſts of Different and Contrary things. For there being Hoſtility in its Parts, it is nevertheleſs Friendly and Agreeable in the Whole; after the ſame manner as in a Dramatick Poem, Claſhings and Contentions are reconciled into one Harmony. And therefore the Seminary and Plaſtick Nature of the World, may fitly be reſembled to the Harmony of Diſagreeing things.* Which Plotinick Doctrine, may well paſs for a Commentary upon *Empedocles*, accordingly as *Simplicius* briefly repreſents his ſence, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δύο κόσμους συνίστησι, τὸν μὲν ἡνωμένον ἢ νοητὸν, τὸν δὲ διακεκριμένον ἢ αἰσθητὸν, ἢ ἐν τούτῳ κόσμῳ τὴν ἕνωσιν ὁρᾷ ἢ τὴν διάκρισιν· Empedocles *makes Two Worlds, the one United and Intelligible, the other Divided and Senſible; and in this lower Senſible World, he takes notice both of Unity and Diſcord.*

En.3.l.2.c.16.

In Ariſt. de Cœl.1.c.10.

It was before obſerved, that *Heraclitus* likewiſe did aſſert a *Regular* and *Artificial Nature*, as the *Fate of things* in this Lower World; for his *Reaſon paſſing thorough the Subſtance of all things*, or *Ethereal Body, which was the Seed of the Generation of the Univerſe*, was nothing but that *Spermatick* or *Plaſtick Nature* which we now ſpeak of. And whereas there is an odd Paſſage of this Philoſophers recorded, κόσμον τόνδε ὅτε τὶς θεῶν ὅτ' ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε, *that neither any God nor Man made this World*, which as it is juſtly derided by *Plutarch* for its Simplicity, ſo it looks very Atheiſtically at firſt ſight; yet becauſe *Heraclitus* hath not been accompted an Atheiſt, we therefore conceive the meaning of it to have been this, That the World was not made by any whatſoever, after ſuch a manner as an Artificer makes an Houſe, by

by Machins and Engins, acting from without upon the Matter, Cumberfomly and Moliminously, but by a certain *Inward Plastick Nature* of its own.

And as *Hippocrates* followed *Heraclitus* in this (as was before declared) so did *Zeno* and the Stoicks also, they supposing besides an *Intellectual Nature*, as the *Supreme Architect* and Master-builder of the World, another *Plastick Nature* as the *Immediate Workman* and Operatour. Which *Plastick Nature* hath been already described in the words of *Balbus*, as a thing which acts not *Fortuitously* but *Regularly*, *Orderly* and *Artificially*; and *Laertius* tells * us, it was defined by *Zeno* himself after this manner, ἕξις ἐξ αὐτῆς κινουμένη κατὰ σπερματικοὺς λόγους, ἀποτελοῦσά τε καὶ συνέχουσα τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν ὡρισμένοις χρόνοις, καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶσα ἀφ' οἵων ἀπεκρίθη· *Nature is a Habit moved from it self according to Spermatick Reasons or Seminal Principles, perfecting and containing those several things, which in determinate times are produced from it, and acting agreeably to that from which it was secreted.* * *In Vita Zen.*

Lastly, as the Latter *Platonists* and *Peripateticks* have unanimously followed their Masters herein, whose *Vegetative Soul* also is no other than a *Plastick Nature*; so the *Chymists* and *Paracelsians* insist much upon the same thing, and seem rather to have carried the Notion on further, in the Bodies of Animals, where they call it by a new name of their own, the *Archeus*.

Moreover, we cannot but observe here, that as amongst the Ancients, They were generally condemned for down-right Atheists, who acknowledged no other Principle besides Body or Matter, Necessarily and Fortuitously moved, such as *Democritus* and the first Ionicks; so even *Anaxagoras* himself, notwithstanding that he was a professed Theist, and plainly asserted *Mind* to be a *Principle*, yet because he attributed too much to Material Necessity, admitting neither this *Plastick Nature* nor a *Mundane Soul*, was severely censured, not only by the Vulgar (who unjustly taxed him for an Atheist) but also by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, as a kind of spurious and imperfect Theist, and one who had given great advantage to Atheism. *Aristotle* in his Metaphysicks thus represents his Philosophy,* Ἀναξαγόρας τε μὲν μηχανῇ χρῆται τῷ νῷ, πρὸς τὴν κοσμοποιΐαν, καὶ ὅταν ἀπορήσῃ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ᾖ, τότε ἕλκει αὐτὸν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιᾶται τοῦ γινομένων ἢ νοῦν· Anaxagoras *useth Mind and Intellect, that is, God, as a Machin in the* Cosmopœia, *and when he is at a loss to give an acccompt of things by Material Necessity, then and never but then, does he draw in Mind or God to help him out; but otherwise he will rather assign any thing else for a Cause than Mind.* Now if *Aristotle* censure *Anaxagoras* in this manner; though a professed Theist, because he did but seldom make use of a *Mental Cause*, for the salving of the *Phænomena* of the World, and only then when he was at a loss for other *Material* and *Mechanical Causes* (which it seems he sometimes confessed himself to be) what would that Philosopher have thought of those our so confident *Mechanists* of later times, who will never vouchsafe so much * L. 1. c. 4.

as

as once to be beholding to God Almighty, for any thing in the Oeconomy of the Corporeal World, after the first Impression of Motion upon the Matter?

Plato likewise in his *Phædo* and elsewhere, condemns this *Anaxagoras* by name, for this very thing, that though he acknowledged *Mind* to be a *Cause*, yet he seldom made use of it, for salving the *Phænomena*; but in his twelfth *de Legibus*, he perstringeth him Unnamed, as one who though a professed Theist, had notwithstanding given great Encouragement to Atheism, after this manner; * λέγοντες ὡς νοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ διακοσμῶν πάντα ὅσα κατ' οὐρανόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν ἁμαρτάνοντες ψυχῆς φύσεως, ὅτι πρεσβύτερον ἐστὶ σωμάτων, ἅπαντα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος, ἀνέτρεψαν πάλιν, τὰ δὴ πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων πάντα, αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη, τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν φερόμενα, μεστὰ εἶναι λίθων, καὶ γῆς, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀψύχων σωμάτων, διανεμόντων τὰς αἰτίας παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ τότε ἐξεργασμένα πολλὰς ἀθεότητας· *Some of them who had concluded, that it was Mind that ordered all things in the Heavens, themselves erring concerning the Nature of the Soul, and not making that Older than the Body, have overturned all again; for Heavenly Bodies being supposed by them, to be full of Stones, and Earth, and other Inanimate things (dispensing the Causes of the whole Universe) they did by this means occasion much Atheism and Impiety.*

* P. 967. Steph.

Furthermore the same *Plato* there tells us, that in those times of his, Astronomers and Physiologers commonly lay under the prejudice and suspicion of Atheism amongst the vulgar, merely for this reason, because they dealt so much in Material Causes, οἱ πολλοὶ διανοοῦνται τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειριζομένους, ἀστρονομία τε καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναισθήτοις ἄλλαις τέχναις, ἀθέους γίγνεσθαι, καθορῶντας ὡς οἷόντε γιγνόμενα ἀνάγκαις τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ διανοίαις βουλήσεως ἀγαθῶν πέρι τελουμένων· *The Vulgar think that they who addict themselves to Astronomy and Physiology, are made Atheists thereby, they seeing as much as is possible how things come to pass by Material Necessities, and being thereby disposed to think them not to be ordered by Mind and Will, for the sake of Good.* From whence we may observe, that according to the Natural Apprehensions of Men in all Ages, they who resolve the *Phænomena of Nature*, into *Material Necessity*, allowing of no *Final* nor *Mental Causality* (disposing things in order to Ends) have been strongly suspected for Friends to Atheism.

7. But because some may pretend, that the *Plastick Nature* is all one with an *Occult Quality*, we shall here show how great a Difference there is betwixt these Two. For he that asserts an *Occult Quality*, for the Cause of any *Phænomenon*, does indeed assign no Cause at all of it, but only declare his own *Ignorance of the Cause*; but he that asserts a *Plastick Nature*, assigns a Determinate and proper Cause, nay the only Intelligible Cause, of that which is the greatest of all *Phænomena* in the World, namely the τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς, the *Orderly, Regular and Artificial Frame* of things in the Universe, whereof the *Mechanick Philosophers*, however pretending to salve all *Phænomena* by *Matter* and *Motion*, assign no Cause at all. Mind and Understanding

is the only true Cauſe of Orderly Regularity, and he that aſſerts a *Plaſtick Nature*, aſſerts *Mental Cauſality* in the World; but the *Fortuitous Mechaniſts*, who exploding *Final Cauſes*, will not allow *Mind* and *Underſtanding* to have any Influence at all upon the Frame of things, can never poſſibly aſſign any Cauſe of this Grand *Phænomenon*, unleſs *Confuſion* may be ſaid to be the Cauſe of *Order*, and *Fortune* or *Chance* of *Conſtant Regularity*; and therefore themſelves muſt reſolve it into an Occult Quality. Nor indeed does there appear any great reaſon why ſuch men ſhould aſſert an Infinite Mind in the World, ſince they do not allow it to act any where at all; and therefore muſt needs make it to be in Vain.

8. Now this Plaſtick Nature being a thing which is not without ſome Difficulty in the Conception of it, we ſhall here endeavour to do theſe Two things concerning it; Firſt, to ſet down a right Repreſentation thereof, and then afterwards to ſhow how extremely the Notion of it hath been Miſtaken, Perverted and Abuſed by thoſe Atheiſts, who would make it to be the only *God Almighty*, or *Firſt Principle* of all things.

How the Plaſtick Nature is in general to be conceiv'd, *Ariſtotle* inſtructs us in theſe words,* εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ ἡ ναυπηγικὴ ὁμοίως ἂν τὴν φύσιν ἐποίει· *If the Naupegical Art, that is the Art of the Shipwright, were in the Timber it ſelf, Operatively and Effectually, it would there act juſt as Nature doth.* And the Caſe is the ſame for all other Arts; If the Oecodomical Art, which is in the Mind of the Architect, were ſuppoſed to be transfuſed into the Stones, Bricks and Mortar, there acting upon them in ſuch a manner, as to make them come together of themſelves and range themſelves into the Form of a complete Edifice, as *Amphion* was ſaid by his Harp, to have made the Stones move, and place themſelves Orderly of their own accord, and ſo to have built the Walls of *Thebes*: Or if the Muſical Art were conceived to be immediately in the Inſtruments and Strings, animating them as a Living Soul, and making them to move exactly according to the Laws of Harmony, without any External Impulſe. Theſe and ſuch like Inſtances, in *Ariſtotle*'s Judgment, would be fit Iconiſms or Repreſentations of *the Plaſtick Nature*, That *being Art it ſelf acting Immediately upon the Matter as an inward Principle in it.* To which purpoſe the ſame Philoſopher adds, that this thing might be further illuſtrated by an other Inſtance or Reſemblence, μᾶλλον δ' ἴδοι τις ἂν ἰατρεύων αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ φύσις· *Nature may be yet more clearly Reſembled to the Medicinal Art, when it is imployed by the Phyſician, in curing himſelf.* So that the meaning of this Philoſopher is, that Nature is to be conceived as *Art* Acting not from without and at a Diſtance, but *Immediately* upon the thing it ſelf which is Formed by it. And thus we have the firſt General Conception of the *Plaſtick Nature*, That *it is Art it ſelf, acting immediately on the Matter, as an Inward Principle.*

* *Phyſ. l. 2. c. 8.*

9. In the next Place we are to obſerve, that though the *Plaſtick Nature* be a kind of *Art*, yet there are ſome Conſiderable *Preeminences* which

κασον τιμιωτέρας ἢ μᾶλλον εἰδέναι νομίζομεν τὴν χειροτεχνῶν, ἢ σοφωτέρας, ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ποιουμένων ἴσασιν. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ἀψύχων ἔνια, ποιεῖ μέν, ὃν εἰδότα ὃ ποιεῖ, οἷον καίει τὸ πῦρ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄψυχα φύσει τινὶ ποιεῖν τούτων ἕκασον· τοὺς δὲ χειροτέχνας δι' ἔθος. *We account the Architects in every thing more honourable than the Manuary Opificers, because they understand the Reason of the things done, whereas the other, as some Inanimate things, only Do, not knowing what they Do: the Difference between them being only this, that Inanimate Things Act by a certain Nature in them, but the Manuary Opificer by Habit.* Thus Nature may be called the χειροτέχνης or *Manuary Opificer* that Acts subserviently under the *Architectonical Art* and Wisdom of the Divine Understanding, ἡ ποιεῖ μὲν οὐκ εἰδυῖα, *which does Do without Knowing the Reason of what it Doth.*

12. Wherefore as we did before observe the *Preeminences* of Nature above Humane Art, so we must here take Notice also of the *Imperfections* and *Defects* of it, in which respect it falls short of *Humane Art*, which are likewise Two; and the First of them is this, That though it Act *Artificially* for the *sake of Ends*, yet it self doth neither *Intend those Ends*, nor *Understand the Reason of that it doth.* Nature is not *Master* of that *Consummate Art* and Wisdom according to which it acts, but only a *Servant to it*, and a *Drudging Executioner* of the Dictates of it. This Difference betwixt *Nature* and *Abstract Art* or *Wisdom* is expressed by *Plotinus* in these words: τί διοίσει δὴ λεγομένης φύσεως φρονήσεως; ὅτι ἡ μὲν φρόνησις πρῶτον, ἡ δὲ φύσις ἔσχατον, ἴνδαλμα γὰρ φρονήσεως ἡ φύσις, ἢ ψυχῆς ἔσχατον ὄν, ἔσχατον καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐλλαμπόμενον λογὸν ἔχει. οἷον εἰ ἐν κηρῷ βαθεῖ, διαινεῖτο εἰς ἔσχατον ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἑτέρωθι ἐν τῇ ὑποφανείᾳ τύπος· ἐνάργως μὲν ὄντος τοῦ ἄνω, ἰσχνὸς δὲ ὁ ἀσθενὴς ὄντος τοῦ κάτω, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ οἵδε φύσις, μόνον δὲ ποιεῖ. *How doth Wisdom differ from that which is called Nature? Verily in this Manner, That Wisdom is the First Thing, but Nature the Last and Lowest; for Nature is but an Image or Imitation of Wisdom, the Last thing of the Soul, which hath the lowest Impress of Reason shining upon it; as when a thick piece of Wax, is thoroughly impressed upon by a Seal, that Impress which is clear and distinct in the superiour Superficies of it, will in the lower side be weak and obscure; and such is the Stamp and Signature of Nature, compared with that of Wisdom and Understanding, Nature being a thing which doth only Do, but not Know.* And elsewhere the same Writer declares the Difference between the Spermatick λόγοι, or *Reasons*, and *Knowledges* or Conceptions of the Mind in this manner; πότερα δὲ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι οἱ ἐν ψυχῇ νοήματα; ἀλλὰ πῶς κατὰ τὰ νοήματα ποιήσει; ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἐν ὕλῃ ποιεῖ, ἡ δὲ τὸ ποιοῦν φυσικῶς, οὐ νόησις, οὐδὲ ὅρασις, ἀλλὰ δύναμις τρεπτικὴ τῆς ὕλης, οὐκ εἰδυῖα, ἀλλὰ δρῶσα μόνον, οἷον τύπον ἢ χῆμα ἐν ὕδατι. *Whether are these Plastick Reasons or Forms in the Soul Knowledges? But how shall it then Act according to those Knowledges? For the Plastick Reason or Form Acts or Works in Matter, and that which acts Nuturally is not Intellection nor Vision, but a certain Power of moving Matter, which doth not Know, but only Do, and makes as it were a Stamp or Figure in Water.*

En. 4. *l.* 4. *c.* 13.

En. 2. *l.* 3. *c.* 17.

And with this Doctrine of the Ancients, a Modern Judicious Writer and Sagacious Inquirer into Nature, seems fully to agree, that *Nature* is such a Thing as doth not *Know* but *only Do*: For after he had admired

admired that *Wiſdom* and *Art* by which the Bodies of Animals are framed, he concludes that one or other of theſe two things muſt needs be acknowledged, that either the *Vegetative* or *Plaſtick Power* of the Soul, by which it Fabricates and Organizes its own body, is more Excellent and Divine than the Rational; Or elſe, *In Naturæ Operibus neq; Prudentiam nec Intellectum ineſſe, ſed ità ſolùm videri Conceptui noſtro, qui ſecundùm Artes noſtras & Facultates, ſeu Exemplaria à nobiſmetipſis mutuata, de rebus Naturæ divinis judicamus; Quaſi Principia Naturæ Activa, effectus ſuos eo modo producerent, quo nos opera noſtra Artificialia ſolemus: That in the Works of Nature there is neither Prudence nor Underſtanding, but only it ſeems ſo to our Apprehenſions, who judge of theſe Divine things of Nature, according to our own Arts and Faculties, and Patterns borrowed from our ſelves; as if the Active Principles of Nature did produce their Effects in the ſame manner, as we do our Artificial Works.* Wherefore we conclude, agreeably to the Sence of the beſt Philoſophers, both Ancient and Modern, That *Nature* is ſuch a Thing, as though it act *Artificially* and for the *ſake of Ends*, yet it doth but *Ape* and *Mimick* the *Divine Art* and *Wiſdom*, it ſelf not Underſtanding thoſe Ends which it Acts for, nor the Reaſon of what it doth in order to them; for which Cauſe alſo it is not Capable of *Conſultation* or *Deliberation*, nor can it Act *Electively* or with *Diſcretion*. Harv. Gen. Ex. 49.

13. But becauſe this may ſeem ſtrange at the firſt ſight, that Nature ſhould be ſaid to Act ἕνεκά τȣ, *for the ſake of Ends*, and *Regularly* or *Artificially*, and yet be it ſelf devoid of *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, we ſhall therefore endeavour to perſwade the *Poſſibility*, and facilitate the Belief of it, by ſome other Inſtances; and firſt by that of *Habits*, particularly thoſe Muſical ones, of Singing, Playing upon Inſtruments, and Dancing. Which *Habits* direct every Motion of the Hand, Voice, and Body, and prompt them readily, without any *Deliberation* or *Studied Conſideration*, what the next following *Note* or *Motion* ſhould be. If you jogg a ſleeping Muſician, and ſing but the firſt Words of a Song to him, which he had either himſelf compoſed, or learnt before, he will preſently take it from you, and that perhaps before he is thoroughly awake, going on with it, and ſinging out the remainder of the whole Song to the End. Thus the Fingers of an exerciſed Lutoniſt, and the Legs and whole Body of a skilful Dancer, are directed to move Regularly and Orderly, in a long Train and Series of Motions, by thoſe Artificial Habits in them, which do not themſelves at all comprehend thoſe *Laws and Rules of Muſick* or *Harmony*, by which they are governed: So that the ſame thing may be ſaid of theſe *Habits*, which was ſaid before of Nature, That they do not *Know*, but *only Do*. And thus we ſee there is no Reaſon, why this *Plaſtick Nature* (which is ſuppoſed to move Body *Regularly* and *Artificially*) ſhould be thought to be an Abſolute Impoſſibility, ſince *Habits* do in like manner, *Gradually Evolve* themſelves, in a long Train or Series of *Regular* and *Artificial Motions*, readily prompting the doing of them, without comprehending that *Art* and *Reaſon* by which they are directed. The forementioned Philoſopher illuſtrates the *Seminary Reaſon* and *Plaſtick Nature* of the Univerſe, by this

Eu. 3. *l.* 2. *ſ.* 16. very Inſtance: ἡ τοίνυν ἐνέργεια αὐτῆς τεχνικὴ· ὥσπερ ἂν ὁ ὀρχούμενος, κινούμενος ἐστι· ὁ γὰρ ὀρχηστὴς, τῇ ὅτῳ τεχνικῇ ζωῇ ἔοικεν αὐτὸς, καὶ ἡ τέχνη αὐτὸν κινεῖ, καὶ ὅτῳ κινεῖ, ὡς τ' ζωῆς αὐτῆς τοιαύτης πᾶς ὅσος. *The Energy of Nature is Artificial, as when a Dancer moves; for a Dancer reſembles this Artificial Life of Nature, foraſmuch as Art it ſelf moves him, and ſo moves him as being ſuch a Life in him.* And agreeably to this Conceit, the Ancient Mythologiſts repreſented the *Nature of the Univerſe*, by *Pan Playing upon a Pipe* or *Harp*, and being in love with the *Nymph Eccho*; as if Nature did, by a kind of Silent Melody, make all the Parts of the Univerſe every where Daunce in meaſure & Proportion, it ſelf being as it were in the mean time delighted and raviſhed with the Reecchoing of its own Harmony. *Habits* are ſaid to be an *Adventitious* and *Acquired Nature*, and *Nature* was before defined by the Stoicks to be ἕξις, or a *Habit*: ſo that there ſeems to be no other Difference between theſe two, than this, that whereas the One is *Acquired* by *Teaching*, *Induſtry* and *Exerciſe*; the other, as was expreſſed by *Hippocrates*, is ἀπαίδευτος καὶ ἐπὶ μαθοῦσα, *Unlearned and Untaught*, and may in ſome ſence alſo be ſaid to be αὐτοδίδακτος, *Self-taught*, though ſhe be indeed always Inwardly Prompted, Secretly Whiſpered into, and *Inſpired*, by the *Divine Art* and Wiſdom.

14. Moreover, that ſomething may Act *Artificially* and for *Ends*, without Comprehending the Reaſon of what it doth, may be further evinced from thoſe *Natural Inſtincts* that are in Animals, which without Knowledge direct them to *Act Regularly*, in Order both to their own *Good* and the *Good* of the *Univerſe*. As for Example; the Bees in Mellification, and in framing their Combs and Hexagonial Cells, the Spiders in ſpinning their Webs, the Birds in building their Neſts, and many other Animals in ſuch like Actions of theirs, which would ſeem to argue a great Sagacity in them, whereas notwithſtanding, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves, οὔτε τέχνῃ οὔτε ζητήσαντα οὔτε βουλευσάμενα ποιεῖ· *They do theſe things, neither by Art nor by Counſel nor by any Deliberation of their own*, and therefore are not *Maſters of that Wiſdom* according to which they Act, but only *Paſſive* to the Inſtincts and Impreſſes thereof upon them. And indeed to affirm, that Brute Animals do all theſe things by a *Knowledge* of their own, and which themſelves are Maſters of, and that without Deliberation and Conſultation, were to make them to be endued with a moſt *Perfect Intellect*, far tranſcending that of *Humane Reaſon*; whereas it is plain enough, that *Brutes* are not *above Conſultation*, but *Below* it, and that theſe Inſtincts of Nature in them, are Nothing but a kind of *Fate* upon them.

15. There is in the next place another *Imperfection* to be obſerved in the *Plaſtick Nature*, that as it doth not comprehend the *Reaſon* of its own Action, ſo neither is it *Clearly and Expreſly Conſcious of what* it doth; in which Reſpect, it doth not only fall ſhort of *Humane Art*, but even of that very Manner of Acting which is in Brutes themſelves, who though they do not Underſtand the Reaſon of thoſe Actions, that their Natural Inſtincts lead them to, yet they are generally conceived to be Conſcious of them, and to do them by *Phancy*; whereas the *Plaſtick*

Plaſtick Nature in the *Formation* of Plants and Animals, ſeems to have no *Animal Fancie*, no Expreſs συναίσθησις, *Con-ſenſe* or *Conſciouſneſs* of what it doth. Thus the often Commended Philoſopher, ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ φαντασίαν ἔχει, ἡ δὲ νόησις φαντασίας κρείττων, φαντασία δὲ μεταξὺ φύσεως τύπου καὶ νοήσεως· ἡ μὲν γὲ ὄθενὸς ἀντίληψιν οὐδὲ σύνεσιν ἔχει. *Nature hath not ſo much as any Fancie in it; As Intellection and Knowledge is a thing Superiour to Fancie, ſo Fancie is Superiour to the Impreſs of Nature, for Nature hath no Apprehenſion nor Conſcious Perception of any thing.* In a Word, Nature is a thing that hath no ſuch *Self-perception* or *Self-injoyment* in it, as Animals have. *En.4.L.4. f.13.*

16. Now we are well aware, that this is a Thing which the Narrow Principles of ſome late Philoſophers will not admit of, that there ſhould be any *Action* diſtinct from *Local Motion* beſides *Expreſly Conſcious Cogitation.* For they making the firſt General Heads of all Entity, to be *Extenſion* and *Cogitation*, or Extended *Being* and *Cogitative*, and then ſuppoſing that the Eſſence of Cogitation conſiſts in *Expreſs Conſciouſneſs*, muſt needs by this means exclude ſuch a *Plaſtick Life* of Nature, as we ſpeak of, that is ſuppoſed to act without *Animal Fancie* or *Expreſs Conſciouſneſs.* Wherefore we conceive that the firſt Heads of Being ought rather to be expreſſed thus; *Reſiſting* or *Antitypous Extenſion*, and *Life*, (*i.e.* Internal *Energy* and *Self-activity*:) and then again, that *Life* or *Internal Self-activity*, is to be ſubdivided into ſuch as either acts with expreſs Conſciouſneſs and *Synæſtheſis*, or ſuch as is without it; the Latter of which is this *Plaſtick Life* of Nature: So that there may be an *Action* diſtinct from *Local Motion*, or a *Vital Energy*, which is not accompanied with that *Fancie*, or *Conſciouſneſs*, *that is* in the *Energies* of the *Animal Life*; that is, there may be a ſimple *Internal Energy* or Vital Autokineſie, which is without that *Duplication*, that is included in the Nature of συναίσθησις, *Con-ſenſe* and *Conſciouſneſs*, which makes a Being to be Preſent with it ſelf, Attentive to its own Actions, or Animadverſive of them, to perceive it ſelf to Do or Suffer, and to have a *Fruition* or *Enjoyment* of it ſelf. And indeed it muſt be granted, that what moves Matter or determines the Motion of it *Vitally*, muſt needs do it by ſome other *Energy* of its own, as it is Reaſonable alſo to conceive, that it ſelf hath ſome *Vital Sympathy* with that *Matter* which it Acts upon. But we apprehend, that Both theſe may be without Clear and *Expreſs Conſciouſneſs.* Thus the Philoſopher, πᾶσα ζωὴ ἐνέργεια, ἧς ἡ φαύλη, ἀνέργαστα ἔχει, οὐχ ὡς τὸ πῦρ ἐνεργεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτῆς, κἂν μὴ αἴσθησίς τις παρῇ, κίνησίς τις ἐκεῖ. *Every Life is Energie, even the worſt of Lives, and therefore that of Nature. Whoſe Energie is not like that of Fire, but ſuch an Energie, as though there be no Senſe belonging to it, yet is it not Temerarious or Fortuitous, but Orderly & Regular.* *En.3.L.2 f.151*

Wherefore this Controverſie whether the Energy of the *Plaſtick Nature*, be *Cogitation*, or no, ſeems to be but a *Logomachy*, or Contention about Words. For if Clear and Expreſs *Conſciouſneſs* be ſuppoſed to be included in *Cogitation*, then it muſt needs be granted that *Cogitation* doth not belong to the *Plaſtick Life* of *Nature*: but if the Notion of that Word be *enlarged* ſo as to comprehend all *Action* diſtinct from *Local Motion*, and to be of equal *Extent with Life*, then the *Energie of Nature* is *Cogitation.*

Nevertheleſs if any one think fit to attribute ſome Obſcure and Imperfect *Senſe* or *Perception*, different from that of *Animals*, to the *Energie* of *Nature*, and will therefore call it a kind of *Drowſie, Unawakened*, or *Aſtoniſh'd Cogitation*, the Philoſopher, before mentioned, will not very much gainſay it: ἔστις βούλεται σύνεσίν τινα ἢ αἴσθησιν αὐτῇ διδόναι, ἀχ οἵαν λέγομεν ὅτι παρ' ἄλλων τινὶ αἴσθησιν ἢ τινὶ σύνεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἔστις τινὶ τῶν ὕπνον τῇ τῶν ἐγρηγορότος προσεικάσειε. *If any will needs attribute ſome kind of Apprehenſion or Senſe to Nature, then it muſt not be ſuch a Senſe or Apprehenſion, as is in Animals, but ſomething that differs as much from it, as the Senſe or Cogitation of one in a profound ſleep, differs from that of one who is awake.* And ſince it cannot be denied but that the *Plaſtick Nature* hath a certain *Dull* and *Obſcure Idea* of that which it Stamps and Prints upon Matter, the ſame Philoſopher himſelf ſticks not to call this *Idea* of *Nature*, θέαμα and θεώρημα, *a Spectacle* and *Contemplamen*, as likewiſe the Energy of *Nature* towards it, θεωρία ἄφωνος, *a Silent Contemplation*; nay he allows, that Nature may be ſaid to be, in ſome Sence, φιλοθεάμων, *a Lover of Spectacles or Contemplation.*

En. 3. L. 8. S. 3.

17. However, that there may be ſome Vital Energy without Clear and Expreſs συναίσθησις, *Con-ſenſe* and *Conſciouſneſs*, *Animadverſion*, *Attention*, or *Self-perception*, ſeems reaſonable upon ſeveral accompts. For firſt, thoſe Philoſophers themſelves, who make the *Eſſence* of the *Soul* to conſiſt in *Cogitation*, and again the *Eſſence* of *Cogitation* in Clear and Expreſs *Conſciouſneſs*, cannot render it any way probable, that the Souls of Men in all profound Sleeps, Lethargies and Apoplexies, as alſo of Embryo's in the Womb, from their very firſt arrival thither, are never ſo much as one moment without Expreſly Conſcious Cogitations; which if they were, according to the Principles of their Philoſophy, they muſt, *ipſo facto*, ceaſe to have any Being. Now if the Souls of Men and Animals be at any time without *Conſciouſneſs* and *Self-perception*, then it muſt needs be granted, that Clear and Expreſs *Conſciouſneſs* is not Eſſential to *Life*. There is ſome appearance of *Life and Vital Sympathy* in certain Vegetables and Plants, which however called *Senſitive Plants* and *Plant-animals*, cannot well be ſuppoſed to have *Animal Senſe and Fancy*, or *Expreſs Conſciouſneſs* in them; although we are not ignorant in the mean time, how ſome endeavour to ſalve all thoſe *Phænomena Mechanically*. It is certain, that our Humane Souls themſelves are not always *Conſcious*, of whatever they have in them; for even the Sleeping Geometrician, hath at that time, all his Geometrical Theorems and Knowledges ſome way in him; as alſo the Sleeping Muſician, all his Muſical Skill and Songs: and therefore why may it not be poſſible for the Soul to have likewiſe ſome *Actual Energie* in it, which it is not Expreſly Conſcious of? We have all Experience, of our doing many *Animal* Actions *Non-attendingly*, which we reflect upon afterwards; as alſo that we often continue a long Series of Bodily Motions, by a mere *Virtual Intention* of our Minds, and as it were by *Half a Cogitation*. That *Vital Sympathy*, by which our Soul is united and tied faſt, as it were with a Knot, to the Body, is a thing that we have no direct *Conſciouſneſs* of, but only in its Effects. Nor can we tell how we come to be ſo differently

ly affected in our Souls, from the many different Motions made upon our Bodies. As likewiſe we are not Conſcious to our ſelves of that Energy, whereby we impreſs Variety of *Motions* and *Figurations* upon the *Animal Spirits* of our Brain in our *Phantaſtick Thoughts*. For though the *Geometrician* perceive himſelf to make Lines, Triangles and Circles in the Duſt, with his Finger, yet he is not aware, how he makes all thoſe ſame Figures, firſt upon the Corporeal Spirits of his Brain, from whence notwithſtanding, as from a Glaſs, they are reflected to him, *Fancy* being rightly concluded by *Ariſtotle* to be a *Weak and Obſcure Senſe*. There is alſo another more Interiour kind of *Plaſtick Power* in the Soul (if we may ſo call it) whereby it is Formative of its own Cogitations, which it ſelf is not always Conſcious of; as when in Sleep or Dreams, it frames Interlocutory Diſcourſes betwixt it ſelf and other Perſons, in a long Series, with Coherent Sence and Apt Connexions, in which oftentimes it ſeems to be ſurprized with unexpected Anſwers and Reparties; though it ſelf were all the while the Poet and Inventor of the whole Fable. Not only our Nictations for the moſt part when we are awake, but alſo our Nocturnal Volutations in Sleep, are performed with very little or no Conſciouſneſs. Reſpiration or that Motion of the *Diaphragma* and other Muſcles which cauſes it (there being no ſufficient Mechanical accompt given of it) may well be concluded to be always a Vital Motion, though it be not always Animal; ſince no man can affirm that he is perpetually Conſcious to himſelf, of that Energy of his Soul, which does produce it when he is awake, much leſs when aſleep. And Laſtly, the Carteſian Attempts to ſalve the Motion of the Heart Mechanically, ſeem to be abundantly confuted, by Autopſy and Experiment, evincing the *Syſtole* of the Heart to be a *Muſcular Conſtriction*, cauſed by ſome Vital Principle, to make which, nothing but a *Pulſifick Corporeal Quality* in the Subſtance of the Heart it ſelf, is very Unphiloſophical and Abſurd. Now as we have no voluntary *Imperium* at all, upon the *Syſtole* and *Diaſtole* of the Heart, ſo are we not conſcious to our ſelves of any Energy of our own Soul that cauſes them, and therefore we may reaſonably conclude from hence alſo, that there is ſome *Vital Energy*, without *Animal Fancy* or *Synæſtheſis*, expreſs *Conſciouſneſs* and *Self-perception*.

18. Wherefore the Plaſtick Nature acting neither by *Knowledge* nor by *Animal Fancy*, neither *Electively* nor *Hormetically*, muſt be concluded to act *Fatally*, *Magically* and *Sympathetically*. And thus that Curious and Diligent Inquirer into Nature, before commended, reſolves, *Natura tanquam Fato quodam, ſeu Mandato ſecundùm Leges operante, movet*; *Nature moveth as it were by a kind of Fate or Command, acting according to Laws*. Fate, and the Laws or Commands of the Deity, concerning the Mundane Oeconomy (they being really the ſame thing) ought not to be looked upon, neither as *Verbal things*, nor as mere *Will* and *Cogitation* in the Mind of God; but as an *Energetical* and *Effectual Principle*, conſtituted by the Deity, for the bringing of things decreed to paſs. The Aphrodiſian Philoſopher with others of the Ancients, have concluded, that *Fate* and *Nature* are but two different Names, for one and the ſame thing, and that

Harvey de Gen. An.

ture

τότε εἱμαρμένον κ᾽ φύσιν, ἢ τὸ κ᾽ φύσιν εἱμαρμένον, *both that which is done Fatally, is done Naturally, and alſo whatever is done Naturally, is done Fatally*; but that which we aſſert in this place is only this, that the *Plaſtick Nature* may be ſaid to be, the *True* and *Proper Fate* of *Matter*, or the *Corporeal World*. Now that which acts not by any *Knowledge* or *Fancy*, *Will* or *Appetite* of its own, but only *Fatally* according to *Laws* and *Impreſſes* made upon it (but differently in different Caſes) may be ſaid alſo to act *Magically* and *Sympathetically*. Ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία (ſaith the Philoſopher) ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία ἢ νεῖκος, *The true Magick is the Friendſhip and Diſcord that is in the Univerſe*; and again Magick is ſaid to be founded ἐν τῇ συμπαθείᾳ ἢ τῇ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν ποικιλίᾳ πρὸς ἓν ζῶον συντελόντων, *In the Sympathy and Variety of diverſe Powers conſpiring together into one Animal.* Of which Paſſages, though the Principal meaning ſeem to be this, that the ground of Magical Faſcination, is one *Vital Unitive Principle* in the Univerſe; yet they imply alſo, that there is a certain *Vital Energy*, not in the way of *Knowledge* and *Fancy*, *Will* and *Animal Appetite*, but *Fatally Sympathetical* and *Magical*. As indeed that Mutual *Sympathy* which we have conſtant Experience of, betwixt our *Soul* and our *Body*, (being not a Material and Mechanical, but Vital thing) may be called alſo *Magical*.

19. From what hath been hitherto declared concerning the Plaſtick Nature, it may appear; That though it be a thing that acts for *Ends Artificially*, and which may be alſo called the *Divine Art*, and the *Fate* of the *Corporeal World*; yet for all that it is neither *God* nor *Goddeſs*, but a Low and Imperfect Creature. Foraſmuch as it is not *Maſter* of that *Reaſon* and *Wiſdom* according to which it acts, nor does it properly *Intend* thoſe *Ends* which it acts for, nor indeed is it Expreſly Conſcious of what it doth; it not *Knowing* but only *Doing*, according to *Commands* & *Laws* impreſt upon it. Neither of which things ought to ſeem ſtrange or incredible, ſince *Nature* may as well act *Regularly* and *Artificially*, without any Knowledge and Conſciouſneſs of its own, as Forms of Letters compounded together, may Print Coherent Philoſophick Sence, though they underſtand nothing at all; and it may alſo act for the ſake of thoſe *Ends*, that are not intended by it ſelf, but ſome Higher Being, as well as the *Saw* or *Hatchet* in the hand of the Architect or Mechanick doth, τὸ σκέπαρνον ἕνεκά τ᾽ πελεκᾶ, ἀλλ᾽ ὃ προλογιζόμενον, ἀλλὰ τῷ προλογιζομένῳ ὑπηρετῶν, *the Ax cuts for the ſake of ſomething, though it ſelf does not ratiocinate, nor intend or deſign any thing, but is only ſubſervient to that which does ſo.* It is true, that our *Humane Actions* are not governed by ſuch exact Reaſon, Art, and Wiſdom, nor carried on with ſuch Conſtancy, Eavenneſs and Uniformity, as the Actions of *Nature* are; notwithſtanding which, ſince we act according to a *Knowledge* of our *own*, and are *Maſters* of that *Wiſdom* by which our Actions are directed, ſince we do not act *Fatally* only, but *Electively* and *Intendingly*, with *Conſciouſneſs* and *Self-perception*; the Rational Life that is in us, ought to be accompted a much Higher and more Noble Perfection, than that *Plaſtick Life of Nature*. Nay, this *Plaſtick Nature*, is ſo far from being the *Firſt* and *Higheſt Life*, that it is indeed the Laſt and Loweſt of all

Simplic. in Ariſt. Phyſ. L. 2.

all *Lives*; it being really the same thing with the *Vegetative*, which is Inferiour to the *Sensitive*. The difference betwixt *Nature* and Wisdom was before observed, that *Wisdom* is the *First* and *Highest* thing, but *Nature* the *Last* and *Lowest*; this latter being but an Umbratile Imitation of the former. And to this purpose, this Plastick Nature is further described by the same Philosopher in these Words, ἔστι τοίνυν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγος οὐκ ἄκρατος νοῦς, οὐδ' αὐτόνους, οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ψυχῆς καθαρᾶς τὸ γένος· ἀπαυγασμός τις ἐκείνης, ἢ οἷον ἔκλαμψις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ ψυχῆς κατὰ νοῦν διακοσμοῦσης γεννησάντων τὸν λόγον τοῦτον. *The Spermatick Reason or Plastick Nature, is no pure Mind or perfect Intellect, nor any kind of pure Soul neither; but something which depends upon it, being as it were an Effulgency or Eradiation, from both together, Mind and Soul, or Soul affected according to Mind, generating the same as a Lower kind of Life.* *En.3.l.2.c.16.*

And though this *Plastick Nature* contain no small part of *Divine Providence* in it, yet since it is a thing that cannot act Electively nor with Discretion, it must needs be granted that there is a *Higher and Diviner Providence* than this, which also presides over the Corporeal World it self, which was a thing likewise insisted upon by that Philosopher, γίνεται τὰ ἐν τῷ παντὶ οὐ κατὰ σπερματικοὺς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγους περιληπτικοὺς, καὶ τῇ φύσει πρότερον, ἢ κατὰ τοὺς τῇ φύσει σπερμολόγων λόγους, ὁ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σπερματικοῖς λόγοις ἔνι, καὶ τῇ φύσει γενομένων, οὐδὲ τοὺς σπερματικοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους· *The things in the world, are not administred merely by Spermatick Reasons, but by Perileptick (that is, Comprehensive Intellectual Reasons) which are in order of Nature before the other, because in the Spermatick Reasons cannot be contained that which is contrary to them,* &c. Where though this Philosopher may extend his *Spermatick Reasons* further than we do our *Plastick Nature* in this place, (which is only confined to the Motions of Matter) yet he concludes, that there is a higher Principle presiding over the Universe than this. So that it is not *Ratio mersa & confusa, a Reason drowned in Matter, and confounded with it*, which is the Supreme Governour of the World, but a Providence perfectly Intellectual, *Abstract* and *Released*. *En.4.l.4.c.39.*

20. But though the Plastick Nature be the Lowest of all Lives, nevertheless since it is a *Life*, it must needs be *Incorporeal*; all Life being such. For Body being nothing but *Antitypous Extension*, or *Resisting Bulk*, nothing but mere *Outside*, *Aliud extra Aliud*, together with *Passive Capability*, hath no *Internal Energy*, *Self-activity*, or *Life* belonging to it; it is not able so much as to *Move it self*, and therefore much less can it *Artificially direct* its own Motion. Moreover, in the Efformation of the Bodies of Animals, it is One and the self-same thing that directs the Whole; that which Contrives and Frames the Eye, cannot be a distinct thing from that which Frames the Ear; nor that which makes the Hand, from that which makes the Foot; the same thing which delineates the Veins, must also form the Arteries; and that which fabricates the Nerves, must also project the Muscles and Joynts; it must be the same thing that designs and Organizes the Heart and Brain, with such Communications betwixt them; One and the self-same thing must needs have in it, the entire

Idea

Idea and the complete Model or Platform of the whole Organick Body. For the several parts of Matter distant from one another, acting alone by themselves, without any common Directrix, being not able to confer together, nor communicate with each other, could never possibly conspire to make up one such uniform and Orderly System or Compages, as the Body of every Animal is. The same is to be said likewise concerning the Plastick Nature of the whole Corporeal Universe, in which ἅπαντα πρὸς ἓν συντέτακται, *all things are ordered together conspiringly into One.* It must be one and the same thing, which formeth the whole, or else it could never have fallen into such an Uniform Order and Harmony. Now that which is One and the Same, acting upon several distant parts of Matter, cannot be Corporeal.

Indeed *Aristotle* is severely censured by some learned men for this, that though he talk every where of such a *Nature* as acts *Regularly*, *Artificially* and *Methodically*, in order to the Best, yet he does no where positively declare whether this Nature of his be *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal*, *Substantial* or *Accidental*, which yet is the less to be wondred at in him, because he does not clearly determine these same points concerning the Rational Soul neither, but seems to stagger uncertainly about them. In the mean time it cannot be denied, but that *Aristotle*'s Followers do for the most part conclude this Nature of his to be *Corporeal*; whereas notwithstanding, according to the Principles of this Philosophy, it cannot possibly be such: For there is nothing else attributed to Body in it, besides these three, *Matter*, *Form* and *Accidents*; neither of which can be the *Aristotelick Nature*. First, it cannot be *Matter*; because *Nature*, according to *Aristotle*, is supposed to be the *Principle* of *Motion* and *Activity*, which Matter in it self is devoid of. Moreover *Aristotle* concludes, that they who assign only a Material Cause, assign no Cause at all τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καλῶς, *of well and fit*, of that *Regular and Artificial Frame of things which is ascribed to Nature*; upon both which accompts, it is determined by that Philosopher, that ἡ φύσις μᾶλλον ἀρχὴ ἢ αἰτία τῆς ὕλης, *Nature is more a Principle and Cause than Matter*, and therefore it cannot be one and the same thing with it. Again, it is as plain, that *Aristotle*'s *Nature* cannot be the *Forms* of particular *Bodies* neither, as Vulgar Peripateticks seem to conceive, these being all *Generated* and *Produced* by *Nature*, and as well *Corruptible* as *Generable*. Whereas Nature is such a thing as is neither Generated nor Corrupted, it being the Principle and Cause of all Generation and Corruption. To make *Nature* and the *Material Forms* of Bodies to be one and the self-same thing, is all one as if one should make the *Seal* (with the Stamper too) to be one and the same thing, with the *Signature* upon the Wax. And Lastly, *Aristotle*'s Nature can least of all be the *Accidents* or *Qualities* of *Bodies*; because these act only in Vertue of their Substance, neither can they exercise any *Active Power* over the Substance it self in which they are; whereas the *Plastick Nature* is a thing that *Domineers* over the Substance of the whole *Corporeal Universe*, and which Subordinately to the Deity, put both Heaven and Earth into this Frame in which now it is. Wherefore since *Aristotle*'s *Nature* can be neither the

Matter,

Matter, nor the *Forms*, nor the *Accidents of Bodies*, it is plain, that according to his own Principles, it muſt be Incorporeal.

21. Now if the Plaſtick Nature be Incorporeal, then it muſt of neceſſity, be either an Inferiour *Power* or *Faculty* of ſome *Soul* which is alſo Conſcious, Senſitive or Rational; or elſe a lower *Subſtantial Life* by it ſelf, devoid of Animal Conſciouſneſs. The Platoniſts ſeem to affirm both theſe together, namely that there is a *Plaſtick Nature* lodged in all particular Souls of Animals, Brutes and Men, and alſo that there is a General *Plaſtick* or *Spermatick Principle* of the whole *Univerſe* diſtinct from their Higher Mundane Soul, though ſubordinate to it, and dependent upon it, ἡ λεγομένη φύσις γέννημα ψυχῆς πρεσβυτέρας δυναμένης ζώσης· *That which is called Nature, is the Off-ſpring of an higher Soul, which hath a more Powerful Life in it.* And though *Ariſtotle* do not ſo clearly acknowledge the *Incorporeity* and *Subſtantiality* of Souls, yet he concurrs very much with this *Platonick* Doctrine, that *Nature* is either a *Lower Power* or Faculty of ſome Conſcious Soul, or elſe an Inferiour kind of Life by it ſelf, depending upon a *Superiour Soul.*

And this we ſhall make to appear from his Book *De Partibus Animalium*, after we have taken notice of ſome conſiderable Preliminary Paſſages in it in order thereunto. For having firſt declared, that beſides the *Material Cauſe*, there are other Cauſes alſo of Natural Generations, namely theſe two, οὗ τε ἕνεκα ἢ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, *that for whoſe ſake*, (or the Final Cauſe) *and that from which the Principle of Motion is*, (or the Efficient Cauſe) he determines that the former of theſe Two, is the principal, φαίνεται ὁ πρώτην ἣν λέγομεν ἕνεκά τινος. λόγος δ' ἔστος, ἀρχὴ ὁ ὁ λόγος, ὁμοίως, ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ τοῖς φύσει συνεστῶσιν. *The chiefeſt of theſe two Cauſes ſeems to be the Final or the Intending Cauſe; for this is Reaſon, and Reaſon is alike a Principle in Artificial and in Natural things.* Nay the Philoſopher adds excellently, that there is more of *Reaſon* and *Art*, in the things of *Nature*, than there is in thoſe things that are *Artificially* made by men, μᾶλλον δ' ἔστι τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τοῖς φύσεως ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τέχνης· *There is more of Final or Intending Cauſality and of the reaſon of Good, in the works of Nature than in thoſe of Humane Art.* After which he greatly complains of the firſt and moſt Ancient Phyſiologers, meaning thereby *Anaximander*, and thoſe other Ionicks before *Anaxagoras*, that they conſidered only τὸ ὑλικὸν ἀρχὸν, *the Material Principle and Cauſe* of things, without attending to thoſe Two other Cauſes, the *Principle of Motion*, and *that which aims at Ends*, they talking only, of Fire, Water, Air and Earth, and generating the whole World, from the Frotuitous Concourſe of theſe Senſleſs Bodies. But at length *Ariſtotle* falls upon *Democritus*, who being Junior to thoſe others before mentioned, Philoſophiſed after the ſame Atheiſtical manner, but in a new way of his own, by Atoms; acknowledging no other Nature, neither in the Univerſe, nor in the Bodies of Animals, than that of *Fortuitous Mechaniſm*, and ſuppoſing all things to ariſe from the different Compoſitions of Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions. Of which Democritick Philoſophy, he gives his Cenſure

L. 1. c. 1.

De part. An. Lib. 1. cap. 1. sure in these following words, εἰ μὲν οὖν τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ χρώματι ἕκαστόν ἐστι, τῆς τε ζώων καὶ τῶν μορίων, ὀρθῶς ἂν Δημόκριτος λέγοι, &c. *If Animals and their several parts did consist of nothing but Figure and Colour, then indeed* Democritus *would be in the right: But a Dead man hath the same Form and Figure of Body, that he had before, and yet for all that he is not a Man; neither is a Brazen or Wooden Hand a Hand, but only Equivocally, as a Painted Physician, or Pipes made of Stone are so called. No member of a Dead Mans Body, is that which it was before, when he was alive, neither Eye, nor Hand, nor Foot. Wherefore this is but a rude way of Philosophizing, and just as if a Carpenter should talk of a Wooden Hand. For thus these Physiologers declare the Generations and Causes of Figures only, or the Matter out of which things are made, as Air and Earth. Whereas no Artificer would think it sufficient, to render such a Cause of any Artificial Fabrick, because the Instrument happened to fall so upon the Timber, that therefore it was Hollow here and Plane there; but rather because himself made such strokes, and for such Ends,* &c.

Now in the close of all, this Philosopher at length declares, That there is another *Principle* of Corporeal things, besides the *Material*, and such as is not only the *Cause of Motion*, but also acts *Artificially* in order to *Ends*, ἔστι τοιοῦτον ὃ δὴ καλοῦμεν φύσιν, *there is such a thing as that which we call Nature*, that is, not the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Senseless* Matter, but a *Plastick Regular and Artificial Nature*, such as acts for *Ends* and *Good*; declaring in the same place, what this Nature is, namely that it is ψυχὴ, ἢ ψυχῆς μέρος, ἢ μὴ ἄνευ ψυχῆς, *Soul, or Part of Soul, or not without Soul*; and from thence inferring, that it properly belongs to a Physiologer, to treat concerning the Soul also. But he concludes afterwards, οὐδὲ πᾶσα ψυχὴ φύσις, *that the whole Soul is not Nature*; whence it remains, that according to *Aristotle*'s sence, Nature is ἢ ψυχῆς μέρος, ἢ μὴ ἄνευ ψυχῆς, *either part of a Soul or not without Soul*, that is, either a lower Part or Faculty of some Conscious Soul; or else an Inferiour kind of Life by it self, which is not without Soul, but Subordinate to it and dependent on it.

22. As for the Bodies of Animals *Aristotle* first resolves in General, that Nature in them is either the whole Soul, or else some part of it, φύσις ὡς ἡ κινοῦσα, καὶ ὡς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ζώου, ἤτοι πᾶσα ἡ ψυχὴ, ἢ μέρος τι αὐτῆς, *Nature as the Moving Principle, or as that which acts Artificially for Ends, (so far as concerns the Bodies of Animals) is either the whole Soul, or else some Part of it.* But afterward he determines more particularly, that the Plastick Nature is not the whole Soul in Animals, but only some part of it; ὁ πᾶσα ψυχὴ φύσις, ἀλλά τι μόριον αὐτῆς, that is, *Nature in Animals*, properly so called, *is some Lower Power or Faculty* lodged in their respective Souls, whether Sensitive or Rational.

And that there is Plastick Nature in the Souls of Animals, the same *Aristotle* elsewhere affirms and proves after this manner: τί τὸ συνέχον εἰς τ' ἀναπλία φερόμενα, τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν γῆν· διασωσθήσεται γὰρ εἰ μήτι ἔσται τὸ κωλύσον, εἰσὶ δ' ἐνιαὶ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ αὐξάνεσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι· *What is that which in the Bodies of Animals holds together* *De An. l. 1. c. 4.*

together such things as of their own Nature would otherwise move contrary ways, and flie asunder, as Fire and Earth, which would be distracted and dissipated, the one tending upwards, the other downwards, were there not something to hinder them: now if there be any such thing, this must be the Soul, which is also the Cause of Nourishment and Augmentation. Where the Philosopher adds, that though some were of Opinion, that Fire was that which was the Cause of Nourishment and Augmentation in Animals, yet this was indeed but συναίτιον πῶς, ὃ μὲν ἁπλᾶς γε αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ ψυχὴ, *only the Concause or Instrument, and not simply the Cause, but rather the Soul.* And to the same purpose he philosophizeth elsewhere, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ πέψις δι' ἧς ἡ τροφὴ γίνεται τοῖς ζώοις ἄτε ἄνευ ψυχῆς, ἄτε θερμότητος οὖσι, πυρὶ γὰρ ἐργάζεται πάντα· *Neither is Concoction by which Nourishment is made in Animals done without the Soul, nor without Heat, for all things are done by Fire.* *De Resp. c. 8.*

And certainly it seems very agreeable to the *Phænomena*, to acknowledge something in the Bodies of Animals Superiour to Mechanism, as that may well be thought to be, which keeps the more fluid parts of them constantly in the same Form and Figure, so as not to be enormously altered in their Growth by disproportionate nourishment; that which restores Flesh that was lost, consolidates dissolved Continuities, Incorporates the newly received Nourishment, and joyns it Continuously with the preexistent parts of Flesh and Bone; which regenerates and repairs Veins consumed or cut off; which causes Dentition in so regular a manner, and that not only in Infants, but also Adult persons; that which casts off Excrements and dischargeth Superfluities; which makes things seem ungrateful to an Interiour Sense, that were notwithstanding pleasing to the Taste. That Nature of *Hippocrates*, that is the Curatrix of Diseases, αἱ φύσεις τῶν νοσέων ἰητροί, and that *Archeus* of the Chymists or Paracelsians, to which all Medicaments are but Subservient, as being able to effect nothing of themselves without it. I say, there seems to be such a Principle as this in the Bodies of Animals, which is not *Mechanical* but *Vital*; and therefore since Entities are not to be multiplied without necessity, we may with *Aristotle* conclude it to be μέρος or μόριον τῆς ψυχῆς, *a certain part of the Soul* of those Animals, or a Lower Inconscious Power lodged in them.

23. Besides this Plastick Nature which is in Animals, forming their several Bodies Artificially, as so many Microcosms or *Little Worlds*, there must be also a general Plastick Nature in the *Macrocosm* the whole Corporeal Universe, that which makes all things thus to conspire every where, and agree together into one Harmony. Concerning which *Plastick Nature* of the Universe, the Author *de Mundo* writes after this manner, ἓν τὸ ὅλον κόσμον διακόσμησε μία ἡ διὰ πάντων διήκουσα δύναμις, *One Power passing thorough all things, ordered and formed the whole World.* Again he calls the same πνεῦμα, ἓν ἔμψυχον, ἓν γόνιμον οὐσίαν, *a Spirit, and a Living and Generative Nature*, and plainly declares it, to be a thing distinct from the *Deity*, but Subordinate to it and dependent on it. But *Aristotle* himself in that ge-

nuine Work of his before mentioned, speaks clearly and positively concerning this Plastick Nature of the Universe, as well as that of Animals, in these words; φαίνεται γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τεχνασοῖς ἔστιν ἡ τέχνη, ὅτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄλλη τις ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοιαύτη ἐνοῦσα, καθάπερ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐκ τοῦ παντός. διὸ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ὁ ὅλος οὐρανὸν γεγενῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, εἰ γέγονε, καὶ εἶναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν μᾶλλον, ἢ τὰ ζῶα τὰ θνητά. τὸ γὰρ τεταγμένον καὶ ἐμμελὲς πολὺ μᾶλλον φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, ἢ περὶ ἡμᾶς· τὸ δ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, περὶ τὰ θνητὰ μᾶλλον· οἱ δὲ θεὸν μὲν ζώων ἕκαστον φύσει φασὶν εἶναι καὶ γενέσθαι· τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου τοιοῦτον συστῆναι, ἐν ᾧ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ ἀταξίας ὁρῶ' ὁτιοῦν φαίνεται. *It seemeth, that as there is Art in Artificial things, so in the things of Nature, there is another such like Principle or Cause, which we our selves partake of; in the same manner as we do of Heat and Cold, from the Universe. Wherefore it is more probable that the whole World was at first made by such a Cause as this (if at least it were made) and that it is still conserved by the same, than that Mortal Animals should be so: For there is much more of Order and determinate Regularity, in the Heavenly Bodies than in our selves; but more of Fortuitousness and inconstant Regularity among these Mortal things. Notwithstanding which, some there are, who, though they cannot but acknowledge that the Bodies of Animals were all framed by an Artificial Nature, yet they will needs contend that the System of the Heavens sprung merely from Fortune and Chance; although there be not the least appearance of Fortuitousness or Temerity in it.* And then he sums up all into this Conclusion, ὥστε εἶναι φανερὸν ὅτι ἔστι τι τοιοῦτον ὃ δὴ καλοῦμεν φύσιν· *Wherefore it is manifest, that there is some such thing as that which we call Nature,* that is, that there is not only an *Artificial, Methodical* and *Plastick Nature* in *Animals*, by which their respective Bodies are Framed and Conserved; but also that there is such a *General Plastick Nature* likewise in the *Universe*, by which the Heavens and whole World are thus Artificially Ordered and Disposed.

De Part. An. lib. 1. *c.* 1.

24. Now whereas *Aristotle* in the forecited Words, tells us, that we partake of Life and Understanding, from that in the Universe, after the same manner as we partake of Heat and Cold, from that Heat and Cold that is in the Universe; It is observable, that this was a Notion borrowed from *Socrates*; (as we understand both from *Xenophon* and *Plato*) that Philosopher having used it as an Argumentation to prove a Deity. And the Sence of it is represented after this manner by the Latin Poet;

Principio Cœlum ac Terram, Campósque Liquentes,
Lucentémque Globum Lunæ, Titaniáque Astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totósque Infusa per Artus,
Mens agitat Molem, & Magno se Corpore miscet.
Inde Hominum Pecudúmque Genus, Vitæque Volantûm.

From whence it may be collected, that *Aristotle* did suppose, this *Plastick Nature* of the *Universe* to be, ἢ μέρος ψυχῆς, ἢ μετὰ νοῦ ψυχῆς, *Either Part of some Mundane Soul,* that was also Conscious and Intellectual,

ctual, (as that Plaſtick Nature in Animals is) *or at leaſt ſome Inferiour Principle, depending on ſuch a Soul.* And indeed whatever the Doctrine of the modern Peripateticks be, we make no doubt at all, but that *Ariſtotle* himſelf held the Worlds Animation, or a Mundane Soul; Foraſmuch as he plainly declares himſelf concerning it, elſewhere in his Book *De Cœlo*, after this manner; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ὡς ϖερὶ σωμάτων μόνον αὐτῆ, ϗ μονάδων, τάξιν μὴν ἐχόντων, ἀψύχων δὲ πάμπαν, διανοούμεθα· δεῖ δ' ὡς μετεχόντων ὑπολαμβάνειν ϖρόϕρεως ϗ ζωῆς· *But we commonly think of the Heavens, as nothing elſe but Bodies and Monads, having only a certain Order, but altogether inanimate; whereas we ought on the contrary to conceive of them, as partaking of Life, and Action:* that is, as being endued with a Rational or Intellectual Life. For ſo *Simplicius* there rightly expounds the place, δεῖ δ' ὡς ϖερὶ ἐμψύχων αὐτῆ συλλογίζεσθαι, ϗ λογικὴν ἐχόντων ψυχὴν, ὡς ϗ ϖρόϕρεως ϗ ζωῆς λογικῆς μετέχειν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ϖοιεῖν, ϗ κατ' αὐτὴ ἀλόγων ψυχῶν κατηγορεῖται, ϗ κατ' αὐτὴ ἀψύχων σωμάτων, τὸ δὲ ϖρόϕρειν κυρίως κατ' αὐτὴ λογικῶν ψυχῶν κατηγορεῖται· *But we ought to think of the Heavens, as Animated with a Rational Soul, and thereby partaking of Action and Rational Life. For* (ſaith he) *though* ϖοιεῖν *be affirmed not only of Irrational Souls, but alſo of Inanimate Bodies, yet the word* ϖρόϕρειν *does only denominate Rational Beings.* But further, to take away all manner of ſcruple or doubt, concerning this buſineſs; that Philoſopher before in the ſame Book, ῥητῶς affirmeth, ὅτι ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔμψυχος, ϗ ἀρχὴν κινήσεως ἔχει, *That the Heaven is Animated, and hath a Principle of Motion within it ſelf:* Where by the Heaven, as in many other places of *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, is to be underſtood the Whole World. *Lib. 2. c. 12.*

There is indeed One Paſſage in the ſame Book *De Cœlo*, which at firſt ſight, and ſlightly conſidered, may ſeem to contradict this again, and therefore probably is that, which hath led many into a contrary Perſwaſion, that *Ariſtotle* denied the *Worlds Animation*, ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτε ὑπὸ ψυχῆς σύλογον ἀναγκαζόμενος μένειν ἀΐδιον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τ' ψυχῆς οἷον τ' εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν ἄλυπον ϗ μακαρίαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ϗ τὴν κίνησιν μετὰ βίας εἶναι, ϖεφυκότος τῷ ϖρώτῳ σώματι ἄλλως ϗ κινεῖν συνεχῶς, ἄσχολον εἶναι, ϗ ϖάσης ἀϖαλλαγὴν μόνην ἐκείνης ἔμφρονα· εἶτε μηδ' ὅσαν τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ τοῦ θνητοῦ ζώου δεῖν ἀνάϖαυσιν ἡ ϖρὸς τὸ ὕϖνον γινομένην τῷ σώματος ἄνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἰξίονός τινος μοῖραν καθέχειν αὐτὴν ἀΐδιον ϗ ἄτρυτον. *But it is not reaſonable neither, to think that the Heavens continue to Eternity, moved by a Soul neceſſitating, or violently compelling them. Nor indeed is it poſſible, that the Life of ſuch a Soul ſhould be pleaſurable or happy. For aſmuch as the continual Violent Motion of a Body (naturally inclining to move another way) muſt needs be a very unquiet thing, and void of all Mental Repoſe; eſpecially when there is no ſuch Relaxation, as the Souls of Mortal Animals have by ſleep; and therefore ſuch a Soul of the World as this, muſt of neceſſity be condemned to an Eternal Ixionian Fate.* But in theſe Words *Ariſtotle* does not deny the Heavens to be moved by a Soul of their own, (which is poſitively affirmed by him elſewhere) but only by ſuch a Soul, as ſhould *Violently* and *Forcibly* agitate, or drive them round, contrary to their own *Natural Inclination*, whereby in the mean time, they tended downwards of themſelves towards the Centre. And his ſence, concerning the Motion of the *L. 2. c. 1.*

Heavens, is truly represented by *Simplicius* in this manner, τὸ ὃ ὅλον φύσικον καὶ ἔμψυχον, ὑπὸ ψυχῆς πως κινεῖται, διὰ μέσης τῆς φύσεως· *The whole World or Heaven, being as well a natural, as an Animalish Body, is moved properly by Soul, but yet by means of Nature also, as an Instrument, so that the Motion of it is not Violent.* But whereas *Aristotle* there insinuates, as if *Plato* had held the Heavens to be moved, by a Soul violently, contrary to their Nature; *Simplicius*, though sufficiently addicted to *Aristotle*, ingenuously acknowledges his Error herein, and vindicating *Plato* from that Imputation, shews how he likewise held a Plastick Nature, as well as a Mundane Soul; and that amongst his Ten Instances of Motion,* the Ninth is that of Nature, τὴν ἕτερον ἀεὶ κινοῦσαν, καὶ μεταβαλλομένην ὑφ' ἑτέρου· *that which always moves another, being it self changed by something else*; as the Tenth, that of the Mundane Soul, τὴν ἑαυτὴν κινοῦσαν καὶ ἕτερα, *that which originally both moves it self and other things:* as if his Meaning in that place were, That though Nature be a Life and Internal Energy, yet it acts Subserviently to a Higher Soul, as the First Original Mover.

* *De leg. l.* 10.

But the Grand Objection against *Aristotle*'s holding the *Worlds Animation*, is still behind; namely from that in his *Metaphysicks*, where he determines the Highest Starry Heaven, to be moved by an *Immoveable Mover*, commonly supposed to be the Deity it self, and no Soul of the World; and all the other Spheres likewise, to be moved by so many *Separate Intelligencies*, and not by *Souls*. To which we reply, that indeed *Aristotle*'s *First Immoveable Mover* is no *Mundane Soul*, but an *Abstract Intellect Separate from Matter*, and the very Deity it self; whose manner of moving the Heavens is thus described by him, κινεῖ ὡς ἐρώμενον, *It Moveth only as being Loved:* wherefore besides this *Supreme Unmoved Mover*, that Philosopher supposed another Inferiour Moved Mover also, that is, a *Mundane Soul*, as the Proper and Immediate *Efficient Cause* of the Heavenly Motions; of which he speaks after this manner, κινούμενον ὃ τἆλλα κινεῖ, *that which it self being moved*, (objectively, or by Appetite and Desire of the First Good) *moveth other things.* And thus that safe and sure-footed Interpreter, *Alex. Aphrodisius*, expounds his Masters Meaning; That the *Heaven* being *Animated*, and therefore indeed Moved by an *Internal Principle* of its own, is notwithstanding Originally moved, by a certain Immoveable and Separate Nature, which is above Soul, τῷ νοεῖν τε αὐτὸ, καὶ ἔφεσιν καὶ ὄρεξιν ἔχειν τῆς ὁμοιώσεως αὐτοῦ, *both by its contemplating of it, and having an Appetite and Desire, of assimilating it self thereunto.* *Aristotle* seeming to have borrowed this Notion from *Plato*, who makes the Constant Regular Circumgyration of the Heavens, to be an Imitation of the Motion or Energy of *Intellect*. So that *Aristotle*'s *First Mover*, is not properly the *Efficient*, but only the *Final* and *Objective* Cause, of the Heavenly Motions, the Immediate Efficient Cause thereof being ψυχὴ καὶ φύσις, *Soul and Nature.*

Quæst. Nat. l. 1. c. 1.

Neither may this be Confuted from those other *Aristotelick Intelligences* of the Lesser Orbs; that Philosopher conceiving in like manner concerning them, that they were also the *Abstract Minds* or *Intellects* of certain

certain other inferiour Souls, which moved their ſeveral Reſpective Bodies or Orbs, Circularly and Uniformly, in a kind of Imitation of them. For this plainly appears from hence, in that he affirms of theſe his *Inferiour Intelligences* likewiſe as well as of the *Supreme Mover*, that they do κινεῖν ὡς τέλος, *Move only as the end.*

Where it is Evident, that though *Ariſtotle* did plainly ſuppoſe a *Mundane Intellectual Soul*, ſuch as alſo conteined, either in it, or under it, a *Plaſtick Nature*, yet he did not make either of theſe to be the *Supreme Deity*; but reſolved the Firſt Principle of things, to be *One Abſolutely Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*, *Separate from Matter*, which was ἀκινήτῳ οὐσία, *an Immoveable Nature*, whoſe *Eſſence was his Operation*, and which Moved only as being *Loved*, or as the *Final Cauſe*: of which he pronounces in this manner, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις, *That upon ſuch a Principle as this, Heaven and Nature depends*; that is, the *Animated Heaven*, or *Mundane Soul*, together with the *Plaſtick Nature* of the Univerſe, muſt of neceſſity depend upon ſuch an Abſolutely Perfect, and Immoveable *Mind* or *Intellect*. *Met. L. 14. c. 7. Par.*

Having now declared the *Ariſtotelick Doctrine* concerning the *Plaſtick Nature* of the Univerſe, with which the *Platonick* alſo agrees, that it is, ἢ μέρος ψυχῆς, ἢ μὴ ἄνευ ψυχῆς, *either Part of a Mundane Intellectual Soul*, (that is a Lower Power and Faculty of it) *or elſe not without it, but ſome inferior thing depending on it*; we think fit to add in this place, that though there were no ſuch *Mundane Soul*, as both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* ſuppoſed, diſtinct from the *Supreme Deity*, yet there might notwithſtanding be a *Plaſtick Nature* of the Univerſe, depending immediately upon the *Deity it ſelf*. For the *Plaſtick Nature* eſſentially depends upon *Mind* or *Intellect*, and could not poſſibly be without it; according to thoſe words before cited, ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ἡ φύσις, *Nature depends upon ſuch an Intellectual Principle*; and for this Cauſe that Philoſopher does elſewhere joyn νοῦς and φύσις, *Mind* and *Nature* both together.

25. Beſides this *General Plaſtick Nature* of the Univerſe, and thoſe *Particular Plaſtick Powers* in the *Souls of Animals*, it is not impoſſible but that there may be other Plaſtick Natures alſo (as certain Lower Lives, or Vegetative Souls) in ſome Greater Parts of the Univerſe; all of them depending, if not upon ſome higher Conſcious Soul, yet at leaſt upon a Perfect Intellect, preſiding over the whole. As for Example; Though it be not reaſonable to think, that every Plant, Herb and Pile of Graſs, hath a Particular Plaſtick Life, or Vegetative Soul of its own, diſtinct from the Mechaniſm of the Body; nor that the whole Earth is an Animal endued with a Conſcious Soul: yet there may poſſibly be, for ought we know, one Plaſtick Nature or Life, belonging to the whole Terreſtrial (or Terraqueous) Globe, by which all Plants and Vegetables, continuous with it, may be differently formed, according to their different Seeds, as alſo Minerals and other Bodies framed, and whatſoever elſe is above the Power of Fortuitous Mechaniſm effected, as by the Immediate Cauſe, though

always Subordinate to other Causes, the chief whereof is the Deity. And this perhaps may ease the Minds of those, who cannot but think it too much, to impose all upon one Plastick Nature of the Universe.

26. And now we have finished our First Task, which was to give an Accompt of the *Plastick Nature*, the Sum whereof briefly amounts to this; That it is a certain *Lower Life* than the *Animal*, which acts *Regularly* and *Artificially*, according to the Direction of *Mind* and *Understanding*, *Reason* and *Wisdom*, for *Ends*, or in Order to *Good*, though it self do not know the Reason of what it does, nor is *Master* of that Wisdom according to which it acts, but only a *Servant* to it, and *Drudging Executioner* of the same; it operating *Fatally* and *Sympathetically*, according to *Laws* and *Commands*, prescribed to it by a *Perfect Intellect*, and impresst upon it; and which is either a *Lower* Faculty of some *Conscious Soul*, or else an Inferiour kind of Life or *Soul* by it self; but essentially depending upon an *Higher Intellect*.

We procede to our *Second Undertaking*; which was to shew, how grosly those Two Sorts of *Atheists* before mentioned, the *Stoical* or *Cosmo-plastick*, and the *Stratonical* or *Hylozoick*, both of them acknowledging this *Plastick Life of Nature*, do mistake the Notion of it, or Pervert it and Abuse it, to make a certain Spurious and Counterfeit God-Almighty of it, (or a *First Principle* of all things) thereby excluding the True Omnipotent Deity, which is a *Perfect Mind*, or *Consciously Understanding Nature*, presiding over the Universe; they substituting this Stupid *Plastick Nature* in the room of it.

Now the Chief Errors or Mistakes of these Atheists concerning the *Plastick Nature*, are these *Four* following. First, that they make that to be the *First Principle* of all, and the *Highest thing* in the Universe, which is the *Last* and *Lowest* of all *Lives*; a thing Essentially *Secondary*, *Derivative* and *Dependent*. For the *Plastick Life of Nature* is but the mere *Umbrage* of *Intellectuality*, a faint and shadowy *Imitation* of *Mind* and *Understanding*; upon which it doth as Essentially depend, as the Shadow doth upon the Body, the Image in the Glass upon the Face, or the Eccho upon the Original Voice. So that if there had been no *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect* in the World, there could no more have been any *Plastick Nature* in it, than there could be an *Image in the Glass* without a *Face*, or an *Eccho* without an *Original Voice*. If there be Φύσις, then there must be Νοῦς, if there be a *Plastick Nature*, that acts *Regularly* and *Artificially* in Order to Ends, and according to the *Best Wisdom*, though it self not comprehending the reason of it, nor being clearly Conscious of what it doth; then there must of necessity be a *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*, that is, a *Deity* upon which it depends. Wherefore *Aristotle* does like a Philosopher in joyning Φύσις and Νοῦς, *Nature* and *Mind* both together; but these *Atheists* do very Absurdly and Unphilosophically, that would make a *Senseless* and *Inconscious Plastick Nature*, and therefore without any *Mind* or *Intellect*, to be the *First Original* of all things.

Secondly, these Atheists augment the Former Error, in supposing those

those Higher *Lives* of *Sense* or *Animality*, and of *Reason* or *Understanding*, to rise both of them from that Lower Senseless *Life of Nature*, as the only *Original Fundamental Life*. Which is a thing altogether as Irrational and Absurd, as if one should suppose the Light that is in the Air or *Æther*, to be the *Only Original* and *Fundamental Light*, and the Light of the Sun and Stars but a *Secondary* and *Derivative* thing from it, and nothing but the Light of the Air *Modificated* and *Improved* by *Condensation*. Or as if one should maintain that the Sun and Moon, and all the Stars, were really nothing else, but the mere *Reflections* of those *Images* that we see in Rivers and Ponds of Water. But this hath always been the Sottish Humour and Guise of *Atheists*, to invert the Order of the Universe, and hang the Picture of the World, as of a Man, with its Heels upwards. *Conscious Reason* and *Understanding*, being a far higher Degree of Life and Perfection, than that *Dull Plastick Nature*, which does only *Do*, but not *Know*, can never possibly emerge out of it; neither can the *Duplication* of *Corporeal Organs* be ever able to advance that *Simple* and *Stupid Life* of *Nature* into *Redoubled Consciousness* or *Self-perception*; nor any *Triplication* or indeed *Milleclupation* of them, improve the same into *Rea-Understanding*.

Thirdly; for the better Colouring of the Former Errors, the *Hylozoists* adulterate the *Notion* of the *Plastick Life of Nature*, confounding it with *Wisdom* and *Understanding*. And though themselves acknowledge, that no *Animal-sense*, *Self-perception* and *Consciousness* belongs to it, yet they will have it to be a thing *Perfectly Wise*, and consequently every Atom of Senseless Matter that is in the whole World, to be *Infallibly Omniscient*, as to all its own *Capacities* and *Congruities*, or whatsoever it self can *Do* or *Suffer*; which is plainly Contradictious. For though there may be such a thing as the *Plastick Nature*, that according to the Former Description of it, can *Do* without *Knowing*, and is devoid of *Express Consciousness* or *Self-perception*, yet *Perfect Knowledge* and *Understanding* without *Consciousness*, is Non-sence and Impossibility. Wherefore this must needs be condemned for a great piece of Sottishness, in the *Hylozoick Atheists*, that they attribute *Perfect Wisdom* and *Understanding* to a *Stupid Inconscious Nature*, which is nothing but χειροτέχνης, the mere *Drudging Instrument*, or *Manuary Opificer* of *Perfect Mind*.

Lastly, these Atheists err in this, that they make this *Plastick Life of Nature*, to be a mere *Material* or *Corporeal thing*; whereas Matter or Body cannot move it self, much less therefore can it *Artificially* order and dispose its own Motion. And though the *Plastick Nature* be indeed the Lowest of all *Lives*, yet notwithstanding since it is a *Life*, or *Internal Energy*, and *Self-activity*, distinct from *Local Motion*, it must needs be *Incorporeal*, all *Life* being Essentially such. But the Hylozoists conceive grosly both of *Life* and *Understanding*, spreading them all over upon Matter, just as Butter is spread upon Bread, or Plaster upon a Wall, and accordingly slicing them out, in different Quantities and Bulks, together with it; they contending that they

are

are but *Inadequate Conceptions* of Body, as the only Subſtance; and conſequently concluding, that the Vulgarly received *Notion of God*, is nothing elſe but ſuch an *Inadequate Conception of the Matter* of the Whole Corporeal Univerſe, miſtaken for a Complete and Entire Subſtance by it ſelf, that is ſuppoſed to be the Cauſe of all things. Which fond Dream or Dotage of theirs, will be further confuted in due place. But it is now time to put a Period, to this long (though neceſſary) *Digreſſion*, concerning the *Plaſtick Life of Nature*, or an *Artificial*, *Orderly* and *Methodical Nature*.

XXXVIII. *Plato* gives an accompt, why he judged it neceſſary in thoſe times, publickly to propoſe that Atheiſtick *Hypotheſis*, in order to a Confutation, as alſo to produce Rational Arguments for the Proof of a Deity, after this manner; *De Leg. lib. 10.* εἰ μὴ κατεσπαρμένοι ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει νῦν ἐπαμυνόντων λόγων, ὡς εἰσὶ θεοὶ, νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη· *Had not theſe Atheiſtick Doctrines been publickly divulged, and made known in a manner to all, it would not have been needful to have confuted them, nor by Reaſons to prove a Deity; but now it is neceſſary.* And we conceive that the ſame Neceſſity at this time, will juſtifie our preſent undertaking likewiſe; ſince theſe Atheiſtick Doctrines have been as boldly vented, and publickly aſſerted in this latter Age of ours, as ever they could be in *Plato*'s time. When the ſeverity of the Athenian Government, muſt needs be a great check to ſuch Deſigns, *Socrates* having been put to death upon a mere falſe and groundleſs Accuſation of *Atheiſm*, and *Protagoras*, (who doubtleſs was a Real Atheiſt) having eſcaped the ſame puniſhment no otherwiſe than by flight, his Books being notwithſtanding publickly burnt in the Market-place at *Athens*, and himſelf condemned to perpetual Exile, though there was nothing at that time proved againſt him, ſave only this one Sceptical Paſſage, in the beginning of a Book of his, *Diog. La. in Vita Prot.* περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὔθ' ὡς εἰσὶν, οὔθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ, πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἥ τε ἀδηλότης, καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· *Concerning the Gods, I have nothing at all to ſay, either that they be or be not; there being many things that hinder the knowledge of this Matter, both the Obſcurity of the thing it ſelf, and the ſhortneſs of humane Life.* Whereas *Atheiſm* in this Latter Age of ours, hath been impudently aſſerted, and moſt induſtriouſly promoted: that very Atomick Form, that was firſt introduced (a little before *Plato*'s time) by *Leucippus*, *Protagoras* and *Democritus*, having been alſo Revived amongſt us, and that with no ſmall Pomp and Oſtentation of Wiſdom and Philoſophy.

It was before obſerved that there were Two ſeveral *Forms* of *Atomical Philoſophy*; Firſt, the moſt Ancient and *Genuine* that was Religious, called *Moſchical* (or if you will *Moſaical*) and *Pythagorical*; Secondly, the *Adulterated Atheiſtick Atomology*, called *Leucippean* or *Democritical*. Now accordingly, there have been in this Latter Age of ours, Two ſeveral ſucceſſive *Reſurrections* or *Reſtitutions* of thoſe *Two Atomologies*. For *Renatus Carteſius* firſt revived and reſtored the Atomick Philoſophy, agreeably for the moſt part, to that ancient *Moſchical* and *Pythagorick Form*, acknowledging beſides *Extended Subſtance*

Substance and *Corporeal Atoms*, another *Cogitative Incorporeal Substance*, and joyning *Metaphysicks* or *Theology*, together with *Physiology*, to make up one entire *System of Philosophy*. Nor can it well be doubted, but that this *Physiology* of his, as to the *Mechanick part* of it, hath been Elaborated by the ingenious Author, into an Exactness at least equal with the best *Atomologies* of the Ancients. Nevertheless, this Cartesian Philosophy is highly obnoxious to Censure upon some Accompts, the Chief whereof is this; That deviating from that Primitive *Moschical Atomology*, in rejecting all *Plastick Nature*, it derives the whole System of the Corporeal Universe, from *the Necessary Motion of Matter*, only divided into Particles Insensibly small, and turned round in a *Vortex*, without the Guidance or Direction of any *Understanding Nature*. By means whereof, though it boast of Salving all the *Corporeal Phænomena*, by mere *Fortuitous Mechanism*, and without any *Final* or *Mental Causality*, yet it gives no Accompt at all of that which is the Grandest *of all Phænomena*, the τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς, *The Orderly Regularity and Harmony of the Mundane System*. The Occasion of which Miscarriage hath been already intimated, namely from the acknowledging only *Two Heads* of Being, *Extended* and *Cogitative*, and making the *Essence of Cogitation* to consist in *Express Consciousness*; from whence it follows, that there could be no Plastick Nature, and therefore either all things must be done by *Fortuitous Mechanism*, or else God himself be brought Immediately upon the Stage, for the salving of all *Phænomena*. Which Latter Absurdity, our Philosopher being over careful to avoid, cast himself upon the Former, the banishing of all *Final* and *Mental Causality* quite out of the World, and acknowledging no other Philosophick Causes, beside *Material* and *Mechanical*. It cannot be denied, but that even some of the ancient Religious Atomists, were also too much infected with this *Mechanizing Humour*; but *Renatus Cartesius* hath not only outdone them all herein, but even the very Atheists themselves also, as shall be shewed afterward. And therefore as much as in him lies, has quite disarmed the World, of that grand Argument for a Deity, taken from the *Regular Frame* and *Harmony of the Universe*. To which Gross Miscarriage of his, there might be also another added, That he seems to make Matter *Necessarily Existent*, and *Essentially Infinite* and *Eternal*. Notwithstanding all which, we cannot entertain that Uncharitable Opinion of him, that he really designed *Atheism*, the Fundamental Principles of his Philosophy being such, as that no Atheistick Structure can possibly be built upon them. But shortly after this *Cartesian Restitution* of the *Primitive Atomology* that acknowledgeth *Incorporeal Substance*, we have had our *Leucippus* and *Democritus* too, who also revived and brought again upon the Stage, that other *Atheistick Atomology*, that makes ἀρχὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους, *Senseless and Lifeless Atoms, to be the only Principles of all things in the Universe*, thereby necessarily excluding, besides *Incorporeal Substance* and *Immortality of Souls*, a *Deity* and *Natural Morality*; as also making all Actions and Events, *Materially* and *Mechanically necessary*.

Now there could be no Satisfactory Confutation of this Atheistick *Hypothesis*, without a fair Proposal first made of the several *Grounds* of

of it, to their best advantage, which we have therefore endeavoured in the Former Chapter. The *Answers* to which *Atheistick Arguments*, ought, according to the Laws of Method, to be reserved for the Last Part of the whole Treatise, where we are positively to determine the *Right Intellectual System of the Universe*; it being properly our Work here, only to give an Account of the *Three False Hypotheses* of the *Mundane System*, together with their several *Grounds*. Nevertheless, because it might not only seem Indecorous, for the Answers to those Atheistick Arguments, to be so long deferred, and placed so far behind the Arguments themselves, but also prove otherwise really Inconvenient, we shall therefore choose rather to break those Laws of Method, (neglecting the Scrupulosity thereof) and subjoyn them immediately in this place, craving the Readers Pardon for this *Preposterousness*.

It is certain that the *Source* of all *Atheism*, is generally a Dull and Earthy Disbelief of the Existence of things beyond the Reach of Sense; and it cannot be denied but that there is something of *Immorality* in the Temper of all Atheists, as all Atheistick Doctrine tends also to *Immorality*. Notwithstanding which, it must not be therefore concluded, that all Dogmatick Atheists came to be such, merely by means of Gross Intemperance, Sensuality, and Debauchery. *Plato* indeed describes one sort of Atheists in this manner;

Di Leg. l. 10. p. 908. οἷς ἂν πρὸς τῇ δόξῃ, τῇ θεῶν ἔρημα εἶναι πάντα, ἀπροϊτίαι τε ἡδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν προσπέσωσι, μνῆμαί τε ἰσχυραὶ καὶ μαθήσεις ἀξίαι παρῶσι· *Such who together with this Opinion, that all things are void of Gods, are acted also by Intemperance of Pleasures and Pains, and hurried away with Violent Lusts, being Persons otherwise endued with strong Memories, and quick Wits.* And these are the *Debauched*, *Ranting*, and *Hectoring Atheists*.

Ibid. But besides These, that Philosopher tells us, that there is another Sort of Atheists also, οἷς μὴ νομίζουσι θεοὺς εἶναι τὸ παράπαν, ἤθει φύσει προσγίνεσθαι δίκαιον, μισοῦντές τε γίγνονται τοὺς κακοὺς, καὶ τῷ δυσχεραίνειν τὰ ἀδικίαν, ὅτε τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις πράττειν, τούς τε μὴ δικαίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων φεύγουσι, καὶ τοὺς δικαίους ἀγαπῶσιν· *Such, who though they think there be no Gods at all, yet notwithstanding being naturally disposed to Justice and Moderation, as they will not do Outragious and Exorbitant things themselves, so they will shun the Conversation of wicked debauched persons, and delight rather in the Society of those that are Fair and Just.* And these are a sort of *Externally honest*, or *Civilized Atheists*. Now what that thing is, which besides Gross Sensuality and Debauchery, might tempt men to entertain Atheistick Opinions, the same Philosopher also declares; namely that it is, an *Affectation of Singularity*, or of seeming Wiser than the Generality of Mankind. For thus when *Clinias* had disputed honestly against Atheists, from those Vulgar Topicks, of the Regularity and Harmony of the Universe (observable in the Courses of Sun, Moon and Stars, and the Seasons of the Year) and of the common Notions of Mankind, in that both Greeks and Barbarians generally agreed in this, that there were Gods, thinking he had thereby made a Sufficient Confutation of Atheism, the *Athenian Hospes* hereupon discovers a great Fear and Jealousie which he had, lest he should thereby but render himself

an Object of Contempt to Atheists, as being a conceited and scornful Generation of men. Αθ. φοβοῦμαί γε ὦ μακάριε τοὺς μοχθηροὺς, μή-πως ὑμῶν καταφρονήσωσιν, ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἴστε αὐτοὺς πέρι, τὸν δ' διαφορᾶς αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ἡγεῖσθε ἀκρασίαν μόνον ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ὅτι τὴν ἀκρατῆ βίον ὁρμᾶσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτοῖς, &c. *I am afraid of those wicked men the Atheists, lest they should despise you: For you are ignorant concerning them, when you think the only Cause of Atheism to be Intemperance of Pleasures and Lusts, violently hurrying mens Souls on to a wicked Life.* Clin. *What other Cause of Atheism can there be besides this?* Ath. *That which you are not aware of, who live remotely, namely,* Ἀμαθία μάλα χαλεπὴ δοκοῦσα εἶναι μεγίστη φρόνησις· *A certain grievous Ignorance, which yet notwithstanding hath the appearance of the greatest Wisdom.* And therefore afterwards, when that Philosopher goes about to propose the Atheistick *Hypothesis*, he calls it, τὴν παρὰ πολλοῖς δοξαζόμενον εἶναι σοφώτατον ἁπάντων λόγων, *That which to many seemeth to be the Wisest and Profoundest of all Doctrines.*

And we find the same thing at this very day, that Atheists make a great *Pretence* to *Wisdom* and Philosophy, and that many are tempted to maintain *Atheistick Opinions*, that they may gain a *Reputation of Wit* by it. Which indeed was one Reason that the rather induced us, nakedly to reveal all the *Mysteries of Atheism*, because we observed, that so long as these things are concealed and kept up in Huggermugger, many will be the rather apt to suspect, that there is some great Depth and Profundity of Wisdom lodged in them, and that it is some Noble and Generous Truth, which the Bigotick Religionists endeavour to smother and oppress.

Now the Case being thus, it was pertinently suggested also, by the forementioned Philosopher, ὐ σμικρὸν γε τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ φανεῖεν οἱ λόγων ἁπτόμενοι ἀσεβῶν, ἄλλοις τε ἐξάρχοντες, μηδὲ εὖ τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐξημαρτημένως χρώμενοι, *That it must needs be a Matter of no small moment, for any one to make it appear, that they who maintain wicked Atheistical Opinions, do none of them reason rightly, but grosly fumble in all their Ratiocinations.* And we hope to effect this in our present Undertaking, to make it evident, that Atheists are no such Conjurers, as (though they hold no Spirits) they would be thought to be; no such Gigantick men of Reason, nor Profound Philosophers, but that notwithstanding all their Pretensions to Wit, their Atheism is really nothing else, but ἀμαθία μάλα χαλεπὴ, *a most Grievous Ignorance*, Sottishness and Stupidity of Mind in them.

Wherefore we shall in the next place, Conjure down all those Devils raised and displayed in their most Formidable Colours, in the Precedent Chapter; or rather we shall discover that they are really nothing else, but what these Atheists pretend God and Incorporeal Spirits to be, *Mere Phantastick Spectres and Impostures*, Vain Imaginations of deluded Minds, utterly devoid of all Truth and Reality. Neither shall we only Confute those Atheistick Arguments, and so stand upon our defensive Posture; but we shall also assault Atheism even with its own Weapons, and plainly demonstrate, that all Forms of

of Atheism are unintelligible Nonsence, and Absolute Impossibility to Humane Reason. As we shall likewise over and above, Occasionally insert some (as we think) Undeniable Arguments for a Deity.

The Digression concerning the *Plastick Life of Nature*, or an *Artificial, Orderly* and *Methodical Nature*, N. 37. Chap. 3.

1. *That neither the* Hylozoick *nor* Cosmo-plastick *Atheists are condemned for asserting an* Orderly *and* Artificial Plastick Nature, *as a Life distinct from the* Animal, *however this be a Thing exploded, not only by the Atomick Atheists, but also by some Professed Theists; who notwithstanding might have an undiscerned Tang of the* Mechanically-Atheistick Humour *hanging about them.* 2. *If there be no Plastick Artificial Nature admitted, then it must be concluded, that either all things come to pass by Fortuitous Mechanism, and Material Necessity (the Motion of Matter unguided) or else that God doth* αὐτεργεῖν ἅπαντα, *do all things himself Immediately and Miraculously, framing the Body of every Gnat and Fly, as it were with his own hands; since Divine Laws and Commands cannot Execute themselves, nor be the proper Efficient Causes of things in Nature.* 3. *To suppose all things to come to pass Fortuitously, or by the Unguided Motion of Matter, a thing altogether as Irrational as it is Atheistical and Impious; there being many* Phænomena, *not only above the Powers of Mechanism, but also contrary to the Laws of it. The Mechanick Theists make God but an Idle Spectator of the Fortuitous Motions of Matter, and render his Wisdom altogether Useless and Insignificant.* Aristotle's *Judicious Censure of the Fortuitous Mechanists, with the Ridiculousness of that Pretence, that Material and Mechanical Reasons are the Only Philosophical.* 4. *That it seems neither decorous in respect of God, nor congruous to Reason, that he should* αὐτεργεῖν ἅπαντα, *do all things himself Immediately and Miraculously, Nature being quite Superseded and made to signifie nothing. The same further confuted by the Slow and Gradual Proces of things in Nature, as also by those Errors and Bungles that are committed, when the Matter proves Inept and Contumacious, arguing the Agent not to be Irresistible.* 5. *Reasonably inferred, that there is a* Plastick Nature *in the Universe, as a Subordinate Instrument of Divine Providence, in the Orderly Disposal of Matter; but yet so as not without a Higher Providence presiding over it, forasmuch as this Plastick Nature, cannot act Electively or with Discretion. Those Laws of Nature concerning Motion, which the Mechanick Theists themselves suppose, really nothing else but a Plastick Nature.* 6. *The Agreeableness of this Doctrine with the Sentiments of the best Philosophers in all Ages,* Aristotle, Plato, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Hippocrates,

pocrates, Zeno *and the* Paracelſians. Anaxagoras, *though a Profeſſed Theiſt, ſeverely cenſur'd, both by* Ariſtotle *and* Plato, *as an Encourager of Atheiſm, merely becauſe he uſed Material and Mechanical Cauſes more than Mental and Final. Phyſiologers and Aſtronomers why vulgarly ſuſpected of Atheiſm in* Plato's *time.* 7. *The Plaſtick Nature, no* Occult Quality, *but the only Intelligible Cauſe of that which is the Grandeſt of all* Phænomena, *the* Orderly Regularity *and* Harmony *of Things, which the Mechanick Theiſts, however pretending to ſalve all* Phænomena, *can give no accompt at all of. A God, or Infinite Mind, aſſerted by them, in vain and to no purpoſe.* 8. *Two Things here to be performed by us; Firſt to give an Accompt of the Plaſtick Nature, and then to ſhew how the Notion of it hath been Miſtaken, and Abuſed by Atheiſts. The Firſt General Accompt of this Plaſtick Nature according to* Ariſtotle, *that it is to be conceived as Art it ſelf acting, Inwardly and Immediately upon the Matter: as if Harmony Living in the Muſical Inſtruments, ſhould move the Strings of them, without any External Impulſe.* 9. *Two Preeminencies of the Plaſtick Nature above Humane Art. Firſt, that whereas Humane Art acts upon the Matter from without Cumberſomely and Moliminouſly, with Tumult and Hurliburly, Nature acting on it from within more Commandingly, doth its Work Eaſily, Cleaverly and Silently. Humane Art acts on the Matter Mechanically, but Nature Vitally and Magically.* 10. *The Second Preeminence of Nature above Humane Art, that, whereas Humane Artiſts are often to ſeek and at a loſs, anxiouſly Conſult and Deliberate, and upon Second thoughts Mend their former Work, Nature is never to ſeek, nor Unreſolved what to do, nor doth ſhe ever Repent afterwards of what ſhe hath done, changing her Former Courſe. Humane Artiſts themſelves Conſult not, as Artiſts, but only for want of Art; and therefore Nature, though never Conſulting, may act Artificially. Concluded, that what is called Nature, is really the* Divine Art. 11. *Nevertheleſs, that Nature is not the* Divine Art, *Pure and Abſtract, but Concreted and* Embodied *in Matter:* Ratio Merſa & Confuſa: *Not the Divine Art Archetypal, but Ectypal. Nature differs from the Divine Art, as the Manuary Opificer from the Architect.* 12. *Two Imperfections of the Plaſtick Nature, in reſpect whereof it falls ſhort even of Humane Art; Firſt, That though it act for Ends Artificially, yet it ſelf neither Intends thoſe Ends, nor Underſtands the Reaſon of what it doth, and therefore cannot act Elective ly. The Difference between the* Spermatick Reaſons *and* Knowledge. *Nature doth but Ape or Mimick the Divine Art or Wiſdom, being not Maſter of that Reaſon, according to which it acts, but only a Servant to it, and Drudging Executioner of it.* 13. *Proved that there may be ſuch a thing as acts Artificially, though it ſelf do not comprehend that Art, by which its Motions are Governed, Firſt from Muſical Habits; The Dancer reſembles the Artificial Life of Nature.* 14. *The ſame further evinced from the Inſtincts of Brute-animals, directing them to act Rationally and Artificially, in order to their own Good and the Good of the Univerſe, without any Reaſon of their own. The Inſtincts in Brutes but Paſſive Impreſſes of the Divine Wiſdom, and a kind of* Fate *upon them.* 15. *The Second Imperfection of the Plaſtick Nature, that it*

acts without Animal Phancy, συναίσθησις, *Expreſs Con-ſenſe, and* Conſciouſneſs, *and is devoid of Self-perception and Self-enjoyment.* 16. *Whether this Energy of the Plaſtick Nature, be to be called Cogitation or no, but a Logomachy or Contention about Words. Granted that what moves Matter Vitally, muſt needs do it by ſome Energy of its own, diſtinct from Local Motion; but that there may be a ſimple Vital Energy, without that Duplicity which is in* Synæſtheſis, *or clear and expreſs Conſciouſneſs. Nevertheleſs that the Energy of Nature might be called a certain Drowſie, Unawakened, or Aſtoniſh'd Cogitation.* 17. *Inſtances which render it probable, that there may be a Vital Energy, without Synæſtheſis, clear and expreſs Con-ſenſe, or Conſciouſneſs.* 18. *The Plaſtick Nature, acting neither Knowingly nor Phantaſtically, acts* Fatally, Magically *and* Sympathetically. *The Divine Laws and Fate, as to Matter, not mere Cogitation in the Mind of God, but an Energetick and Effectual Principle; and the Plaſtick Nature, the true and proper* Fate of Matter, *or the Corporeal World. What Magick is, and that Nature which acts Fatally, acts alſo Magically and Sympathetically.* 19. *That the Plaſtick Nature, though it be the* Divine Art *and* Fate, *yet for all that, it it neither* God *nor* Goddeſs, *but a Low and Imperfect Creature, it acting Artificially and Rationally no otherwiſe, than compounded Forms of Letters, when printing Coherent Philoſophick Sence, nor for Ends, than a Saw or Hatchet in the hands of a skilful Mechanick. The Plaſtick and Vegetative Life of Nature the Loweſt of all Lives, and Inferiour to the Senſitive. A Higher Providence than that of the Plaſtick Nature governing the Corporeal World it ſelf.* 20. *Notwithſtanding which, foraſmuch as the Plaſtick Nature is a Life, it muſt needs be* Incorporeal. *One and the ſame thing, having in it an entire Model and Platform, and acting upon ſeveral diſtant parts of Matter at once coherently, cannot be Corporeal; and though* Ariſtotle *no where declare whether his Nature be Corporeal or Incorporeal (which he neither doth clearly concerning the Rational Soul) and his Followers conclude it to be Corporeal, yet according to the very Principles of that Philoſophy it muſt needs be otherwiſe.* 21. *The Plaſtick Nature being Incorporeal, muſt either be a Lower Power lodged in Souls that are alſo Conſcious, Senſitive or Rational; or elſe a diſtinct Subſtantial Life by it ſelf, and Inferiour Kind of Soul. How the* Platoniſts *complicate both theſe together; with* Ariſtotle's *agreeable Determination, that Nature is either Part of a Soul, or not without Soul.* 22. *The Plaſtick Nature as to Animals, according to* Ariſtotle, *a Part or Lower Power of their Reſpective Souls. That the* Phænomena *prove a Plaſtick Nature or* Archeus *in Animals, to make which a diſtinct thing from the Soul, is to multiply Entities without neceſſity. The Soul endued with a Plaſtick Power, the chief* Formatrix *of its own Body, the Contribution of certain other Cauſes not excluded.* 23. *That beſides that Plaſtick Principle in Particular Animals, forming them as ſo many Little Worlds, there is a General Plaſtick Nature in the whole Corporeal Univerſe, which likewiſe according to* Ariſtotle *is either a Part and Lower Power of a Conſcious Mundane Soul, or elſe ſomething depending on it.* 24. *That no leſs according to* Ariſtotle *than* Plato *and* Socrates, *our ſelves partake of Life from the Life of the Univerſe, as well as we do of Heat and Cold,*

from

from the Heat and Cold of the Universe; from whence it appears, that Aristotle *also held the* worlds Animation, *with further Undeniable Proof thereof. An Answer to Two the most considerable places of that Philosopher that seem to imply the contrary. That* Aristotles *First* Immoveable Mover, *was no* Soul, *but a Perfect Intellect Abstract from Matter, but that he supposed this to move only as a* Final Cause, *or as being* Loved, *and besides it a* Mundane Soul *and* Plastick Nature, *to move the Heavens Efficiently. Neither* Aristotle's *Nature nor his Mundane Soul, the Supreme Deity. However, though there be no such Mundane Soul as both* Plato *and* Aristotle *conceived, yet notwithstanding there may be a Plastick Nature depending upon a Higher Intellectual Principle.* 25. *No Impossibility of some other Particular Plastick Principles; and though it be not reasonable to think, that every Plant, Herb, and Pile of Grass hath a Plastick or Vegetative Soul of its own, nor that the Earth is an Animal; yet that there may possibly be One Plastick Inconscious Nature, in the whole Terraqueous Globe, by which Vegetables may be severally organized and framed, and all things performed which transcend the Power of Fortuitous Mechanism.* 26. *Our Second Undertaking, which was to shew how grosly those Atheists, (who acknowledge this Plastick Nature) Misunderstand it and Abuse the Notion, to make a Counterfeit* God-almighty *or* Numen *of it, to the exclusion of the True Deity. First, in their supposing that to be the First and Highest Principle of the Universe, which is the Last and lowest of all Lives, a thing as Essentially Derivative from, and Dependent upon a Higher Intellectual Principle, as the Ecchо on the Original Voice.* 27. *Secondly, in their making Sense and Reason in Animals to Emerge out of a Sensless Life of Nature, by the mere Modification and Organization of Matter. That no Duplication of Corporeal Organs, can ever make One Single Inconscious Life, to advance into Redoubled Consciousness and Self-enjoyment.* 28. *Thirdly, in attributing Perfect Knowledge and Understanding to this Life of Nature, which yet themselves suppose to be devoid of all Animal Sense and Consciousness.* 29. *Lastly, in making the Plastick Life of Nature to be merely Corporeal; the Hylozoists contending that it is but an Inadequate Conception of Body, as the only Substance, and fondly dreaming, that the Vulgar Notion of God, is nothing but such an Inadequate Conception of the Matter of the Whole Universe, mistaken for a Complete and Entire Substance by it self, the Cause of all things.*

CHAP. IV.

The Idea of God *declared, in way of Anſwer to the Firſt Atheiſtick Argument. The Grand Prejudice againſt the Naturality of this* Idea, *as Eſſentially including* Unity *or* Onelyneſs *in it, from the* Pagan Polytheiſm, *removed. Proved that the Intelligent Pagans generally acknowledged* One Supreme *Deity. What their* Polytheiſm *and* Idolatry *was: with ſome Accompt of* Chriſtianity. 1. *The either Stupid Inſenſibility or Groſs Impudence of Atheiſts, in denying the word* GOD, *to have any Signification, or that there is any other* Idea *anſwering to it, beſides the mere Phantaſm of the Sound. The Diſeaſe called by the Philoſopher,* ἀπολίθωσις τῦ νοητικῦ, *the Petrification (or Dead Inſenſibility) of the Mind.* 2. *That the Atheiſts themſelves muſt needs have an* Idea *of God in their minds, or otherwiſe when they deny his Exiſtence, they ſhould deny the Exiſtence of Nothing. And that they have alſo the ſame* Idea *of him with Theiſts, they denying the very ſame thing which the others affirm.* 3. *A* Lemma *or Preparatory Propoſition to the* Idea of God, *That though ſome things be Made or Generated, yet it is not poſſible that all things ſhould be Made, but ſomething muſt of Neceſſity Exiſt of it ſelf from Eternity Unmade, and be the Cauſe of thoſe other things that are Made.* 4. *The Two moſt Oppoſite Opinions, concerning that which was Self-exiſtent from Eternity or Unmade, and the Cauſe of all other things Made: One, That it was nothing but Senſleſs Matter, the moſt Imperfect of all things; The Other, That it was ſomething Moſt Perfect, and therefore Conſciouſly Intellectual. The Aſſerters of this latter Opinion, Theiſts in a ſtrict and proper ſence; of the former, Atheiſts. So that the* Idea of God *in general, is a Perfect Conſciouſly Underſtanding Being (or Mind) Self-exiſtent from Eternity, and the Cauſe of all other things.* 5. *Obſerved, That the Atheiſts who deny a God, according to the true* Idea *of him, do often Abuſe the word, calling Senſleſs Matter by that Name, and meaning nothing elſe thereby, but a Firſt Principle or Self-exiſtent Unmade thing. That according to this Notion of the word God, there can be no ſuch thing as an Atheiſt, no man being able to perſwade himſelf, that all things ſprung from Nothing.* 6. *In order to the more punctual Declaration of the Divine* Idea, *the Opinion of thoſe taken notice of, who ſuppoſe Two Self-exiſtent Unmade Principles,* God *and* Matter, *and ſo God not to be the Sole but only the*

Chief Principle. 7. *That these are but Imperfect and Mistaken Theists. Their* Idea *of God declared, with its Defectiveness. A Latitude in Theism. None to be condemned for Absolute Atheists, but such as deny an Eternal Unmade Mind, ruling over the matter.* 8. *The most Compendious* Idea *of God, An Absolutely Perfect Being. That this includes not only Conscious Intellectuality and Necessary Existence, but also, Omni-causality, Omnipotence and Infinite Power: and therefore God, the sole Principle of all, and Cause of Matter. The true Notion of Infinite Power. Pagans acknowledged the Divine Omnipotence. And that the Atheists supposed Infinite Power to be included in the* Idea *of God, proved from* Lucretius. 9. *That absolute Perfection implies something more than Power and Knowledge. A Vaticination in mens minds of a Higher Good than either. That God is Better than Knowledge, according to* Aristotle: *and that there is Morality in the Nature of God, wherein his chief Happiness consisteth. This borrowed from* Plato, *who makes the Highest Perfection, and Supreme Deity, to be Goodness it self, above Knowledge and Intellect. God, and the Supreme Good, according to the Scripture, Love. God no soft or fond Love, but an Impartial Law, and the Measure of all things. That the Atheists supposed Goodness also to be included in the* Idea *of God. The* Idea *of God more Explicate and Unfolded, A Being absolutely Perfect, Infinitely Good, Wise and Powerful, Necessarily Existent, and not only the Framer of the World, but also the Cause of all things.* 10. *That this* Idea *of God Essentially includes* Unity *or* Onelyness *in it; since there can be but One Supreme, One Cause of all things, One Omnipotent, and One Infinitely Perfect. This Unity or Onelyness of the Deity, supposed also by* Epicurus *and* Lucretius, *who professedly denyed a God according to this* Idea. 11. *The Grand Prejudice against the Naturality of this* Idea *of God, as it Essentially includes Unity and Solitariety, from the* Polytheism *of all Nations formerly, besides the Jewes, and of all the wisest men and Philosophers; from whence it is inferred, that this* Idea *of God is but Artificial, and owes its Original to Laws and Institution. An Enquiry to be made concerning the true sence of the Pagan Polytheism. That the Objectors take it for granted, that the Pagan Polytheists universally asserted, Many Self-existent Intellectual Beings, and Independent Deities, as so many Partial Causes of the World.* 12. *First, the Irrationality of this Opinion, and its manifest Repugnancy to the* Phænomena, *which render it less probable, to have been the Belief of all the Pagan Polytheists.* 13. *Secondly, That no such thing at all appears, as that ever any Intelligent Pagans asserted a Multitude of Eternal, Unmade, Independent Deities. The Hesiodian Gods. The Valentinian* Æons. *The neareſt Approach made thereunto by the Manichean Good and Evil Gods. This Doctrine not generally asserted by the Greek Philosophers, as* Plutarch *affirmeth. Questioned whether the Persian Evil* Dæmon *or* Arimanius, *were a Self-existent Principle, Essentially Evil.* Aristotle's *Confutation and Explosion of Many Principles, or Independent Deities.* Faustus *the Manichean his Conceit, that the Jews and Christians Paganized, in the Opinion of* Monarchy, *with St.* Austin's *Judgment, concerning the Pagans, thereupon.* 14. *Concluded that the Pagan*

Pagan Polytheiſm muſt be underſtood according to another Equivocation in the word Gods, *as uſed for Created Intellectual Beings, ſuperiour to Men, that ought to be Religiouſly Worſhipped. That the Pagans held both* Many Gods *and* One God, (*as* Onatus *the Pythagorean declares himſelf*) *in different Senſes: Many* Inferiour Deities *Subordinate to* One Supreme. 15. *Further Evidence of this, that the Intelligent Pagan Polytheiſts, held only a Plurality of Inferiour Deities, Subordinate to one Supreme: Firſt becauſe after the Emerſion of Chriſtianity, and its conteſt with Paganiſm, when occaſion was offered, not only no Pagan aſſerted a Multiplicity of Independent Deities, but alſo all Univerſally diſclaim'd it, and profeſſed to acknowledge* One Supreme God. 16. *That this was no Refinement or Interpolation of Paganiſm, as might poſſibly be ſuſpected, but that the Doctrine of the moſt Ancient Pagan Theologers, and greateſt Promoters of Polytheiſm was agreeable hereunto; which will be proved, not from ſuſpected Writings* (*as of* Triſmegiſt *and the* Sibyls) *but ſuch as are Indubitate. Firſt, That* Zoroaſter *the chief Promoter of Polytheiſm in the Eaſtern Parts, acknowledged one Supreme Deity, the Maker of the World, proved from* Eubulus *in* Porphyry, *beſides his own words cited by* Euſebius. 17. *That* Orpheus, *commonly called by the Greeks, The Theologer, and the Father of the Grecanick Polytheiſm, clearly aſſerted one Supreme Deity, proved by his own words, out of Pagan Records.* 18. *That the Ægyptians themſelves, the moſt Polytheiſtical of all Nations, had an acknowledgement amongſt them of one Supreme Deity.* 19. *That the Poets, who were the greateſt Depravers of the Pagan Theology, and by their Fables of the Gods, made it look more Ariſtocratically, did themſelves notwithſtanding acknowledge a* Monarchy, *one Prince and Father of Gods. That famous Paſſage of* Sophocles *not to be ſuſpected, though not found in any of theſe Tragedies now extant.* 20. *That all the Pagan Philoſophers, who were Theiſts, univerſally aſſerted a* Mundane Monarchy. Pythagoras *as much a Polytheiſt as any, and yet his Firſt Principle of Things, as well as Numbers, a* Monad *or* Unity. Anaxagoras *his* One Mind *ordering all things for Good.* Xenophanes *his* One and All, *and his* One God the Greateſt *among the Gods.* 21. Parmenides *his Supreme God,* One Immoveable. Empedocles *his both* Many Gods *Junior to Friendſhip and Contention, and his* One God *called* τὸ ἓν *Senior to them.* Zeno Eleates *his* Demonſtration of One God, *in* Ariſtotle. 22. Philolaus, *his Prince and Governour of all,* God always One. Euclides Megarenſis *his God called* ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν, One the Very Good. Timæus Locrus *his* Mind *and* Good, *above the Soul of the World.* Antiſthenes *his* One Natural God. Onatus *his* Corypheus. 23. *Generally believed and true, that* Socrates *acknowledged One Supreme God; but that he diſclaimed all the Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, a Vulgar Error.* Plato *alſo a Polytheiſt, and that Paſſage which ſome lay ſo great ſtreſs upon (That he was ſerious, when he began his Epiſtles with God, but when with Gods jocular) Spurious and Counterfeit; and yet he was notwithſtanding an undoubted Monotheiſt alſo in another ſence; an Aſſerter, of* One God over all, *of a* Maker of the World, *of a* Firſt God, *of a* Greateſt of the Gods. *The Firſt* Hypoſtaſis *of the Platonick Trinity, properly*

ly

ly the King of all things, *for whose ſake are all things; The Father of the Cauſe and Prince of the World, that is, of the Eternal Intellect, or* λόγος. 24. Ariſtotle *an Acknowledger of Many Gods (he accounting the Stars ſuch) and yet an expreſs Aſſerter of* εἷς πολέμαρχος, One Prince, One Immoveable Mover. 25. Cleanthes *and* Chryſippus *Stoicks, though they filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea with Gods; yet notwithſtanding they acknowledged, only* One God Immortal, Jupiter; *all the reſt being conſumed into him, in the Succeſſive Conflagrations, and afterwards made anew by him.* Cleanthes *his excellent and devout Hymn to* the Supreme God. 26. *Endleſs to cite all the Paſſages of the later Pagan Writers and Polytheiſts, in which one Supreme God is aſſerted. Excellent Diſcourſes in ſome of them concerning the Deity, particularly* Plotinus. *Who though he derived all things, even Matter it ſelf, from one Supreme Deity, yet was a Contender for* Many Gods. 27. *This not only the Opinion of Philoſophers and Learned men, but alſo the General Belief of the Pagan Vulgar; that there was* One Supreme God, *proved from* Maximus Tyrius. *The Romans* Deus Optimus Maximus. *The Pagans when moſt ſerious ſpake of God ſingularly.* Kyrie Eleeſon *part of the Pagans Litany to the Supreme God. The more civilized Pagans at this very day acknowledge one Supreme Deity, the Maker of the World.* 28. Plutarch's *Teſtimony, that notwithſtanding the variety of Paganick Religions, and the different Names of Gods uſed in them; yet* One Reaſon, Mind *or* Providence *ordering all things, and its Inferiour Miniſters, were alike every where Worſhipped.* 29. *Plain that the Pagan Theiſts muſt needs acknowledge One Supreme Deity, becauſe they generally believed, the whole World to be* One Animal, *governed by* One Soul. *Some Pagans made this Soul of the World their Supreme God, others an Abſtract Mind Superiour to it.* 30. *The Hebrew Doctors generally of this Perſwaſion, that the Pagans worſhipped one Supreme God, and that all their other Gods were but* Mediatours *betwixt him and men.* 31. *Laſtly, this confirmed from Scripture. The* Pagans Knew God. Aratus *his* Jupiter, *and the Athenians* Unknown God, *the True God.* 32. *In order to a fuller Explication of the Pagan Theology, and ſhewing the Occaſion of its being miſunderſtood, Three Heads requiſite to be inſiſted on. Firſt, that the Pagans worſhipped* One Supreme God *under* Many Names: *Secondly, that beſides this One God, they worſhipped alſo* Many Gods, *which were indeed Inferiour Deities Subordinate to him: Thirdly, that they worſhipped both the Supreme and inferiour Gods in* Images, Statues *and* Symbols, *ſometimes abuſively called alſo Gods. Firſt, that the Supreme God amongſt the Pagans was* Polyonymous, *and worſhipped under ſeveral Perſonal Names, according to his ſeveral Attributes and the Manifeſtations of them, his Gifts and Effects in the World.* 33. *That upon the ſame accompt, Things not Subſtantial were Perſonated and Deified by the Pagans, and worſhipped as ſo many ſeveral Names or Notions of One God.* 34. *That as the whole Corporeal World Animated, was ſuppoſed by ſome of the Pagans to be the Supreme God, ſo he was worſhipped in the ſeveral Parts and Members of it (having Perſonal Names beſtowed upon them) as it were by Parcels and Piece-meal, or by ſo many Inadequate Conceptions. That ſome*

of

of the Pagans made the Corporeal World the Temple of God only, but others the Body of God. 35. *The Second Head proposed, that besides the One Supreme God, under several Names, the Pagans acknowledged and Worshipped also Many Gods;* θεὸς γενητὸς, Made Gods, *Created intellectual Beings Superiour to Men.* 36. *The Pythagorick or Platonick Trinity of Divine* Hypostases. *And the Higher of the Inferiour Deities, according to this* Hypothesis; Nous, Psyche, *and the whole Corporeal World; with particular* Noes *and* Henades. 37. *The other Inferiour Deities acknowledged as well by the Vulgar as Philosophers, of Three Sorts. First the Sun, Moon and Stars, and other greater Parts of the Universe, Animated; called* Sensible Gods. 38. *Secondly, their Inferiour Deities Invisible, Ethereal and Aereal Animals, called* Dæmons. *These appointed by the Supreme Deity, to preside over Kingdoms, Cities, Places, Persons and Things.* 39. *The Last sort of the Pagan Inferiour Deities,* Heroes *and* Θεάνθρωποι, *or* Men-gods. Euemerus *taxed by* Plutarch, *for making all the Pagan Gods nothing but Dead Men.* 40. *The Third general Head proposed, That the Pagans worshipped both the Supreme and Inferiour Gods, in Images, Statues and Symbols. That first of all, before Images and Temples, Rude Stones and Pillars without Sculpture, were erected for Religious Monuments, and called* βαιτύλια *or Bethels.* 41. *That afterwards Images, Statues and Symbols were used, and housed in Temples. These placed in the West-end of the Temples to face the East; so that the Pagans entering, worshipped towards the West: One probable Occasion of the Ancient Christians Praying towards the East. The Golden Calf made for a Symbolick Presence of the God of* Israel. 42. *All the parts of the entire Pagan Religion represented together at once in* Plato. 43. *That some late Writers, not well understanding the Sence of Pagans, have confounded all their Theology, by supposing them to Worship the Inanimate parts of the World as such, for Gods; therefore distinguishing betwixt their* Animal *and their* Natural Gods. *That no Corporeal thing was worshipped by the Pagans otherwise, than either as being it self Animated with a Particular Soul of its own, or as being part of the whole Animated World, or as having* Dæmons *presiding over it, to whom the Worship was properly directed; or Lastly, as being Images or Symbols of Divine things.* 44. *That though the Egyptians be said to have Worshipped Brute Animals, and were generally therefore condemned by the other Pagans; yet the wiser of them used them only as Hieroglyphicks and Symbols.* 45. *That the Pagans worshipped not only the Supreme God, but also the Inferiour Deities, by Material Sacrifices. Sacrifices or Fire-offerings, in their First and General Notion, nothing else but Gifts and Signs of Gratitude, and Appendices of Prayer. But that Animal Sacrifices had afterwards a Particular Notion also of Expiation fastned on them, whether by Divine Direction, or Humane Agreement, left undetermined.* 46. *The* Pagans Apology *for the Three forementioned Things. First, for Worshipping one Supreme God under Many Personal Names, and that not only according to his several Attributes, but also his several Manifestations, Gifts and Effects, in the Visible World. With an Excuse for those Corporeal Theists, who Worshipped the whole Animated World as the Supreme God, and the several*

ral Parts of it under Perſonal Names, as Living Members of him. 47. *Their Apology for Worſhipping, beſides the* One Supreme *God,* Many Inferiour *Deities. That they Worſhipping them only as Inferiour, could not therefore be guilty of giving them that Honour, which was proper to the Supreme. That they Honour'd the Supreme God Incomparably above all. That they put a Difference in their Sacrifices, and that Material Sacrifices were not the proper Worſhip of the Supreme God, but rather below him.* 48. *Several Reaſons of the Pagans, for giving Religious Worſhip to Inferiour Created Beings. Firſt that this Honour which is beſtowed upon them, does ultimately redound to the Supreme God, and aggrandize his State and Majeſty, they being all his Miniſters and Attendants.* 49. *That as* Dæmons *are Mediatours betwixt the Celeſtial Gods and Men, ſo thoſe Celeſtial Gods and all the other Inferiour Deities, are themſelves alſo Mediatours betwixt Men and the Supreme God, and as it were Convenient ſteps, by which we ought with Reverence to approach him.* 50. *That there is an Honour in Juſtice due, to all thoſe excellent Beings that are above us, and that the Pagans do but honour every thing as they ought, in that due rank and place, in which the Supreme God hath ſet it.* 51. *That* Dæmons *or Angels being appointed to preſide over Kingdoms, Cities and Perſons, and the ſeveral parts of the Corporeal Univerſe, and being many ways Benefactors to us, Thanks ought to be returned to them by Sacrifice.* 52. *That the Inferiour Gods, Demons and Heroes, being all of them able to do us either Good or Hurt, and being alſo Iraſcible, and therefore Provokable by our neglect of them, it is as well our Intereſt as our Duty, to Pacifie and Appeaſe them by Worſhip.* 53. *Laſtly, that it cannot be thought, that the Supreme God will envy thoſe Inferiour Gods, that Worſhip or Honour which is beſtowed upon them; nor ſuſpected, that any of thoſe Inferiour Deities will Factiouſly go about to ſet up themſelves againſt the Supreme God.* 54. *That many of the Pagans worſhipped none but Good* Dæmons, *and that thoſe of them who worſhipped Evil ones did it only in order to their Appeaſment and Mitigation, that ſo they might do them no hurt. None but Magicians to be accompted properly Devil-Worſhippers, who honour Evil* Dæmons, *in order to the gratification of their Revenge, Luſt and Ambition.* 55. *The Pagans plead that thoſe* Dæmons, *who delivered Oracles, and did Miracles amongſt them, muſt needs be Good, ſince there cannot be a greater reproach to the Supreme God, than to ſuppoſe him to appoint Evil* Dæmons *as Preſidents and Governours over the World, or to ſuffer them to have ſo great a ſway and ſhare of Power in it. The Faith of* Plato *in Divine Providence, that the Good every where prevails over the Bad, and that the Delphick* Apollo *was therefore a Good* Dæmon. 56. *The Pagans Apology for Worſhipping the Supreme God in Images, Statues and Symbols. That theſe are only Schetically Worſhipped by them, the Honour paſſing from them to the Prototype. And that ſince we living in Bodies, cannot eaſily have a Conception of any thing without ſome Corporeal Image or Phantaſm, thus much muſt be indulged to the Infirmity of Humane Nature (at leaſt in the Vulgar) to Worſhip God Corporeally in Images, to prevent their running to Atheiſm.* 57. *That though it ſhould appear by*

by this Apology *of the Pagans, that their Case were not altogether so Bad, as is commonly supposed, yet they cannot be Justified thereby, in the Three Particulars above mentioned, but the* Scripture-Condemnation *of them is Irrefragable, That knowing God, they did not Glorifie him as God, or Sanctifie his Name; that is, Worship him according to his Uncommon and Incommunicable, his Peerless and Insociable, Transcendent and Singular, Incomparable and Unresembleable Nature; but mingled some way or other Creature-worship with the Worship of the Creatour. First, that the Worshipping of One God in his Various Gifts and Effects, under several personal Names, a thing in it self absurd, may also prove a great occasion of Atheism, when the things themselves come to be called by those* Names, *as Wine* Bacchus, *Corn* Ceres. *The Conclusion easily following from thence, that the Good things of Nature are the only Deities. But to Worship the Corporeal World it self Animated, as the Supreme God, and the Parts of it, as the Members of God, plainly to Confound God with the Creature, and not to Glorifie him as Creatour, nor according to his Separate and Spiritual Nature.* 58. *To give Religious Worship to* Dæmons *or Angels,* Heroes *or Saints, or any other Intellectual Creatures, though not honouring them equally with the Supreme God, is to deny God the Honour of his* Holiness, *his* Singular, Insociable *and* Incommunicable Nature, *as he is the only Self-originated Being, and the Creator of all: Of whom, Through Whom, and To Whom are all things. As God is such a Being, that there is nothing Like him, so ought the Worship which is given him, to be such as hath nothing Like to it, A Singular, Separate and Incommunicate Worship. They not to be Religiously Worshipped that Worship.* 59. *That the Religious Worship of Created Spirits proceeded chiefly from a Fear that if they were not worshipped, they would be provoked and do hurt, which is both highly Injurious to Good Spirits, and a Distrust of the Sufficiency of God's Power to protect his Worshippers. That all Good Spirits Uninvok'd, are of themselves officiously ready to assist those who sincerely Worship and Propitiate the Supreme Deity, and therefore no need of the Religious Worship of them, which would be also Offensive to them.* 60. *That Mens praying to Images and Statues is much more Ridiculous than Childrens talking to Babies made of Clouts, but not so Innocent, they thereby Debasing both themselves and God, not Glorifying him according to his Spiritual and Unresembleable Nature, but changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into the Likeness of Corruptible Man or Beast.* 61. *The Mistake of those who think none can be guilty of Idolatry, that believe One God the Maker of the World.* 62. *That from the same ground of Reason, That nothing ought to be Religiously Worshipped besides the Supreme God, or whom he appoints to represent himself (because he ought to be Sanctified, and dealt withal according to his Singular Nature as unlike to every thing) it follows, contrary to the Opinion of some Opposers of Idolatry, that there ought also to be a Discrimination made, between things Sacred and Prophane, and Reverence used in Divine Worship. Idolatry and Sacrilege allied.* 63. *Another Scripture-Charge upon the Pagans, that they were Devil-worshippers; not as though they intended all their Worship to Evil* Dæmons *or*

Devils

Devils as ſuch, but becauſe their Polytheiſm and Idolatry (unacceptable to God and Good Spirits) was promoted by Evil Spirits delivering Oracles and doing Miracles for the Confirmation of it, they alſo inſinuating themſelves into the Temples and Statues, therefore the Worſhip was look'd upon, as done to them. The ſame thing ſaid of others beſides Pagans, that they Worſhipped Devils. 64. *Proved that they were Evil* Dæmons *who delivered Oracles and did Miracles amongſt the Pagans, for the carrying on of that Religion, from the many Obſcene Rites and Myſteries, not only not prohibited, but alſo injoyned by them.* 65. *The ſame thing further proved, from other cruel and bloody Rites, but eſpecially that of Man Sacrifices.* Plutarch's *Clear Acknowledgement, that both the Obſcene Rites and Man-Sacrifices, amongſt the Pagans, owed their Original to Wicked* Dæmons. 66. *That the God of* Iſrael, *neither required, nor accepted of Man Sacrifices, againſt a modern Diatribiſt.* 67. *That what Faith ſoever* Plato *might have in the Delphick* Apollo, *he was no other than an Evil* Dæmon *or Devil. An Anſwer to the Pagans Argument from Divine Providence.* 68. *That the Pagans Religion, unſound in its Foundatian, was Infinitely more Corrupted and Depraved by means of theſe Four Things; Firſt, the Superſtition of the Ignorant Vulgar.* 69. *Secondly, the Licentious Figments of Poets and Fable-Mongers, frequently condemned by* Plato *and other Wiſer Pagans.* 70. *Thirdly, the Craft of Prieſts and Politicians.* 71. *Laſtly, the Impoſture of evil* Dæmons *or Devils. That by means of theſe Four Things, the Pagan Religion became a moſt foul and unclean thing. And as ſome were captivated by it under a moſt grievous Yoke of Superſtition, ſo others ſtrongly inclined to Atheiſm.* 72. Plato *not inſenſible that the Pagan Religion ſtood in need of Reformation; nevertheleſs, ſuppoſing many of thoſe Religious Rites, to have been introduced by Viſions, Dreams, and Oracles, he concluded that no wiſe Legiſlator would of his own head venture to make an Alteration. Implying, that this was a thing not to beeffected otherwiſe than by Divine Revelation and Miracles. The generally received Opinion of the Pagans, that no man ought to trouble himſelf about Religion, but content himſelf to worſhip God, νόμῳ πόλεως, according to the Law of that Country which he lived in.* 73. *Wherefore God Almighty in great compaſſion to Mankind, deſigned himſelf to reform the Religion of the* Pagan *World, by introducing another Religion of his own framing in ſtead of it; after he had firſt made a* Præludium *thereunto, in one Nation of the* Iſraelites, *where he expreſly prohibited by a Voice out of the Fire, in his Firſt Commandment, the* Pagan Polytheiſm, *or the worſhipping of other Inferior Deities beſides himſelf, and in the Second, their* Idolatry, *or the Worſhipping of the Supreme God in Images, Statues or Symbols. Beſides which he reſtrain'd the uſe of Sacrifices. As alſo ſucceſſively gave* Predictions, *of a* Meſſiah *to come, ſuch as together with Miracles might reaſonably conciliate Faith to him when he came.* 74. *That afterwards in due time, God ſent the promiſed* Meſſiah, *who was the Eternal Word Hypoſtatically united with a Pure Humane Soul and Body, and ſo a true* θεάνθρωπος, *or God-man: Deſigning him for a Living Temple and Viſible Statue or Image, in which the Deity ſhould be repreſented and*

and Worshipped; as also after his Death and Resurrection, when he was to be invested with all Power and Authority, for a Prince and King, a Mediatour and Intercessour, betwixt God and Men. 75. *That this* Θεάνθρωπος *or* God-man *was so far from intending to require Men-sacrifices of his Worshippers, as the* Pagan Demons *did, that he devoted himself to be a* Catharma *& Expiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, and thereby also abolished all Sacrifices or Oblations by Fire whatsoever, according to the Divine Prediction.* 76. *That the* Christian Trinity, *though a Mystery, is more agreeable to Reason than the* Platonick, *and that there is no absurdity at all, in supposing the Pure Soul and Body of the* Messiah, *to be made a Living Temple or* Shechinah, *Image or Statue of the Deity. That this Religion of One God and One Mediatour, or* Θεάνθρωπος *God-man, preached to the Pagan World and confirm'd by Miracles, did effectually destroy all the Pagan Inferiour Deities, Middle Gods and Mediatours, Demons and Heroes, together with their Statues and Images.* 77. *That it is no way incongruous to suppose that the Divine Majesty, in prescribing a Form of Religion to the World, should graciously condescend to comply with Humane Infirmity, in order to the removing of Two such Grand Evils, as* Polytheism *and* Idolatry, *and the bringing of men to Worship God in* Spirit *and in* Truth. 78. *That Demons and Angels, Heroes and Saints are but different Names for the same things, which are made* Gods *by being worshipped. And that the introducing of Angel and Saint-worship, together with Image-Worship, into Christianity, seems to be a defeating of one grand design of God Almighty in it, and the Paganizing of that, which was intended for the Unpaganizing of the World.* 79. *Another Key for Christianity in the Scripture, not disagreeing with the former, That since the way of* Wisdom *and* Knowledge, *proved Ineffectual as to the Generality of Mankind, men might by the contrivance of the Gospel be brought to God and a holy Life (without profound Knowledge) in the way of* Believing. 80. *That according to the Scripture, there is a Higher, more Precious and Diviner Light, than that of Theory and Speculation.* 81. *That in Christianity, all the Great, Goodly and most Glorious things of this World, are slurried and disgrated, comparatively with the Life of Christ.* 82. *And that there are all possible Engines in it to bring men up to God, and engage them in a holy Life.* 83. *Two Errors here to be taken notice of; The First of those who make Christianity, nothing but an* Antinomian *Plot against Real Righteousness, and as it were a secret Confederacy with the Devil. The Second, of those who turn that into Matter of mere Notion and Opinion, Dispute and Controversie, which was designed by God only as a Contrivance, Machin, or Engine to bring men Effectually to a Holy and Godly Life.* 84. *That Christianity may be yet further illustrated, from the consideration of the* Adversary *or* Satanical Power, *which is in the World. This no Minichean Substantial Evil Principle, but a Polity of Lapsed Angels, with which the Souls of Wicked men are also Incorporated, and may therefore be called The Kingdom of Darkness.* 85. *The History of the Fallen Angels in Scripture briefly explained.* 86. *The concurrent Agreement of the Pagans concerning Evil Demons or Devils, and their Activity in the World.* 87. *That there is a perpe-*

tual War betwixt Two Polities or Kingdoms in the World, the one of Light, *the other of* Darkness; *and that our Saviour Christ or the* Messiah, *is appointed the Head or Chieftain over the Heavenly* Militia, *or the Forces of the Kingdom of Light.* 88. *That there will be at length a Palpable and Signal Overthrow, of the Satanical Power, and whole Kingdom of Darkness, by* Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, *God appearing in an extraordinary and miraculous manner; and that this great affair is to be managed by our Saviour Christ, as God's Vicegerent, and a Visible Judge both of Quick and Dead.* 89. *That our Saviour Christ designed not, to set up himself Factiously against God Almighty, nor to be accounted* ὑφ' Θεῷ, *Inferiour to God, but that when he hath done his Work, and put down all Adversary Power; himself will then be subject to God, even the Father; that so God may be all in all.* 90. *Lastly, having spoken of Three Forms of Religions, the* Jewish, Christian *and the* Pagan, *and there remaining only a Fourth the* Mahometan, *in which the Divine Monarchy is zealously asserted, we may now Conclude, that the* Idea *of God (as essentially including Unity in it) hath been entertained in all Forms of Religion. An Accompt of that seemingly-strange* Phænomenon *of Providence; the Rise, Growth and Continuance of the Mahometan Religion, not to be attempted by us, at least in this place.*

1. HAving in the Former Chapter prepared the way, we shall now procede (with the Divine Assistance) to *Answer* and *Confute* all those *Atheistick Arguments* before proposed. *The First* whereof was this, *That there is no* Idea *of God, and therefore, either no such Thing existing in Nature, or at least no Possible Evidence of it.*

To affirm that there is no *Idea of God*, is all one as to affirm, that there is no *Conception of the Mind* answering to that Word or Name; And this the Modern Atheists stick not to maintain, That the *Word God* hath no *Signification*, and that there is no other *Idea* or *Conception* in Mens Minds, answering thereunto, besides the mere *Phantasm of the Sound.* Now for any one to go about soberly to confute this, and to Prove that *God* is not the Only *Word* without a *Signification*, and that men do not every where pay all their Religious Devotions, to the mere *Phantasm* of a *Transient Sound*, expecting all Good from it, might very well seem to all Intelligent persons, a most Absurd and Ridiculous Undertaking; both becaufe the thing is so evident in it self, and becauſe the plaineſt things of all can least be Proved; for ὁ πάντα ἀποδείκτα νενομικὼς, αὐτὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀναιρεῖ· *He that thinks all things to be Demonstrable, takes away Demonstration it self.* Wherefore we shall here only suggest thus much, that since there are different words for *God* in several Languages, and men have the same *Notion* or *Conception* in their Minds answering to them all, it must needs be granted, that they have some other *Idea* or *Conception* belonging to those Words, besides the *Phantasms* of their several *Sounds.* And indeed it can be nothing else, but either

Procl. in Tima. p. 176.

Monstrous

Monstrous Sottishness and *Stupidity* of Mind, or else *Prodigious Impudence*, in these Atheists to deny, that there is any *Idea of God* at all, in the Minds of men, or that the *Word* hath any *Signification.*

It was hereofore observed by *Epictetus*, ἂν τις ἐνίσηται πρὸς τὰ ἄγαν φανερὰ, πρὸς τοῦτον ὁ ῥάδιον ἔχειν λόγον, δι' οὗ μεταπείσῃ τις αὐτόν· τοῦτο δ' ὅτι οὐδὲν τῷ ἐκείνου γίνεται δύναμιν, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῷ τοῦ διδάσκοντος ἀσθενείαν· *That if any man will oppose or contradict the most evident Truths, it will not be easie, to find arguments wherewith to convince him. And yet this notwithstanding, ought neither to be Imputed, to any Inability in the Teacher, nor to any strength of Wit in the Denier, but only to a certain dead Insensibility in him.* Whereupon he further adds, that there is a double ἀπονέκρωσις or ἀπολίθωσις, *Mortification* or *Petrification* of the *Soul*; the one, when it is *Stupified* and *Besotted* in its *Intellectuals*; the other, when it is *Bedeaded* in its *Morals*, as to that *Pudor* that naturally should belong to a Man. And he concludes, that either of these States (though it be not commonly so apprehended) is a Condition little less deplorable, than that of Bodily Death; as also that such a person is not at all to be Disputed with. For ποῖον αὐτῷ πῦρ ἢ ποῖον σίδηρον προσάγω, ἵν' αἴσθηται ὅτι νενέκρωται; αἰσθανόμενον δὲ προσποιεῖται; ἔτι χέρων ἔχει τοῦ νεκροῦ, ἐκτέτμηται γὰρ τὸ αἰδήμονα αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸ ἐπιεικέστατον· *What Sword can one bring or what Fire, by burning or slashing, to make such a one perceive that he is dead? but if he be sensible, and will not acknowledge it, then he is worse than dead, being castrated as to that Pudor that belongs to a man.* Moreover, that Philosopher took notice that in those times, when this Denial of most Evident Truths, proceeded rather from *Impudence* than *Stupidity* or *Sottishness*, the Vulgar would be apt to admire it, for *strength of Wit* and *great Learning*; ἂν δέ τινος τὸ αἰδήμον ἀπονεκρωθῇ, τοῦτο ἔτι ἰσχὺν καλοῦμεν· *But if any mans Pudor be deaded or mortified in him, we call this Power and Strength.* Arrian. l. 1. c. 5.

Now as this was sometimes the Case of the Academicks, so is it also commonly of the Atheists, that their Minds are Partly *Petrified* and *Benummed* into a kind of *Sottish* aud *Stupid Insensibility*, so that they are not able to discern things that are most Evident; and Partly *Depudorated* or become so void of Shame, as that though they do perceive, yet they will Obstinately and Impudently deny the plainest things that are, as this, that there is *any Idea* answering to the *word God*, besides the *Phantasm* of the *Sound*. And we do the rather insist upon this *Prodigious Monstrosity* of *Atheists* in this place, because we shall have occasion afterwards more than once to take notice of it again, in other Instances, as when they affirm, that *Local Motion* and *Cogitation*, are really one and the *self same thing*, and the like. And we conceive it to be unquestionably True, that it is many times nothing else, but either this *Shameless Impudence* or *Sottish Insensibility* in Atheists, that is admired by the Ignorant, for *Profoundness* of *Wit* and *Learning*, ἀλλὰ ταύτην δύναμιν ἐρῶ; μὴ γένοιτο· εἰ μὴ ἰσχὺν τὴν κιναίδων, καθ' ἣν πᾶν τὸ ἐπελθὸν ἐν μέσῳ κατέσθιε καὶ λέγεσι· *But shall I call this Power or Wit, and commend it upon*

that accompt? No more than I will commend the Impudence of the Cinædi, *who stick not publickly to Do and Say any thing.*

II. But whatever these *Atheists* deny in words, it is notwithstanding evident, that even themselves have an *Idea* or *Conception* in their Minds answering to the *Word, God*, when they deny his Existence, because otherwise they should deny the existence of *Nothing*. Nor can it be at all doubted, but that they have also the same *Idea of God* with *Theists*, they denying the Existence of no other thing than what these assert. And as in all other Controversies, when men dispute together, the one Affirming the other Denying, both Parties must needs have the same *Idea* in their Minds of what they dispute about, or otherwise their whole Disputation would be but a kind of *Babel*-Language and Confusion; so must it be likewise in this present Controversie, betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*. Neither indeed would there be any Controversie at all between them, did they not both by *God*, mean one and the same thing; nor would the *Atheists* be any longer *Atheists*, did they not deny the Existence of that very same Thing, which the Theists affirm, but of something else.

III. Wherefore we shall in the next place declare what this *Idea of God* is, or what is that thing whose Existence they that affirm are called *Theists*, and they who deny *Atheists*. In order whereunto, we must first lay down this *Lemma* or *Preparatory Proposition*, That as it is generally acknowledged, that all things did not exist from Eternity, such as they are, *Unmade*, but that somethings were *Made and Generated* or produced; so it is not possible that *All* things should be *Made* neither, but there must of necessity be something *Self-existent* from *Eternity*, and *Unmade*; because if there had been once Nothing, there could never have been any thing. The Reason of which is so evident and irresistible, that even the *Atheists* confess themselves conquered by it, and readily acknowledge it for an indubitable Truth, That there must be something ἀγένητον, *something which was never Made* or *Produced*, and which therefore is the *Cause* of those other things that are Made, something αὐτόφυες and αὐθυπόστατον, that was *Self-originated* and *Self-existing*, and which is as well ἀνώλεθρον and ἄφθαρτον, as ἀγένητον, *Incorruptible* and *Undestroyable*, as *Ingenerable*; whose *Existence* therefore must needs be *Necessary*, because if it were supposed to have happened by Chance to exist from Eternity, then it might as well happen again to Cease to Be. Wherefore all the Question now is, what is this ἀγένητον and ἀνώλεθρον, αὐτόφυες and αὐθυπόστατον, this *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, *Self-originated* and *Self-existent* Thing, which is the Cause of all other things that are Made.

IV. Now there are Two Grand Opinions Opposite to one another concerning it: For first, some contend that the only *Self-existent*, *Unmade* and *Incorruptible Thing*, and *First Principle* of all things, is *Senseless Matter*, that is, Matter either perfectly *Dead* and *Stupid*, or at least devoid of all *Animalish* and *Conscious Life*. But because this is really the Lowest and most *Imperfect* of all Beings,

Others

Others on the contrary judge it reasonable, that the *First Principle* and Original of all things, should be that which is *Most Perfect* (as *Aristotle* observes of *Pherecydes* and his Followers, τὸ γεννῆσαν πρῶτον ἄριστον τιθέναι, That *they made the First Cause and Principle of Generation to be the Best*) and then apprehending that to be endewed with *Conscious Life* and *Understanding*, is much a Greater *Perfection* than to be devoid of both, (as *Balbus* in *Cicero* declares upon this very occasion, *Nec dubium quin quod Animans sit, habeátque Mentem & Rationem & Sensum, id sit melius quàm id quod his careat*) they therefore conclude, That the only *Unmade* thing, which was the *Principle*, *Cause* and *Original* of all other things, was not *Senseless Matter*, but a *Perfect Conscious Understanding Nature*, or *Mind*. And these are they who are strictly and properly called *Theists*, who affirm that a Perfectly *Conscious Understanding Being*, or *Mind*, existing of it self from Eternity, was the Cause of all other things; and they on the contrary who derive all things from *Senseless Matter*, as the First Original, and deny that there is any *Conscious Understanding* Being *Self-existent* or *Unmade*, are those that are properly called *Atheists*. Wherefore the true and genuine *Idea* of *God* in general, is this, *A Perfect Conscious Understanding Being* (or Mind) *Existing of it self from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things.*

De Nat. Deo. L. 2.

V. But it is here observable, that those Atheists who deny a *God*, according to this True and Genuine *Notion* of him, which we have declared, do often *Abuse* the *Word*, calling *Senseless Matter* by that Name. Partly perhaps as indeavouring thereby, to decline that odious and ignominious name of *Atheists*, and partly as conceiving, that whatsoever is the *First Principle* of things, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, and the Cause of all other things besides it self, must therefore needs be the *Divinest Thing* of all. Wherefore by the word *God*, these mean nothing else, but that which is ἀγένητον, *Unmade* or *Self-existent*, and the ἀρχὴ or *First Principle* of things. Thus it was before observed, that *Anaximander* called *Infinite Matter*, devoid of all manner of Life, the τὸ θεῖον or *God*; and *Pliny*, the Corporeal World, endewed with nothing but a *Plastick Unknowing Nature*, *Numen*; as also others in *Aristotle*, upon the same account called the Inanimate Elements *Gods*, as *Supposed First Principles* of things, θεοὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, *for these are also Gods.* And indeed *Aristotle* himself seems to be guilty of this miscarriage of *Abusing* the *word God* after this manner, when speaking of *Love* and *Chaos*, as the two first Principles of things, he must, according to the Laws of Grammar, be understood to call them both *Gods*: τούτους μὲν οὖν πῶς χρὴ διανεῖμαι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ τίς πρῶτος, ἐξέστω μεταξὺ σκοπεῖν· *Concerning these two (Gods) how they ought to be ranked, and which of them is to be placed first, whether Love or Chaos, is afterwards to be resolved.* Which Passage of *Aristotle*'s seems to agree with that of *Epicharmus*, Ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὲν χάος πρῶτον γενέσθαι θεῶν, *But Chaos is said to have been made the first of the Gods*; unless we should rather understand him thus, *That Chaos was said, to have been made before the Gods.* And this *Abuse* of the Word *God*, is a thing which the learned *Origen* took notice of in his Book against *Celsus*, where he speaks of that Religious Care, which ought to be had a-

Metaph. lib. 12. cap. 4.

L. 1. p. 19. *Cant.* bout the use of Words: ὁ τοίνυν μεγαλοφυέστερον πᾶν ὀλίγην τῶν τοιούτων ἔννοιαν εἰληφὼς, δύλαβηθήσεται, ἄλλα ἄλλοις ἐφαρμόζειν ὀνόματα πρόσημα, μήποτε ὅμοιον πάθῃ τοῖς τὸ θεὸς ὄνομα ἐσφαλμένως φέρουσιν, ὅτι ὕλῃ ἄψυχον. *He therefore that hath but the least consideration of these things, will take a Religious care, that he give not improper names to things, lest he should fall into a like miscarriage with those, who attribute the name of God to Inanimate and Senseless matter.* Now according to this false and *spurious Notion* of the *word God*, when it is taken for any *Supposed First Principle*, or Self-existent Unmade Thing, whatsoever that be, there neither is nor can be any such thing as an *Atheist*; since whosoever hath but the least dram of Reason, must needs acknowledge, that Something or other Existed *from Eternity Unmade*, and was the *Cause* of those other things that are *Made*. But that *Notion* or *Idea* of *God*, according to which some are *Atheists*, and some *Theists*, is in the strictest sence of it, what we have already declared, *A Perfect Mind, or Consciously Understanding Nature, Self-existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things.* The *genuine Theists* being those who make the First Original of all things Universally, to be a *Consciously Understanding Nature* (or *Perfect Mind*) but the *Atheists* properly such, as derive all things from *Matter*, either perfectly Dead and Stupid, or else devoid of all *Conscious* and *Animalish Life*.

VI. But that we may more fully and punctually declare the true *Idea of God*, we must here take notice of a certain Opinion of some Philosophers, who went as it were in a middle betwixt both the Former, and neither made *Matter* alone, nor *God*, the Sole Principle of all things; but joyned them both together and held *Two First Principles* or *Self-existent Unmade Beings*, independent upon one another, *God*, and the *Matter*. Amongst whom the *Stoicks* are to be reckoned, who notwithstanding because they held, that there was no other Substance besides Body, strangely confounded themselves, being by that means necessitated, to make their *Two* First Principles, the *Active* and the *Passive*, to be both of them really but *One and the self-same Substance*: their Doctrine to this purpose being thus declared by *Cicero*; *Naturam dividebant in Res Duas, ut Altera esset Efficiens, Altera autem quasi huic se præbens, ex qua Efficeretur aliquid. In eo quod Efficeret, Vim esse censebant; in eo quod Efficeretur, Materiam quandam; in Utroque tamen Utrumque. Neque enim Materiam ipsam ohærere potuisse si nullâ Vi contineretur, neque Vim sine aliqua Materia; Nihil est enim quod non Alicubi esse cogatur. The Stoicks divided Nature into Two Things as the First Principles, One whereof is the Efficient, or Artificer, the Other that which offers it self to him for things to be made out of it. In the Efficienti Principle they took notice of Active Force, in the Patient of Matter; but so as that in each of these were both together: forasmuch as neither the Matter could cohere together unless it were contained by some Active Force, nor the Active Force subsist of it self without Matter, because that is Nothing which is not somewhere.* But besides these Stoicks, there were other Philosophers, who admitting of Incorporeal Substance, did suppose Two First Principles, as Substances really distinct from one another that were Coexistent from Eternity, an *Incorporeal Deity* and *Matter*; as

as for Example *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, *Atticus*, and many more; insomuch that *Pythagoras* himself was reckoned amongst those by *Numenius*, and *Plato* by *Plutarch* and *Laertius*. See *Euseb. Præp. Ev. Li. 7. c. 7.*

And we find it commonly taken for granted, that *Aristotle* also was of this Persuasion, though it cannot be certainly concluded from thence (as some seem to suppose) because he asserted the Eternity of the World: *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus* and *Simplicius*, doing the like, and yet notwithstanding maintaining, that God was the Sole Principle of all things, and that Matter also was derived from him. Neither will that Passage of *Aristotle*'s in his Metaphysicks, necessarily evince the Contrary, Θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι ἢ ἀρχή τις, *God seems to be a Cause to all things and a certain Principle*, because this might be understood only of the Forms of things. L. 1. c. 1.

But it is plain that *Plutarch* was a Maintainer of this Doctrine, from his Discourse upon the Platonick *Psychogonia*, (besides other Places) βέλτιον ἔν πλάτωνι πεῖθομένους, τὸ μὲν κόσμον ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγονέναι λέγειν ἢ ἄϊδιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστος τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος τῶν αἰτίων· τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν ἢ ὕλην ἐξ ἧς γέγονεν, οὐ γενομένην, ἀλλὰ ὑποκειμένην ἀεὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ, εἰς διάθεσιν ἢ τάξιν αὐτῆς, ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξομοίωσιν, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν παραδοῦναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἡ γένεσις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ καλῶς, μηδ' ἱκανῶς ἔχοντος, ὡς οἰκίας, ἢ ἱματίου, ἢ ἀνδριάντος. *It is therefore better for us to follow* Plato (than *Heraclitus*) *and loudly to declare, that the World was made by God. For as the world is the Best of all Works, so is God the Best of all Causes. Nevertheless the Substance or Matter out of which the World was made, was not it self made; but always ready at hand, and subject to the Artificer, to be ordered and disposed by him. For the making of the World, was not the Production of it out of Nothing, but out of an antecedent Bad and Disorderly State, like the Making of an House, Garment or Statue.*

It is also well known, that *Hermogenes* and other ancient Pretenders to Christianity, did in like manner assert the *Self-existence* and *Improduction* of the *Matter*, for which Cause they were commonly called *Materiarii*, or the *Materiarian Hereticks*; they pretending by this means to give an account (as the Stoicks had done before them) of the Original of *Evils*, and to free God from the Imputation of them. Their Ratiocination to which purpose, is thus set down by *Tertullian*. *God made all things, either out of Himself, or out of Nothing, or out of Matter. He could not make all things out of Himself, because himself being always Unmade, he should then really have been the Maker of Nothing. And he did not make all out of Nothing, because being Essentially good, he would have made* Nihil non optimum, *every thing in the Best manner, and so there could have been no Evil in the World. But since there are Evils, and these could not procede from the Will of God, they must needs arise from the Fault of something, and therefore of the Matter, out of which things were made.* Lastly, it is sufficiently known likewise, that some Modern Sects of the Christian Profession, at this day, do also assert the *Uncreatedness* of the Matter. But *Adver. Hermog. p. 282. Reg.*

these

theſe ſuppoſe, in like manner as the Stoicks did, Body to be the Onely Subſtance.

VII. Now of all theſe whoſoever they were who thus maintained *Two Self-exiſtent Principles*, *God* and the *Matter*, we may pronounce Univerſally, that they were neither Better nor Worſe, than a kind of *Imperfect Theiſts*.

They had a certain *Notion* or *Idea* of *God*, ſuch as it was, which ſeems to be the very ſame, with that expreſſed in *Ariſtotle*, ζῶον ἄριστον ἀΐδιον, *An Animal the Beſt Eternal*, and repreſented alſo by *Epicurus* in this manner, ζῶον πᾶσαν ἔχον μακαριότητα μετ' ἀφθαρσίας· *An Animal that hath all Happineſs with Incorruptibility*.

Wherein it was acknowledged by them, that beſides *Senſleſs Matter*, there was alſo an *Animaliſh* and *Conſcious or Perceptive Nature*, Self-exiſtent from Eternity; in oppoſition to *Atheiſts*, who made *Matter*, either devoid of all manner of Life, or at leaſt of ſuch as is *Animaliſh* and *Conſcious*, to be the *Sole Principle* of All things. For it hath been often obſerved, that ſome *Atheiſts* attributed, a kind of *Plaſtick Life* or *Nature*, to that *Matter*, which they made to be the *Only Principle* of the Univerſe. And theſe Two ſorts of Atheiſms were long ſince taken notice of by *Seneca* in theſe words; *Univerſum in quo nos quoque ſumus, expers eſſe Conſilii, & aut ferri Temeritate quadam aut Naturâ Neſciente quid faciat. The Atheiſts make the Univerſe, whereof our ſelves are part, to be devoid of Counſel, and therefore either to be carried on Temerariouſly and Fortuitouſly; or elſe by ſuch a Nature, as which (though it be Orderly, Regular and Methodical) yet is notwithſtanding Neſcient of what it doth.* But no *Atheiſt* ever acknowledged *Conſcious Animality*, to be a *Firſt Principle* in the Univerſe; nor that the Whole was governed by any *Animaliſh*, *Sentient*, and *Underſtanding Nature*, preſiding over it as the Head of it; but as it was before declared, they Concluded all *Animals* and *Animality*, all *Conſcious*, *Sentient* and *Self-perceptive Life*, to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, or *Educed out of Nothing*, and *Reduced to Nothing* again. Wherefore they who on the Contrary aſſerted *Animality* and *Conſcious Life*, to be a *Firſt Principle* or *Unmade thing* in the Univerſe are to be accounted Theiſts. Thus *Balbus* in *Cicero* declares, that to be a Theiſt, is to aſſert, *Ab Animantibus Principiis Mundum, eſſe Generatum, That the World was Generated or Produced at firſt from Animant Principles*, and that it is alſo ſtill governed by ſuch a Nature, *Res omnes ſubjectas eſſe Naturæ Sentienti, That all things are ſubject to a Sentient and Conſcious Nature, ſteering and guiding of them.*

Nat. Qu. Præf. L. 1.

But to diſtinguiſh this *Divine Animal*, from all others, theſe Definers added, that it was ἄριστον and μακαριώτατον, *the Beſt* and *moſt Happy Animal*; and accordingly, this Difference is added to that *Generical* Nature of *Animality*, by *Balbus* the Stoick, to make up the *Idea* or Definition of God complete: *Talem eſſe Deum certâ Notione animi præſentimus; Primùm, ut ſit Animans; Deinde, ut in omni Natura nihil*

Cicero de Nat. D. l. 2.

nihil Illo sit Præstantius: We presage concerning God, by a certain Notion of our Mind; First, that he is an Animans, or Consciously Living Being; and then Secondly, that he is such an Animans, as that there is nothing in the Whole Universe, or Nature of things, more Excellent than Him.

Wherefore these *Materiarian Theists* acknowledged God to be a *Perfectly-understanding* Being, and Such as had also Power over the Whole Matter of the Universe; which was utterly unable to move it self, or to produce any thing without him. And all of them except the Anaxagoreans concluded, that He was the *Creator* of all the *Forms* of Inanimate Bodies, and of the Souls of Animals. However, it was Universally agreed upon amongst them, that he was at least The *Orderer* and *Disposer* of all, and that therefore he might upon that account well be called, the δημιουργὸς, *The Maker or Framer of the World.*

Notwithstanding which, so long as they Maintained *Matter* to exist Independently upon *God*, and sometimes also to be *Refractory* and *Contumacious* to him, and by that means to be the Cause of *Evil*, contrary to the *Divine Will*; it is plain that they could not acknowledge the *Divine Omnipotence*, according to the Full and Proper sence of it. Which may also further appear from these Queries of *Seneca* concerning God. *Quantum Deus possit? Materiam ipse sibi Formet, an Datâ utatur? Deus quicquid Vult efficiat? An in multis rebus illum Tractanda destituant, & à Magno Artifice Pravè formentur multa, non quia cessat Ars, sed quia id in quo exercetur, sæpe Inobsequens Arti est? How far Gods Power does extend? Whether he make his own Matter, or only use that which is offered him? Whether he can do whatsoever he will? Or the Materials in many things Frustrate and Disappoint him, and by that means things come to be Ill-framed by this great Artificer, not because his Art fails him, but because that which it is exercised upon, proves Stubborn and Contumacious?* Wherefore, I think, we may well conclude, that those *Materiarian Theists*, had not a Right and Genuine *Idea* of God.

Nevertheless, it does not therefore follow, that they must needs be concluded *Absolute Atheists*; for there may be a *Latitude* allowed in *Theism*; and though in a strict and proper sence, they be only Theists, who acknowledge *One God* perfectly *Omnipotent*, the Sole Original of of all things, and as well the *Cause* of *Matter*, as of any thing else; yet it seems reasonable, that such Consideration should be had of the Infirmity of Humane Understandings, as to extend the Word further, that it may comprehend within it, those also who assert One Intellectual Principle Self-existent from Eternity, the *Framer* and *Governor* of the whole World, though not the *Creator* of the *Matter*; and that none should be condemned for *Absolute Atheists*, merely because they hold *Eternal Uncreated Matter*, unless they also deny, an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, ruling over the Matter, and so make *Senseless Matter* the Sole Original of all things. And this is certainly most agreeable to common apprehensions; for *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, would never

never have been condemned for Atheists, merely for asserting Eternal *Self-existent* Atoms, no more than *Anaxàgoras* and *Archelaus* were, (who maintained the same thing) had they not also denied, that other Principle of theirs, *a Perfect Mind*, and concluded that the World was made, μηδενὸς διατάξοντος ἢ διαταξαμένου τῷ πᾶσαν ἔχοντος μακαριότητα μετ' ἀφθαρσίας, *Without the ordering and disposal of any Understanding Being, that had all Happiness with Incorruptibility.*

VIII. The True and Proper *Idea* of God, in its Most Contracted Form is this, *A Being Absolutely Perfect.* For this is that alone, to which *Necessary Existence* is Essential, and of which it is Demonstrable. Now as *Absolute Perfection* includes in it all that belongs to the Deity, so does it not only comprehend (besides *Necessary Existence*) *Perfect Knowledge* or Understanding, but also *Omni-causality* and *Omnipotence* (in the full extent of it) otherwise called *Infinite Power.* God is not only ζῶον ἄριστον, *and Animans quo nihil in omni Natura præstantius*, as the *Materiarian Theists* describ'd him, *The Best Living Being*; nor as *Zeno Eleates* called him, κράτιστον πάντων, *the Most Powerful of all things*; but he is also παντοκράτης, and παντοκράτωρ, and παντεξούσιος, *Absolutely Omnipotent*, and *Infinitely Powerful:* and therefore neither *Matter*, nor any thing else can exist of it self Independently upon *God*; but he is the *Sole Principle* and Source, from which all things are derived.

But because this *Infinite Power*, is a thing, which the Atheists quarrel much withal, as if it were altogether *Unintelligible* and therefore *Impossible*, we shall here briefly declare the Sence of it, and render it (as we think) easily Intelligible or Conceivable, in these Two following steps. First, that by *Infinite Power* is meant nothing else, but *Perfect Power*, or else as *Simplicius* calls it, ὅλη δύναμις, *a Whole* and *Entire Power*, such as hath no Allay and Mixture of Impotency, nor any Defect of Power mingled with it. And then again, that this *Perfect Power* (which is also the same with *Infinite*) is really nothing else, but a *Power* of *Producing* and *Doing*, all whatsoever is *Conceivable*, and which does not imply a *Contradiction*; for *Conception* is the Only *Measure of Power* and its *Extent*; as shall be shewed more fully in due place.

Now here we think fit to observe, that the Pagan Theists did themselves also, vulgarly acknowledge *Omnipotence* as an *Attribute* of the *Deity*; which might be proved from sundry Passages of their Writings.

Homer. Od. δ'.

——— θεὸς ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλῳ
Ζεὺς ἀγαθὸν τε κακόν τε διδοῖ, δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα.

——— *Deus aliud post aliud*
Jupiter, Bonúmque Malúmque dat, Potest enim Omnia.

And

And again, *Od.* ξ'.

——θεὸς τὸ μὲν ὄφρ' τὸ δ' ἐάσῃ;
Ὅππη κεν ᾧ θυμῷ ἐθέλῃ, δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα.

——*Deus autem hoc dabit, illud omittet,*
Quodcunque ei libitum fuerit, Potest enim Omnia.

To this Purpose also before *Homer*, *Linus*,

Ῥάδια πάντα θεῷ τελέσαι, ἢ ἀνήνυτον ἀδὲν·

And after him, *Callimachus*,

Δαίμονι ξῆξαι πᾶν δυνατόν·

All things are possible for God to do, and nothing transcends his Power.

Thus also amongst the Latin Poets, *Virgil Æn.* the First,

Sed Pater Omnipotens, *Speluncis abdidit Atris.*

Again *Æn.* the Second,

At Pater Anchises, oculos ad sydera lætus
Extulit, & Cœlo palmas cum Voce tetendit;
Jupiter Omnipotens, *precibus si flecteris ullis:*

And *Æn.* the Fourth,

Talibus orantem dictis, aràsque tenentem
Audiit Omnipotens.

Ovid in like manner, *Metamorph.* 1.

Tum Pater Omnipotens, *misso perfregit Olympum*
Fulmine, & excussit subjectum Pelion Ossæ.

And to cite no more, *Agatho* an ancient Greek Poet, is commended by *Aristotle*, for affirming, nothing to be exempted from the Power of God, but only this, that he cannot make That not to have been, which hath been; that is, do what implies a Contradiction.

Μόνα γὰρ αὐτὸν, ἢ θεὸς στερίσκεται,
Ἀγένητα ποιεῖν, ἅσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα. *Eth. Nic. L. 6. c. 2.*

Hoc namque duntaxat, negatum etiam Deo est,
Quæ facta sunt, Infecta posse reddere.

Lastly, that the *Atheists* themselves under Paganism look'd upon *Omnipotence*,

tence, and *Infinite Power*, as an Essential Attribute of the Deity, appears plainly from *Lucretius*, when he tells us, that *Epicurus*, in order to the Taking away of *Religion*, set himself to Confute *Infinite Power*.

Lib. 1. ——— *Omne Immensum peragravit Mente Animóque,*
Unde refert nobis Victor, quid possit Oriri,
Quid nequeat: Finita Potestas *denique quoique*
Quanam sit ratione, atque altè Terminus hærens.
Quare Relligio *pedibus subjecta vicissim*
Obteritur, nos exæquat Victoria Cœlo.

As if he should have said, *Epicurus* by shewing that all *Power* was *Finite*, effectually destroyed *Religion*; he thereby taking away the Object of it, which is an *Omnipotent* and *Infinitely Powerful Deity*. And this is a thing which the same Poet often harps upon again, that there is No *Infinite Power*, and Consequently no *Deity*, according to the true *Idea* of it. But last of all, in his Sixth Book, he condemns Religionists, as guilty of great folly, in asserting *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power* (that is, a Deity) after this manner.

Rursus in antiquas referuntur Relligiones,
Et Dominos acres asciscunt, Omnia Posse,
Quos miseri credunt, ignari quid queat esse,
Quid nequeat, Finita Potestas *denique quoique,*
Quanam sit ratione, atque altè Terminus hærens:
Quo magis errantes totâ regione feruntur.

Where though the Poet, speaking carelessly, after the manner of those times, seem to attribute *Omnipotence* and *Infinite Power* to *Gods Plurally*, yet as it is evident in the thing it self, that this can only be the Attribute of *One Supreme* Deity; so it may be observed, that in those Passages of the Poets before cited, it is accordingly always ascribed to *God Singularly*. Nevertheless all the Inferiour Pagan Deities, were supposed by them to have their certain shares of this *Divine Omnipotence*, severally dispensed and imparted to them.

IX. But we have not yet dispatched all that belongs to the Entire *Idea* of God. For *Knowledge* aud *Power* alone, will not make a *God*. For *God* is generally conceived by all to be a *Most Venerable* and *Most Desirable* Being: whereas an *Omniscient* and *Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity*, that hath nothing either of *Benignity* or *Morality* in its Nature to *Measure* and *Regulate* its *Will*, as it could not be truly *August* and *Venerable*, according to that Maxime, *sine Bonitate nulla Majestas*; so neither could it be *Desirable*, it being that which could only be *Feared* and *Dreaded*, but not have any *Firm Faith* or *Confidence* placed in it. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Aristides*, τὸ θεῖον τρισὶ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρσίᾳ, καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ἀρετῇ· ὧν σεμνότατον ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ θειότατόν ἐστι· ἀφθάρτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τῷ πανὶ, καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις συμβέβηκε· δύναμιν δὲ σώματοι καὶ πέραννοι, καὶ πνεύματων ὁρμαὶ καὶ ῥεύματων ἐπιφοραὶ μεγάλων ἔχουσι, &c. *God seems to excel in these Three things, Incorruptibility, Power and*

and Virtue, of all which the Moſt Divine and Venerable is Vertue, for Vacuum *and the Senſleſs Elements have Incorruptibility, Earthquakes, and Thunders, Bluſtering Winds and Overflowing Torrents, Much of Power and Force. Wherefore the Vulgar being affected three manner of ways towards the Deity, ſo as to admire its Happineſs, to Fear it, and to Honour it; they eſteem the Deity Happy for its Incorruptibility, they Fear it and ſtand in awe of it for its Power, but they Worſhip it, that is Love and Honour it, for its Juſtice.* And indeed an *Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity*, may ſeem to be in ſome ſence, a *Worſe* and more *Undeſtreable* Thing, than the *Manichean Evil God*; foraſmuch as the Latter could be but *Finitely Evil*, whereas the Former might be ſo *Infinitely*. However (I think) it can be little doubted, but that the whole *Manichean Hypotheſis*, taken all together, is to be preferred, before this of *One Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity* (devoid of Goodneſs and Morality) ruling all things; becauſe there the *Evil Principle* is Yoaked with another Principle *Eſſentially Good*, checking and controlling it. And it alſo ſeems leſs Diſhonourable to God, to impute *Defect of Power* than of *Goodneſs and Juſtice* to him.

Neither can *Power* and *Knowledge* alone, make a Being in it ſelf completely *Happy*; for we have all of us by Nature μαντεύμά τι (as both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* call it) a certain *Divination*, *Preſage*, and *Parturient Vaticination* in our minds, of ſome Higher *Good* and *Perfection*, than either *Power* or *Knowledge*. *Knowledge* is plainly to be preferred before *Power*, as being that which guides and directs its blind Force and Impetus; but *Ariſtotle* himſelf declares, that there is λόγος τι κρεῖττον, which is λόγος ἀρχή, *Something better than Reaſon and Knowledge, which is the Principle and Original of it.* For (ſaith he) λόγος ἀρχὴ ὁ λόγου, ἀλλά τι κρεῖττον· *The Principle of Reaſon is not Reaſon, but Something Better.* Where he alſo intimates this to be the Proper and Eſſential Character of the Deity; τί ἂν εἴη κρεῖττον ἢ ἐπιστήμης, πλὴν ὁ θεὸς; *For what is there, that can be better than Knowledge, but God?* Likewiſe the ſame Philoſopher elſewhere plainly determines, that there is *Morality* in the *Nature of God*, and that his Happineſs conſiſteth principally therein, and not in External things, and the Exerciſe of his Power, ὅτι μὴν ἔν ἑκάστῳ τῆ εὐδαιμονίας ὑπερβάλλει τοσοῦτον, ὅσονπερ ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τῶν κατὰ ταύτας, ἔστω συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν, μάρτυρι τῷ Θεῷ χρωμένοις, ὃς εὐδαίμων μὲν ἐστι καὶ μακάριος, δι' ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ ἐξαιρετικῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸν αὐτὸς, καὶ τῷ ποιός τις εἶναι τὴν φύσιν. *That every man hath ſo much of Happineſs, as he hath of Vertue and Wiſdom, and of Acting according to theſe, ought to be confeſſed and acknowledged by us, it being a thing that may be proved from the Nature of God, who is Happy, but not from any external Goods, but becauſe he is himſelf (or that which he is) and in ſuch a manner affected according to his Nature*, that is, becauſe he is Eſſentially Moral and Vertuous. *Eth Eudem. l.7.c.14.* *De Rep. l.7..c.1.*

Which Doctrine of *Ariſtotle*'s, ſeems to have been borrowed from *Plato*. who in his Dialogues *De Republica*, diſcourſing about Moral Vertue, occaſionally falls upon this Diſpute concerning the *Sum-*

mum Bonum or Chiefeſt Good; wherein he concludes, that it neither conſiſted in *Pleaſure* as ſuch, aceording to the Opinion of the Vulgar, nor yet in Mere *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, according to the Conceit of others, who were more Polite and Ingenious.

Lib. 6. οἶδα ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἡδονὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν, τοῖς δὲ κομψοτέροις φρόνησις· ἢ ὅτιδε οἱ τοῦτο ἡγούμενοι ἐπ ἔχουσι λέξαι ἥτις φρόνησις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζονται τελευτῶντες τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φάναι, μάλα γελοίως, ἐνδείκνυνται γὰρ ὅτι ἐπ ἴσμεν τὸ ἀγαθὸν, λέγουσι πάλιν ἃς εἰδέναι. *You know that to the Vulgar, Pleaſure ſeems to be the Higheſt Good, but to thoſe who are more Elegant and Ingenuous, Knowledge: But they who entertain this Latter Opinion, can none of them declare what kind of Knowledge it is, which is that Higheſt and Chiefeſt Good, but are neceſſitated at laſt to ſay, that it is The Knowledge of Good, very ridiculouſly: Foraſmuch as herein they do but run round in a Circle, and upbraiding us for being ignorant of this Higheſt Good, they talk to us at the ſame time, as knowing what it is.* And thereupon he adds Καλῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων, γνώσεώς τε καὶ ἀληθείας, ἄλλο καὶ κάλλιον ἔτι τοῦτο ἡγήσῃ αὐτό, ὀρθῶς ἡγήσῃ. Ἐπιστήμην δὲ καὶ Ἀλήθειαν, ὥσπερ φῶς τε καὶ ὄψιν ἡλιοειδῆ μὲν νομίζειν ὀρθὸν, ἥλιον δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπ ὀρθῶς, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγαθοειδῆ μὲν νομίζειν ἀμφότερα ὀρθὸν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁπότερον αὐτῶν ἐπ ὀρθὸν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μείζονος τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἕξιν τιμητέον. *That though Knowledge and Truth be both of them Excellent things, yet he that ſhall conclude the Chief Good to be ſomething which tranſcends them both, will not be miſtaken. For as Light, and Sight or the Seeing Faculty, may both of them rightly be ſaid to be Soliform things, or of Kin to the Sun, but neither of them to be the Sun it ſelf; ſo Knowledge and Truth, may likewiſe both of them be ſaid to be Boniform things, and of Kin to the Chief Good, but neither of them to be that Chief Good it ſelf; but this is ſtill to be look'd upon as a thing more Auguſt and Honourable.* In all which of *Plato*'s, there ſeems to be little more, than what may be experimentally found within our ſelves; namely, that there is a certain *Life*, or *Vital* and *Moral Diſpoſition* of Soul, which is much more Inwardly and thoroughly *Satisfactory*, not only than Senſual *Pleaſure*, but alſo than all *Knowledge* and *Speculation* whatſoever.

Now whatever this Chiefeſt Good be, whieh is a Perfection Superiour to Knowledge and Underſtanding; that Philoſopher reſolves that it muſt needs be Firſt and Principally in God, who is therefore called by him, Ἰδέα τ' ἀγαθοῦ, *The very Idea or Eſſence of Good.* Wherein he trode in the Footſteps of the Pythagoreans, and particularly of *Timæus Locrus*, who making Two Principles of the Univerſe, *Mind* and *Neceſſity*, adds concerning the Former, Τουτέων τὰν μὲν τᾶς τ' ἀγαθᾶς φύσιος εἶμεν, θεόντε ὀνυμαίνεσθαι ἀρχόντε τᾶν ἀρίστων· *The Firſt of theſe Two, is of the Nature of Good, and it is called God, the Principle of the Beſt things.* Agreeably with which Doctrine of theirs, the Hebrew Cabaliſts alſo make a *Sephirah* in the Deity, Superiour both to *Binah* and *Chochmah* (*Underſtanding* and *Wiſdom*) which they call *Chether* or the *Crown.* And ſome would ſuſpect this Cabaliſtick Learning to have been very ancient among the Jews, and that *Parmenides* was imbued with it, he calling God in like manner στέφανον or *the Crown.* For which *Velleius* in *Cicero*, (repreſenting

ſenting the ſeveral Opinions of Philoſophers concerning God) perſtringes him amongſt the reſt, *Parmenides Commentitium quiddam, Coronæ ſimilitudine efficit, Stephanem appellat, continentem ardore lucis orbem, qui cingit Cœlum, quem appellat Deum.*

But all this while we ſeem to be to ſeek, What the Chief and Higheſt Good Superiour to Knowledge is, in which the Eſſence of the Deity principally conſiſts, and it cannot be denied, but that *Plato* ſometimes talks too Metaphyſically and Clowdily about it; for which cauſe, as he lay open to the Laſh of *Ariſtotle*, ſo was he alſo Vulgarly perſtringed for it, as appears by that of *Amphys* the Poet in *Laertius.*

Τὸ δ' ἀγαθὸν ὅ, τι ποτ' ἔξιν, ὃ σὺ τυγχάνειν
Μέλλῃς διὰ ταύτην, ἥττον οἶδα τοῦτ' ἐγώ,
Ἢ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος Ἀγαθόν.

What Good that is, which you expect from hence, I confeſs, I leſs underſtand, than I do Plato's *Good.* Nevertheleſs he plainly intimates theſe two Things concerning it. Firſt, that this Nature of Good which is alſo the Nature of God, includes *Benignity* in it, when he gives this accompt of Gods both Making the World and after ſuch a Manner; *Becauſe he was Good, and that which is Good hath no Envy in it, and therefore he both made the World, and alſo made it as well, and as like to himſelf as was poſſible.* And Secondly, that it comprehends Eminently all *Vertue and Juſtice*, the *Divine Nature* being the *Firſt Pattern* hereof; for which cauſe *Vertue* is defined to be, An *Aſſimilation to the Deity. Juſtice* and *Honeſty* are no *Factitious* things, Made by the Will and Command of the more Powerful to the Weaker, but they are *Nature* and *Perfection*, and deſcend downward to us from the Deity.

But the Holy Scripture without any Metaphyſical Pomp and Obſcurity, tells us plainly, Both what is that Higheſt Perfection of Intellectual Beings, which is κρεῖττον λόγου καὶ ἐπιστήμης, *Better than Reaſon and Knowledge*, and which is alſo the Source, Life and Soul of all Morality, namely that it is *Love* or *Charity. Though I ſpeak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, and have not Love, I am but* χαλκὸς ἠχῶν, ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον, *as Sounding Braſs or a Tinkling Cymbal*, which only makes a Noiſe without any Inward Life. *And though I have Prophecy, and underſtand all Myſteries and all Knowledge, and though I have all Faith, ſo that I could remove Mountains, and have not Love, I am Nothing*, that is, I have no Inward Satisfaction, Peace or True Happineſs. *And though I beſtow all my Goods to feed the Poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing*; I am for all that utterly deſtitute of all True Morality, Vertue and Grace. And accordingly it tells us alſo in the next place, what the Nature of God is, that he is properly, neither *Power* nor *Knowledge* (though having the Perfection of both in him) but *Love.* And certainly whatever *Dark Thoughts* concerning the Deity, ſome Men in their Cells may ſit brooding on, it can never reaſonably be conceived, that that which is ἱκανώτατον ἁπάντων καὶ αὐταρκέστατον, *the*

Most Self-sufficient and Self-happy Being, should have any *Narrow* and *Selfish* Designs abroad, without it self, much less harbour any *Malignant* and *Despightful* ones, towards its Creatures. Nevertheless because so many are apt to abuse the Notion of the Divine *Love* and *Goodness*, and to frame such Conceptions of it, as destroy that *Awful* and *Reverential Fear* that ought to be had of the Deity, and make Men *Presumptuous* and *Regardless* of their Lives, therefore we think fit here to superadd also, that God is no *Soft* nor *Fond* and *Partial Love*, but that *Justice* is an Essential Branch of this *Divine Goodness*; God being, as the Writer *De Mundo* well Expresses it, νόμος ἰσονομώτατος, *An Impartial Law*, and as *Plato*, μέτρον πάντων, *the Measure of all things*. In Imitation whereof, *Aristotle* concludes also, that a Good Man (in a Lower and more Imperfect sence) is μέτρον too, *an Impartial Measure of Things and Actions*.

It is evident that the Atheists themselves in those former times of Paganism, took it for Granted, that *Goodness* was an Essential Attribute of the Deity whose Existence they opposed (so that it was then generally acknowledged for such, by the Pagan Theists) from those Argumentations of theirs before mentioned, the 12th. and 13th. taken from the *Topick of Evils*, the Pretended *Ill Frame* of things, and *Want of Providence* over Humane Affairs. Which if they were true, would not at all disprove such an Arbitrary Deity (as is now phancied by some) made up of Nothing but *Will* and *Power*, without any Essential *Goodness* and *Justice*. But those Arguments of the Atheists are directly Level'd against the Deity, according to the True Notion or *Idea* of it; and could they be made Good, would do execution upon the same. For it cannot be denied, but that the Natural Consequence of this Doctrine, That there is a *God Essentially Good*, is this, that therefore the World is *Well Made* and *Governed*. But we shall afterwards declare, that though there be Evil in the *Parts* of the World, yet there is none in the *Whole*; and that *Moral Evils* are not Imputable to the Deity.

And now we have proposed the *Three Principal Attributes* of the Deity. The First whereof is *Infinite goodness with Fecundity*, the Second *Infinite Knowledge and Wisdom*, and the Last *Infinite Active* and *Perceptive Power*. From which Three Divine Attributes, the Pythagoreans and Platonists, seem to have framed their *Trinity* of *Archical Hypostases*, such as have the Nature of Principles in the Universe, and which though they apprehended as several Distinct Substances, gradually subordinate to one another, yet they many times extend the τὸ θεῖον so far, as to comprehend them all within it. Which *Pythagorick Trinity* seems to be intimated by *Aristotle* in those words,

De Cœl. l. 1. c. 1. καθάπερ γάρ φασι καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶ διώρισται· *As the Pythagoreans also say, the Universe and all things, are determin'd and contein'd by three Principles.* Of which Pythagorick Trinity more afterward. But now we may enlarge and fill up, that Compendious *Idea* of God premised, of *A Being Absolutely Perfect*, by adding thereunto (to make it more Particular) *such as is Infinitely Good, Wise, and Powerful, necessarily Existing, and not only the*

the Framer of the World, but alſo the Cauſe of all things. Which *Idea* of the Deity, is ſufficient, in order to our preſent Undertaking.

Nevertheleſs, if we would not only attend to what is barely neceſſary for a Diſpute with *Atheiſts*, but alſo conſider the Satisfaction of other Free and Devout Minds, that are hearty and ſincere Lovers of this Moſt Admirable and Moſt Glorious Being, we might venture for their Gratification, to propoſe yet a more Full, Free and Copious Deſcription of the Deity, after this manner. *God is a Being Abſolutely Perfect, Unmade or Self-originated, and Neceſſarily Exiſting, that hath an Infinite Fecundity in him, and Virtually Conteins all things; as alſo an Infinite Benignity or Overflowing Love, Uninvidiouſly diſplaying and communicating it ſelf; together with an Impartial Rectitude, or Nature of Juſtice: Who fully comprehends himſelf, and the Extent of his own Fecundity; and therefore all the Poſſibilities of things, their ſeveral Natures and Reſpects, and the Beſt Frame or Syſtem of the Whole: Who hath alſo Infinite Active and Perceptive Power: The Fountain of all things, who made all that Could be Made, and was Fit to be made, producing them according to his Own Nature (his Eſſential Goodneſs and Wiſdom) and therefore according to the Beſt Pattern, and in the Beſt manner Poſſible, for the Good of the Whole; and reconciling all the Variety and Contrariety of things in the Univerſe, into One moſt Admirable and Lovely Harmony. Laſtly, who Conteins, and Upholds all things, and governs them after the Beſt Manner alſo, and that without any Force or Violence; they being all Naturally ſubject to his Authority, and readily obeying his Laws.* And Now we ſee that God is ſuch a Being, as that if he could be ſuppoſed Not to Be, there is Nothing, whoſe Exiſtence, a Good Man could Poſſibly more Wiſh or Deſire.

X. From the *Idea of God* thus declared, it evidently appears, that there can be but *One* ſuch Being, and that Μόνωσις, *Unity, Onelineſs* or *Singularity* is Eſſential to it: foraſmuch as there cannot poſſibly be more than *One Supreme*, more than *One Omnipotent* or *Infinitely Powerful Being*, and more than *One Cauſe of all things* beſides it ſelf. And however *Epicurus*, endeavouring to pervert and Adulterate the *Notion of God*, pretended to ſatisfie that *Natural Prolepſis* or *Anticipation* in the Minds of Men, by a Feigned and Counterfeit aſſerting of a Multiplicity of Coordinate Deities, Independent upon One Supreme, and ſuch as were alſo altogether unconcerned either in the Frame or Government of the World, yet himſelf notwithſtanding plainly took notice of this *Idea of God* which we have propoſed, including *Unity* or *Onelyneſs* in it (he profeſſedly oppoſing the Exiſtence of ſuch a Deity) as may ſufficiently appear from that Argumentation of his, in the Words before cited.

Quis regere Immenſi ſummam, Quis habere Profundi
Indu manu validas potis eſt moderanter habenas?
Quis pariter cœlos omnes convertere, & omnes
Ignibus ætheriis terras ſuffire feraces?

Lib. 2. p. 158. Lamb.

Omnibus inq; locis eſſe omni tempore præſto?

Where he would conclude it to be a thing Utterly impoſſible, for the Deity to *Animadvert*, *Order* and *Diſpoſe* all things, and be *Preſent* every where in all the diſtant places of the World at once; which could not be Pretended of a Multitude of Coordinate Gods, ſharing the Government of the World amongſt them, and therefore it muſt needs be levell'd againſt a Divine Monarchy, or One Single, Solitary Supreme Deity, ruling over all. As in like manner, when he purſues the ſame Argument further in *Cicero*, to this purpoſe, that though ſuch a thing were ſuppoſed to be Poſſible, yet it would be notwithſtanding abſolutely Inconſiſtent with the Happineſs of any Being, he ſtill procedes upon the ſame *Hypotheſis* of one Sole and Single Deity: *Sive ipſe Mundus Deus eſt, quid poteſt eſſe minus quietum, quam nullo puncto temporis intermiſſo, verſari circum axem Cœli admirabili celeritate? Sive in ipſo Mundo Deus ineſt aliquis qui regat, qui gubernet, qui curſus aſtrorum, mutationes temporum, hominum commoda vitáſque tueatur; næ Ille eſt implicatus moleſtis negotiis & operoſis. Whether you will ſuppoſe the World it ſelf to be a God, what can be more unquiet, than without intermiſſion perpetually to whirle round upon the Axis of the Heaven, with ſuch admirable celerity? Or whether you will imagine a God in the World diſtinct from it, who does govern and diſpoſe all things, keep up the Courſes of the Stars, the Succeſſive Changes of the Seaſons, and Orderly Viciſſitudes of things, and contemplating Lands and Seas, conſerve the Utilities and Lives of men; certainly He muſt needs be involved in much ſolicitous trouble and Employment.* For as *Epicurus* here ſpeaks Singularly, ſo the Trouble of this Theocracy could not be thought ſo very great, to a Multitude of Coordinate Deities, when parcel'd out among them, but would rather ſeem to be but a ſportful and delightful Divertiſement to each of them. Wherefore it is manifeſt that ſuch *an Idea of God*, as we have declared, including *Unity*, *Onelineſs* and *Singularity* in it, is a thing, which the ancient *Atheiſts*, under the times of Paganiſm, were not unacquainted with, but principally directed their Force againſt. But this may ſeem to be *Anticipated* in this place, becauſe it will fall in afterwards more opportunely to be diſcourſed of again.

De Nat. D. l. 1.

XI. For this is that which lies as the *Grand Prejudice* and *Objection* againſt that *Idea of God*, which we have propoſed, Eſſentially including μόναρχον, *Singularity* or *Onelineſs* in it, or the Real Exiſtence of ſuch a Deity, as is the *Sole Monarch* of the Univerſe; Becauſe all the Nations of the World heretofore (except a ſmall and inconſiderable handful of the *Jews*) together with their Wiſeſt men and greateſt Philoſophers, were generally look'd upon as *Polytheiſts*, that is, ſuch as Acknowledged and Worſhipped a *Multiplicity of Gods*. Now *One God* and *Many Gods*, being directly Contradictious to one another, it is therefore concluded from hence, that this *Opinion of Monarchy* or of *One Supreme God*, the Maker and Governour of all, hath no Foundation in *Nature*, nor in the genuine *Idea's* and *Prolepſes* of mens minds, but is a mere *Artificial* thing, owing its Original wholly

wholly to *Private Phancies* and *Conceits*, or to *Positive Laws* and *Institutions*, amongst *Jews*, *Christians* and *Mahometans*.

For the assoilling of which Difficulty (seeming so formidable at first sight) it is necessary, that we should make a Diligent Enquiry into the True and Genuine sence of this *Pagan Polytheism*. For since it is impossible that any man in his Wits, should believe a *Multiplicity of Gods*, according to that *Idea of God* before declared, that is, a *Multiplicity* of *Supreme*, *Omnipotent*, or Infinitely *Powerful Beings*; it is certain that the *Pagan Polytheism*, and *Multiplicity of Gods*, must be understood according to some other *Notion* of the Word *Gods*, or some *Equivocation* in the use of it. It hath been already observed, that there were sometime amongst the Pagans, such, who meaning nothing else by *Gods*, but *Understanding Beings Superiour to men*, did suppose a Multitude of such Deities, which yet they conceived to be all (as well as Men) *Native* and *Mortal*, Generated successively out of Matter and Corrupted again into it, as *Democritus* his *Idols* were. But these *Theogonists*, who thus Generated all things whatsoever, and therefore the *Gods* themselves universally, out of *Night* and *Chaos*, the *Ocean* or *Fluid Matter*, (notwithstanding their Using the Name *Gods*) are plainly condemned both by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, for down-right *Atheists*, they making *Senseless Matter*, the *Only Self-existent thing*, and the Original of all things.

Wherefore there may be another *Notion* of the Word *Gods*, as taken for *Understanding Beings Superiour to Men*, that are not only *Immortal*, but also *Self-existent* and *Unmade*; and indeed the Assertors of a *Multiplicity* of such *Gods* as these, though they cannot be accounted *Theists* in a strict and proper sence (according to that *Idea of God* before declared) yet they are not vulgarly reputed *Atheists* neither, but look'd upon as a kind of Middle thing betwixt Both, and commonly called *Polytheists*. The reason whereof seems to be this, because it is generally apprehended to be Essential to *Atheism*, to make *Senseless Matter* the Sole Original of all things, and consequently to suppose all *Conscious Intellectual Beings* to be *Made* or *Generated*; wherefore they who on the contrary assert (not One but) Many Understanding *Beings Unmade and Self-existent*, must needs be look'd upon as those, who of the Two, approach nearer to *Theism* than to Atheism, and so deserve rather to be called *Polytheists*, than *Atheists*.

And there is no Question to be made, but that the Urgers of the forementioned Objection against that *Idea of God*, which includes *Onelineſs* and *Singularity* in it, from the *Pagan Polytheism*, or *Multiplicity of Gods*, take it for granted, that this is to be understood of *Many Unmade Self-existent Deities*, *Independent* upon one Supreme, that are so many *First Principles* in the Universe, and *Partial Causes* of the World. And certainly, if it could be made to appear, that the Pagan *Polytheists* did universally acknowledge such a *Multiplicity* of *Unmade Self-existent Deities*, then the Argument fetch'd from thence, against the *Naturality* of that *Idea of God* proposed

poſed (Eſſentially including *Singularity* in it) might ſeem to have no ſmall Force or Validity in it.

XII. But Firſt this Opinion of Many *Self-exiſtent Deities*, Independent upon One *Supreme*, is both Very *Irrational* in it ſelf, and alſo plainly *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena*. We ſay Firſt, it is *Irrational* in it ſelf, becauſe *Self-exiſtence*, and *Neceſſary Exiſtence* being Eſſential to a Perfect Being and to nothing elſe, it muſt needs be very *Irrational* and *Abſurd*, to ſuppoſe a *Multitude* of *Imperfect* Underſtanding Beings *Self-exiſtent*, and no *Perfect One*. Moreover, if Imperfect Underſtanding Beings were imagined to Exiſt of themſelves from Eternity, there could not poſſibly be any reaſon given, why juſt ſo many of them ſhould exiſt, and neither More nor Leſs, there being indeed no reaſon why any at all ſhould. But if it be ſuppoſed, that theſe Many Self-exiſtent Deities happened only to Exiſt thus from Eternity, and their Exiſtence notwithſtanding, was not *Neceſſary* but *Contingent*, the Conſequence hereof will be, that they might as well happen again to ceaſe to be, and ſo could not be Incorruptible. Again, if any *One Imperfect* Being whatſoever, could exiſt of it ſelf from Eternity, then all might as well do ſo, not only *Matter*, but alſo the *Souls* of Men and other Animals, and conſequently there could be No *Creation* by any Deity, nor thoſe ſupoſed Deities therefore deſerve that Name. Laſtly, we might alſo add, that there could not be a Multitude of Intellectual Beings Self-exiſtent, becauſe it is a thing which may be proved by Reaſon, that all Imperfect Underſtanding Beings or Minds, do partake of *One Perfect Mind*, and ſuppoſe alſo *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*; were it not, that this is a Conſideration too remote from Vulgar Apprehenſion, and therefore not ſo fit to be urged in this place.

Again, as this Opinion of *Many Self-exiſtent Deities*, is *Irrational* in it ſelf, ſo is it likewiſe plainly *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena* of the World. In which, as *Macrobius* writes, *Omnia ſunt connexa, all things conſpire together into One Harmony*, and are carried on Peaceably and Quietly, Conſtantly and Eavenly, without any Tumult or Hurly-burly, Confuſion or Diſorder, or the leaſt appearance of *Schiſm* and *Faction*; which could not poſſibly be ſuppoſed, were the World Made and Governed, by a Rabble of *Self-exiſtent Deities*, Coordinate, and Independent upon One Supreme. Wherefore this kind of Polytheiſm was *obiter* thus confuted by *Origen*; πόσῳ ἂν βέλτιον τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁρωμένων πειθόμενον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν τοῦ κόσμου σεβεῖν τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτοῦ ἑνὸς ὄντα ἕνα, καὶ συμπνέοντα αὐτοῦ ὅλῳ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ δυναμένου ὑπὸ πολλῶν δημιουργῶν γεγονέναι, ὡς ἀπ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ψυχῶν συνέχεσθαι ὅλον τὸν οὐρανὸν κινουσῶν; *How much better is it, agreably to what we ſee in the harmonious Syſtem of the World, to worſhip one only Maker of the World, which is one, and conſpiring throughout with its whole ſelf, and therefore could not be made by many Artificers, as neither be conteined by Many Souls, Moving the Whole Heaven?* Now ſince this Opinion is both *Irrational* in it ſelf and *Repugnant to the Phænomena*, there is the leſs Probability that it ſhould have been received and entertained by all the more Intelligent Pagans.

Contr. Celſ. l. 1. p. 18.

XIII. Who,

XIII. Who, that they did not thus Univerſally, look upon all their *Gods* as ſo many *Unmade Self-exiſtent Beings*, is unqueſtionably manifeſt from hence, becauſe ever ſince *Heſiod*'s and *Homer*'s time at leaſt, the Greekiſh Pagans generally acknowledged a *Theogonia*, *a Generation and Temporary Production of the Gods*; which yet is not to be underſtood Univerſally neither, foraſmuch as he is no Theiſt, who does not acknowledge ſome *Self-exiſtent Deity*. Concerning this *Theogonia*, *Herodotus* writeth after this manner: ὅθεν γὰρ ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε ἀεὶ ἦσαν πάντες οἱοί τέ τινες τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἠπίστατο μέχρι οὗ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μευ πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίαν Ἕλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες. *Whence every one of the Gods was Generated, or whether they all of them ever were, and what are their forms, is a thing that was not known till very lately; for* Heſiod *and* Homer, *were (as I ſuppoſe) not above four hundred years my Seniors. And theſe were they who introduced the Theogonia among the Greeks, and gave the Gods their ſeveral Names:* that is, ſettled the Pagan Theology. Now if before *Heſiod*'s and *Homer*'s time, it were a thing not known or determined amongſt the Greeks, whether their Gods were *Generated*, or all of them *Exiſted from Eternity*; then it was not Univerſally concluded by them, that they were all *Unmade* and *Self-exiſtent*. And though perhaps ſome might in thoſe ancient times believe one way, and ſome another, concerning the Generation and Eternity of their Gods, yet it does not follow, that they who thought them to be all *Eternal*, muſt therefore needs ſuppoſe them to be alſo *Unmade* or *Self-exiſtent*. For *Ariſtotle*, who aſſerted the *Eternity* of the World, and conſequently alſo, of thoſe Gods of his, the Heavenly Bodies, did not for all that, ſuppoſe them to be *Self-exiſtent* or *Firſt Principles*, but all to depend upon *One Principle* or *Original Deity*. And indeed the true meaning of that Queſtion in *Herodotus*, Whether the *Gods* were *Generated* or Exiſted all of them *from Eternity*, is (as we ſuppoſe) really no other than that of *Plato*'s, εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος ἢ ἀγένητός ἐστι· *Whether the World were Made or Unmade*; and whether it had a Temporary beginning, or exiſted ſuch as it is from Eternity; which will be more fully declared afterwards. But ever ſince *Heſiod*'s and *Homer*'s time, that the *Theogonia* or *Generation of the Gods*, was ſettled, and generally believed amongſt the Greeks, it is certain that they could not poſſibly think, all their Gods *Eternal*, and therefore much leſs, *Unmade* and *Self-exiſtent*.

Euter. p. 53.

But though we have thus clearly proved that all the Pagan Gods were not Univerſally accounted by them, ſo many *Unmade Self-exiſtent Deities*, they acknowledging a *Theogonia* or a *Generation* of Gods, yet it may be ſuſpected notwithſtanding, that they might ſuppoſe a *Multitude* of them alſo (and not only One) to have been *Unmade* from Eternity and *Self-exiſtent*. Wherefore we add in the next place, that no ſuch thing does at all appear neither, as that the Pagans or any others, did ever publickly or profeſſedly aſſert a *Multitude* of *Unmade Self-exiſtent Deities*. For Firſt, it is plain concerning the *Heſiodian Gods*, which were all the Gods of the Greekiſh Pagans

Pagans, that either there was but *One* of them only *Self-exiſtent*, or elſe None at all. Becauſe *Heſiods Gods* were either all of them derived from *Chaos* (or the *Floting Water*) *Love* it ſelf being Generated likewiſe out of it (according to that *Ariſtophanick Tradition* before mentioned) or elſe *Love* was ſuppoſed to be a diſtinct Principle from *Chaos*, namely the *Active Principle* of the Univerſe, from whence together with *Chaos*, all the *Theogonia* and *Coſmogonia* was derived. Now if the Former of theſe were true, that *Heſiod* ſuppoſed all his *Gods* Univerſally, to have been *Generated* and ſprung Originally from *Chaos* or the *Ocean*, then it is plain that notwithſtanding all that Rabble of Gods muſter'd up by him, he could be no other than One of thoſe *Atheiſtick Theogoniſts* beforementioned, and really acknowledged no God at all, according to the *True Idea* of him; he being not a Theiſt, who admits of no *Self-exiſtent Deity*. But if the Latter be true, that *Heſiod* ſuppoſed *Love* to be a Principle diſtinct from *Chaos*, namely the *Active Principle* of the Univerſe, and derived all his other Gods from thence, he was then a right *Paganick Theiſt*, ſuch as acknowledged indeed *Many Gods*, but only *One* of them *Unmade* and *Self-exiſtent*, all the reſt being Generated or Created by that One. Indeed it appears from thoſe Paſſages of *Ariſtotle* before cited by us, that that Philoſopher had been ſometimes divided in his Judgment concerning *Heſiod*, where he ſhould rank him, whether among the *Atheiſts* or the *Theiſts*. For in his Book *de Cœlo*, he ranks him amongſt thoſe, who made all things to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, beſides the *Bare Subſtance of the Matter*, that is amongſt the *Abſolute Atheiſts*, and look'd upon him as a Ringleader of them: but in his Metaphyſicks, upon further thoughts, ſuſpects that many of thoſe who made *Love* the Chiefeſt of the Gods, were *Theiſts*, they ſuppoſing it to be a *Firſt Principle* in the Univerſe, or the *Active Cauſe* of things, and that not only *Parmenides*, but alſo *Heſiod* was ſuch. Which Latter Opinion of his is by far the more probable, and therefore embraced by *Plutarch*, who ſomewhere determines *Heſiod* to have aſſerted One Θεὸν ἀγέννητον, or *Unmade Deity*, as alſo by the ancient Scholiaſt upon him, writ thus, that *Heſiods* Love was ὁ ἐφέστιος ἔρως, ὃς καὶ θεός· ὁ δὲ ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης νεώτερός ἐστιν· *The Heavenly Love, which is alſo God, that other Love that was born of* Venus, *being Junior*. But *Joannes Diaconus*; ἔρωτα δὲ ἐνταῦθα νοητέον, ὃς οὔπω τὴν Ἀφροδίτης παῖδα, πῶς γὰρ τὴν μήτερα μήπω γεγονυίας, ὅτῳ πεφύκασι, ἀλλ' ἄλλον τινὰ πρεσβυγενῆ ἔρωτα, οἶμαι δὲ τὸν ἐγκάτοχον παρμενίδῃ φυσικῶς κινητικὴν αἰτίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων. *By Love here* (ſaith he) *we muſt not underſtand* Venus *her Son, whoſe Mother was as yet Unborn, but another more ancient Love, which I take to be the Active Cauſe or Principle of Motion, Naturally inſerted into things*. Where though he do not ſeem to ſuppoſe this Love to be God himſelf, yet he conceives it to be an Active Principle in the Univerſe derived from God, and not from Matter. But this Opinion will be further confirmed afterward.

P. 116, 112.

The next conſiderable appearance of a Multitude of *Self-exiſtent Deities*, ſeems to be in the Valentinian *Thirty Gods* and *Æons*, which have been taken by ſome for ſuch; but it is certain that theſe were all of them ſave One, *Generated*; they being derived by that Phantaſtick

tastick Devizer of them, from One Self-originated Deity, called *Bythus*. For thus *Epiphanius* informs us, τελάνοντα γὰρ καὶ ἕτος θεὸς καὶ αἰῶνας καὶ οὐρανὸς βούλεται παρεισάγειν, ὧν ὁ πρῶτός ἐστι βυθός· *This* (Valentinus) *would also introduce Thirty Gods and Æons, and Heavens, the first of which is* Bythus; he meaniug thereby an Unfathomable Depth and Profundity; and therefore this *Bythus*, was also called by him ὁ ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀκατονόμαστος πατήρ, *The Highest and Ineffable Father.* Hær. 31.

We do indeed acknowledge that there have been some, who have really asserted a *Duplicity of Gods*, in the sence declared; that is of *Animalish* or *Perceptive Beings Self-existent*; One as the *Principle of Good*, and the other of *Evil*. And this *Ditheism* of theirs, seems to be the neareſt approch, that was ever really made to *Polytheism*. Unless we should here give heed to *Plutarch*, who seems to make the ancient *Persians*, besides their *Two Gods*, the *Good* and the *Evil*, or *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*; to have asserted also a *Third Middle Deity* called by them *Mithras*; or to some Eccleſiastick Writers, who impute a *Trinity of Gods* to *Marcion*; (though *Tertullian* be yet more Liberal, and encreaſe the Number to an Ennead.) For those that were commonly called *Tritheists*, being but mistaken Christians and Trinitarians, fall not under this Consideration. Now as for that forementioned *Ditheism*, or Opinion of *Two Gods*, a *Good* and an *Evil* one, it is evident that its Original sprung from nothing else, but First a Firm Perswasion of the *Essential Goodness* of the Deity, together with a Conceit that the Evil that is in the world, was altogether *Inconsistent* and *Unreconcilable* with the same, and that therefore for the salving of this *Phenomenon*, it was absolutely necessary, to suppose another *Animalish Principle Self-existent*, or an *Evil God*. Wherefore as these *Ditheists*, as to all that which is *Good* in the World, held a *Monarchy*, or one Sole Principle and Original, so it is plain, that had it not heen for this business of *Evil* (which they conceived could not be salved any other way) they would never have asserted any more *Principles* or *Gods* than *One*.

The chiefest and most eminent Assertors of which *Ditheistick Doctrine* of *Two Self-existent Animalish Principles* in the Universe, a *Good God* and an *Evil Dæmon*, were the *Marcionites* and the *Manicheans*, both of which, though they made some slight Pretences to Christianity, yet were not by Christians owned for such. But it is certain that besides these and before them too, some of the Professed Pagans also, entertained the same Opinion, that famous Moralist *Plutarchus Chæronensis*, being an Undoubted Patron of it; which in his Book *De Iside & Osiride* he represents, with some little difference, after this manner; μεμιγμένη γὲ ἡ τῇδε τῇ κόσμῳ γένεσις καὶ σύσασις ἐξ ἐναντίων, ὁ μὲν ἰσοσθενῶν δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ τὸ βελτίονος τὸ κράτος ἔχειν· ἀπολέσθαι δ' τὸν φαύλων παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον, πολλῶν μὲν ἐμπεφυκυῖαν τοῖς σώμασι, πολλῶν δ' τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ παντὸς, ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν βελτίονα δυσμαχοῦσαν. *The Generation and Constitution of this World is mixt of contrary Powers or Principles (the one Good, the other Evil) yet so as that they are not both of equal force, but the Better of them more prevalent: notwithstanding* P. 371. Par.

ſtanding which, it is alſo abſolutely impoſſible, for the Worſer Power or Principle to be ever Utterly deſtroyed, much of it being always intermingled in the Soul, and much in the Body of the Univerſe, there perpetually tugging againſt the Better Principle.

Indeed learned men of later times, have for the moſt part look'd upon *Plutarch* here, but either as a bare Relater of the Opinion of other Philoſophers; or elſe as a Follower only, and not a Leader in it. Notwithſtanding which, it is evident, that *Plutarch* was himſelf heartily Engaged in this Opinion, he diſcovering no ſmall fondneſs for it, in ſundry of his other Writings: as for Example in his Platonick Queſtions, where he thus declares himſelf concerning it, P. 1003. Par. ἢ τὸ πολλάκις ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον ἀληθές ἐϛιν, ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄνεϱ ψυχὴ, καὶ τὸ ἄμοϱφον σῶμα, συνυπῆϱχον ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ, καὶ τὸ ϐέϐαιον οὐδ' ἐφ' γένεϲιν ἔχεν ϐάϑος ἀϱχήν, *Or elſe that which is often affirmed by us is true, that a Mad Irrational ſoul, and an unformed diſorderly Body did coexiſt with one another from Eternity, neither of them having any Generation or Beginning.* And in his *Timæan Pſychogonia*, he does at large induſtrioſly maintain the ſame, there and elſewhere endeavouring to eſtabliſh this Doctrine, as much as poſſibly he could, upon Rational Foundations. As Firſt, that Nothing can be *Made* or *Produced* without a *Cauſe*, and therefore there muſt of neceſſity, be ſome Cauſe of Evil alſo, and that a *Poſitive* one too; he repreſenting the Opinion of thoſe as very ridiculous, who would make the Nature of Evil, to be but ἐπεισόδιον an *Accidental Appendix* to the World, and all that Evil which is in it, to have come in only by the by, and by Conſequence, without any *Poſitive Cauſe*. Secondly, that God being *Eſſentially Good* could not poſſibly be the *Cauſe of Evil*, where he highly applauds *Plato* for removing God to the greateſt diſtance imaginable from being the Cauſe of Evil. Thirdly, that as God could not, ſo neither could ὕλη ἄποιος, *Matter in it ſelf devoid of all form* and Quality, be the *Cauſe of Evil*, noting this to have been the Subterfuge of the Stoicks. Upon which account, he often condemns them, but uncertainly, ſometimes as ſuch, who aſſigned *No Cauſe* at all of *Evils*, and ſometimes again as thoſe who made *God the Cauſe* of them. For in his *Pſychogonia* he concludes that unleſs we acknowledge a Subſtantial Evil Principle, αἱ Στοικαὶ καταλαμϐάνουϲιν ἡμᾶϛ ἀποϱίαι, τὸ κακὸν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἀναιτίως καὶ ἀγεννήτως ἐπεισάγοντες, ἐπεὶ τό γε ὄν ἅπαν ὅτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὅτε τὸ ἄποιον, εἰνός ἐϛιν ὁσίαν κακοῦ καὶ γένεϲιν παϱαϱχεῖν, *The Stoical Difficulties will of neceſſity overtake and involve us, who introduce Evil into the World from Nothing, or Without a Cauſe, ſince neither that which is Eſſentially Good (as God) nor yet that which is devoid of all Quality (as Matter) could poſſibly give being or Generation to it.* But in his Book againſt the Stoicks, he accuſes them as thoſe, who *made God*, Eſſentially *Good*, the *Cauſe of Evil*. αὐτοὶ τὴν κακῶν ἀϱχὴν, ἀγαθὸν ὄντα τὸν Θεὸν ποιοῦϲι, ὁ γὰϱ ἡ ὕλη τὸ κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῆϛ παϱέχηκεν, ἄποιος γάϱ ἐϛι καὶ πάσας ὅσας δέχεται διαφοϱὰς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιοῦντος αὐτὴν καὶ σχηματίζοντος ἔσχηκεν. ὥϛε ἀνάγκη τὸ κακὸν εἰ μὲν δι' ὀδὲν, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, εἰ δ' διὰ τὴν κινοῦσαν ἀϱχὴν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονος ὑπάϱχειν. *Themſelves make God being Good, the Principle and cauſe of Evil, ſince Matter which is devoid of Quality, and recieves all its Differences from*

from the Active Principle, that moves and forms it, could not possibly be the Cause thereof. Wherefore Evil must of necessity, either come from Nothing, or else it must come from the Active and Moving Principle, which is God. Now from all these Premises joyned together, *Plutarch* concludes, that the *Phænomenon of Evil*, could no otherwise possibly be salved, than by supposing a *Substantial Principle* for it, and a certain *Irrational* and *Maleficent Soul* or *Dæmon*, *Unmade*, and Coexisting with *God* and *Matter* from Eternity to have been the Cause thereof. And accordingly he resolves, that as whatsoever is *Good* in the *Soul* and *Body* of the *Universe*, and likewise in the *Souls of Men* and *Dæmons*, is to be ascribed to God as its only Original, so whatsoever is *Evil*, Irregular and Disorderly in them, ought to be imputed to this other Substantial Principle, a ψυχὴ ἄνευ νῦ κακοποιὸς, *an Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Dæmon*, which insinuating it self every where throughout the World, is all along intermingled with the Better Principle : οὐμὴ πᾶν εἶναι ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν, *So that neither the Soul of the Universe, nor that of Men and Dæmons, was wholly the Workmanship of God, but the Lower, Brutish and Disorderly part of them, the Effect of the Evil Principle.*

But besides all this, it is evident that *Plutarch* was also strongly possessed with a Conceit, that nothing Substantial could be Created (no not by *Divine Power*) out of *Nothing Preexisting*; and therefore that all the Substance of whatsoever is in the World did Exist from *Eternity Unmade* : so that *God* was only the *Orderer*, or the *Methodizer* and *Harmonizer* thereof. Wherefore as he concluded that the Corporeal World was not Created by God out of Nothing, as to the Substance of it, but only the *Preexisting Matter*, which before moved Disorderly, was brought into this Regular Order and Harmony by him : In like manner he resolved that the *Soul of the World* (for such a thing is always supposed by him) was not made by God out of *Nothing* neither, nor out of any thing *Inanimate* and *Soulless* Preexisting, but out of a *Preexisting Disorderly Soul*, was brought into an Orderly and Regular Frame; ἀκοσμία γὰρ ἦν πάρεξ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἀκοσμία δὲ οὐ σώματος οὐδὲ ἀκίνητος, οὐδὲ ἄψυχος, ἀλλὰ ἄμορφον μὲν καὶ ἀσύστατον τὸ σωματικὸν, ἔμπλημτον δὲ καὶ ἄλογον τὸ κινητικὸν ἔχουσα· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἀναρμοστία ψυχῆς οὐκ ἐχούσης λόγον· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ὅτε σῶμα τὸ ἀσώματον, ὅτε ψυχὴν τὸ ἄψυχον ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἁρμόνικον ἀνδρα, &c. *There was Unformed Matter, before this Orderly World was made, which Matter was not Incorporeal, nor Unmoved or Inanimate, but Body discomposed and acted by a Furious and Irrational Mover, the Deformity whereof was the Disharmony of a Soul in it, devoid of Reason. For God neither made Body out of that which was No-Body, nor Soul out of No-soul. But as the Musician who neither makes Voice nor Motion, does by ordering of them notwithstanding produce Harmony; so God, though he neither made the Tangible and Resisting Substance of Body, nor the Phantastick and Self-moving Power of Soul, yet taking both those Principles preexisting (the one of which was Dark and Obscure, the other Turbulent and Irrational) and orderly disposing and Harmonizing of them, he did by that means produce this most beautiful and perfect Animal of the World.* And further to the same purpose; οὐχὶ σώματος ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ὄγκου καὶ ὕλης, ἀλλὰ συμμετρίας περὶ σῶμα καὶ κάλλους καὶ ὁμοιότητος, ἣν ὁ Θεὸς παντὶ καὶ δημιουργός·

De Psychog. p. 1014. Par.

γὰς· ταῦτα δ' ἒι διανοεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς τὸ μὲν ὅτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένου ὅτε κόσμος ψυχὴ ἔσαν, ἀλλά τινα φανταστικῆς καὶ δοξαστικῆς ἀλόγου καὶ ἀτάκτου φορᾶς καὶ ὁρμῆς δύναμιν αὐτοκίνητον καὶ ἀεικίνητον. τὸ δ' αὖτις ὁ Θεὸς διαρμοσάμενος, περισήκωσεν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ λόγοις, ἐξηγαλέσατο ἡγεμόνα τοῦ κόσμου γεγονότος γεννητὸν ἔσαν· *God was not the Cauſe or Maker of Body ſimply, that is, neither of Bulk nor Matter, but only of that Symmetry and Pulchritude which is in Body, and that likeneſs which it hath to himſelf. Which ſame ought to be concluded alſo, concerning the Soul of the World, that the Subſtance of it was not made by God neither; nor yet that it was always the Soul of this World, but at firſt a certain Self-moving Subſtance, endowed with a Phantaſtick Power, Irrational and Diſorderly, Exiſting ſuch of it ſelf from Eternity, which God by Harmonizing, and introducing into it fitting Numbers and Proportions, Made to be the Soul and Prince of this Generated World.* According to which Doctrine of *Plutarch*'s, in the ſuppoſed Soul of the World, though it had a Temporary beginning, yet was it never Created out of Nothing, but only that which preexiſted diſorderly, being acted by the Deity, was brought into a Regular Frame. And therefore he concludes, ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μεταλαχοῦσα καὶ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἁρμονίας, οὐκ ἔργον ὂν τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρος, οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. *Soul partaking of Mind, Reaſon and Harmony, is not only the Work of God, but alſo a Part of him, nor is it a thing ſo much made by him, as from him and exiſting out of him.* And the ſame muſt he likewiſe affirm concerning all other Souls, as thoſe of Men, and Demons, that they are either all of them the Subſtance of God himſelf, together with that of the Evil Demon, or elſe certain Delibations from both, (if any one could underſtand it) blended and confounded together: He not allowing any new Subſtance at all to be created by God out of nothing preexiſtent. It was obſerved in the beginning of this Chapter, that *Plutarch* was an Aſſertor of two αὐθυπόστατα or *Self-exiſtent Principles* in the Univerſe, *God* and *Matter*, but now we underſtand, that he was an Earneſt Propugnor of another *Third Principle* (as himſelf calls it) beſides them both, *viz.* a ψυχὴ ἄνους καὶ κακοποιὸς, *a Mad Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Dæmon:* So that *Plutarch* was both a *Triarchiſt*, and a *Ditheiſt*, an Aſſertor of *Three Principles*, but of *Two Gods*; according to that forementioned *Notion* of a *God*, as it is taken, for an *Animaliſh* or *Perceptive Being Self-exiſtent.*

We are not ignorant, that *Plutarch* endeavours with all his might to perſwade, this to have been the conſtant Belief of all the Pagan Nations, and of all the Wiſeſt men and Philoſophers that ever were amongſt them. *For this* (ſaith he, in his Book *De Iſide & Oſiride*) *is a moſt ancient Opinion, that hath been delivered down from Theologers and Law-makers, all along to Poets and Philoſophers; and though the firſt Author thereof be Unknown, yet hath it been ſo firmly believed every where, that the Footſteps of it have been imprinted upon the Sacrifices and Myſteries or Religious Rites, both of Barbarians and Greeks, Namely, That the World is neither wholly Ungoverned by any Mind or Reaſan, as if all things floated in the ſtreams of Chance and Fortune, nor yet that there is any one Principle ſteering and guiding all, without Reſiſtance or Control: becauſe there is a Confuſed Mixture of Good and Evil in every thing, and nothing is Produced by Nature ſincere. Wherefore*

it

it is not one only Dispenser of things, who as it were out of several Vessels distributeth those several Liquors of Good and Evil, mingling them together and dashing them as he pleaseth. But there are two Distinct and Contrary Powers or Principles in the World, One of them always leading as it were to the Right hand, but the other tugging a Contrary way. Insomuch that our whole Life and the whole World is a certain Mixture and Confusion of these Two: at least this Terrestrial World below the Moon is such, all being every where full of Irregularity and Disorder. For if nothing can be Made without a Cause, and that which is Good cannot be the Cause of Evil, there must needs be a distinct Principle in Nature for the Production of Evil as well as Good. And this hath been the Opinion of the Most and Wisest Men, some of them affirming θεὸς εἶναι δυὸ καθ' ἀντιτέχνας, *that there are Two Gods as it were of Contrary Crafts and Trades, one whereof is the Maker of all Good, and the other of all Evil; but others calling the Good Principle only a God, and the Evil Principle a Dæmon, as* Zoroaster *the Magician.* Besides which *Zoroaster* and the Persian *Magi*, *Plutarch* pretends that the Footsteps of this Opinion were to be found also in the Astrology of the Chaldeans, and in the Mysteries and Religious Rites, not only of the Egyptians, but also of the Grecians themselves; and lastly he particularly imputes the same, to all the most famous of the Greek Philosophers, as *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Heraclitus*, *Anaxagoras*, *Plato* and *Aristotle*; though his chiefest endeavour of all be to prove, that *Plato* was an Undoubted Champion for it; ἀλλὰ ταυτὸ Πλάτων ἐπ ἔπαθε τοῖς ὕστερον, οὐδὲ παραδοὺς, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τρίτην ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ὑπόμεινε τὴν λόγων τ ἀτοπώτατον ἐπεισόδιον ἐπ οἶδα ὅπως ποιοῦντα, τὴν κακῶν φύσιν ἀπ' αὐτομάτης καὶ σμβεβηκός. Ἐπικόρῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀκαρὲς ἐγκλίναι τὴν ἄτομον συγχωροῦσιν, ὡς ἀναίτιον ἐπεισαγούσι κίνησιν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, αὐτοὶ δ' πανίαν καὶ πανοδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην, ἑτέρας τε περὶ σῶμα μυρίας ἀτοπίας καὶ δυσχερείας, αἰτίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐπ ἐχούσας, κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν γεγονέναι λέγουσιν· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐχ' ὅπως· ἀλλὰ τὴν ὕλην διαφορᾶς ἁπάσης ἀπαλλάξας, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν τῆς πανῶν αἰτίαν ἀποστάτου τιθέμενος. *But* Plato *was not guilty of that Miscarriage of Later Philosophers, in overlooking the Third Power which is between the Matter and God, and thereby falling into the Grossest of all Absurdities, That the Nature of Evils was but an Accidental Appendix to the World, and came into it merely by chance, no body knows how. So that those very Philosophers who will by no means allow to* Epicurus, *the Smallest Declension of his Atoms from the Perpendicular, alledging that this would be to introduce a Motion without a Cause, and to bring something out of Nothing; themselves do notwithstanding, suppose all that Vice and Misery which is in the World, besides innumerable other Absurdities and Inconveniences about Body, to have come into it, merely by Accidental Consequence, and without having any Cause in the First Principles. But* Plato *did not so, but divesting Matter of all Qualities and Differences, by means whereof, it could not possibly be made the Cause of Evils, and then placing God at the greatest distance from being the Cause thereof; he consequently resolved it into a Third Unmade Principle between God and the Matter, an Irrational Soul or Demon, moving the Matter disorderly.* *De Psychog. p. 1015. Ed.*

Now because *Plutarch*'s Authority passeth so uncontrolled, and

his Testimony in this particular seems to be of late generally received as an Oracle, and consequently the thing taken for an Unquestionable Truth, that the *Ditheistick Doctrine* of a *Good and Evil Principle*, was the Catholick or Universal Doctrine of the *Pagan Theists*, and particularly that *Plato*, above all the rest, was a Professed Champion for the same; we shall therefore make bold to examine *Plutarch*'s Grounds for this so confident Assertion of his; and principally concerning *Plato*. And his Grounds for imputing this Opinion to *Plato*, are only these Three which follow. First, because that Philosopher in his *Politicus*, speaks of a *Necessary and Innate Appetite, that may sometimes turn the Heavens a contrary way*, and by that means cause Disorder and Confusion; Secondly because in his Tenth *De Legibus*, he speaks of *Two kinds* of *Souls*, whereof *One* is *Beneficent*, but *the other Contrary*; And Lastly, because in his *Timæus* he supposeth, the *Matter* to have been *Moved disorderly* before the World was made, which implies that there was a Disorderly and Irrational Soul consisting with it as the Mover of it, Matter being unable ro move it self. But as to the First of these Allegations out of *Plato*'s *Politicus*, we shall only observe, that that Philosopher, as if it had been purposely to prevent such an Interpretation of his meaning there as this of *Plutarch*'s, inserts these very words; μήτ' ὦ δύο τινε θεὼ, φρονοῦντε ἑαυτοῖς ἀναντία, στρέφειν αὐτὸν· *Neither must any such thing be supposed, as if there were two Gods, contrarily minded to one another, turning the Heavens sometimes one way and sometimes another.* Which plain declaration of *Plato*'s Sence, being directly contrary to *Plutarch*'s Interpretation, and this *Ditheistick Opinion*, might serve also for a sufficient Confutation of His Second Ground from the Tenth *De Legibus*, as if *Plato* had there affirmed, that there were *Two Souls* moving the Heavens, the One *Beneficent*, but the other *Contrary*; because this would be all one as to assert Two Gods, contrarily minded to one another. Notwithstanding which, for a fuller Answer thereunto, we shall further add, that this Philosopher, did there, First, only distribute Souls in General into Good and Evil, those *Moral Differences* Properly belonging to that rank of Beings called by him *Souls*, and first emerging in them, according to this Premised Doctrine, τῆ ἀγαθῶν αἰτία ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ τῆ καλῶν, ἢ κακῶν ἢ αἰσχρῶν, δικαίων τε ἢ ἀδίκων· *Soul is the Cause of Good and Evil, Honest and Dishonest, Just and Unjust.* But then afterwards, making Enquiry concerning the Soul of the World or Heaven, what kind of Soul that was, he positively concludes, that
P. 898. *Steph.* it was no other than a Soul endued with all Vertue. ΑΘ. ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μὲν ἅπαν ἄγει ἡ περιάγουσα ἡμῖν πᾶν τα, τὴν δὲ περιφορὰν ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιάγειν φατέον, ὁπότερον μεμελημένην ἢ κεκτημένην, ἤτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν ἢ τοι τὴν ἐναντίαν. ΚΛ. Ω ξένε, ἀλλὰ ἔν γε τῆ εἰκῆ μέν δ' ὅσιον ἄλλως λέγειν, ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους περιάγειν αὐτά. Ath. Hosp. *Since it is Soul that moves all things, we must of necessity affirm, that the Heaven or World is moved by some Soul or other, adorning and disposing of it, whether it be the Best Soul, or the Contrary.* Clin. *O* Hospes, *it is certainly not Holy nor pious to conclude otherwise, than that a Soul endued with all Vertue, One or More, moves the World.* And as for the last thing urged by *Plutarch*, that before the World was made, the

the Matter is said by *Plato*, to have been *Moved disorderly*, we conceive that that Philosopher did therein only adhere to that Vulgarly received Tradition, which was Originally Mosaical, that the First beginning of the *Cosmopœia*, was from a *Chaos*, or *Matter confusedly moved*, afterward brought into Order. And now we think it plainly appears, that there is no strength at all in any of *Plutarch*'s forementioned Allegations, nor any such Monster to be found any where in *Plato*, as this *Substantial Evil Principle* or *God*, a *Wicked Soul or Demon*, Unmade and Self-existent from Eternity, Opposite and Inimicous to the *Good God*, sharing the Empire and Dominion of the World with him. Which Opinion is really nothing else but the *Deifying of the Devil*, or *Prince* of Evil Spirits, making him a Corrival with God, and entitling him to a Right of receiving Divine Honour and Worship.

And it is observable, that *Plutarch* himself confesseth this Interpretation which he makes of *Plato*, to be *New* and *Paradoxical*, or an Invention of his own, ἢ διὰ τὸ πλείοις τῶν ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος ὑπενανῖῶδθαι, δεόμενον παραμυθίας, *Such as because it was contrary to the Generally received Opinion of Platonists, himself thought to stand in need of some Apology and Defence.* To which purpose therefore he adds again, πρῶτον ἓν ἦν ἔχω περὶ τούτων διάνοιαν, ἐκθήσομαι πιθάνῳ τῷ εἰκότι, ἢ παραμυθάμενος ὡς ἔνεστι τὸ ἀληθὲς τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ παράδοξον· *I will* (saith he) *declare mine own Opinion first concerning these things, confirming it with Probabilities, and as much as possibly I can, aiding and assisting the Truth and Paradoxicalness thereof.* Moreover *Proclus* upon the *Timæus* takes notice of no other Philosophers, that ever imputed this Doctrine to *Plato*, or indeed maintained any such Opinion, of Two Substantial Principles of *Good* and *Evil*, but only *Plutarch* and *Atticus*; (though I confess *Chalcidius* cites *Numenius* also to the same purpose) *Proclus* his words are these: οἱ μὲν περὶ Πλούταρχον τὸν Χαιρωνέα καὶ Ἀττικον, προεῖναι φασὶ τὴν ἀκόσμητον ὕλην πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, προεῖναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπειροκάλην ψυχὴν τὴν τοῦτο κινοῦσαν, πόθεν γὰρ ἡ κίνησις ἦν, ἢ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς; εἰ δὲ ἄτακτος ἡ κίνησις, ἀπὸ ἀτάκτου ψυχῆς. Plutarchus Cheronensis *and* Atticus *maintain, that before the Generation and Formation of the World, there was Unformed and disorderly Matter existing* (from Eternity) *together with a Maleficent Soul; for whence, say they, could that Motion of the Matter, in* Plato's Timæus, *procede, but from a Soul? and if it were a Disorderly Motion, it must then needs come from a Disorderly Soul.* And as *Proclus* tells us, that this Opinion of theirs had been before confuted by *Porphyrius* and *Jamblychus*, as that which was both Irrational and Impious, so doth he there likewise himself briefly refel it in these Two Propositions; First, that πᾶσα ψυχὴ γέννημά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Every Soul is the Off spring of God*, and there can be no Soul nor any thing else, besides God Self-existing; and Secondly, τὸ κακὸν διαιώνιον ποιεῖν ὅσῳ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἄτοπον, ὁ γὰρ ὁμότιμον τῷ θείῳ τὸ ἄθεον, ὅτε ἐπίσης ἀγένητον, ὅτε ὅλως ἀντιδιῃρημένον· *It is absurd to make Evil alike Eternal with Good, for that which is Godless cannot be of like honour with God, and equally Unmade, nor indeed can there be any thing at all, positively opposite to God.*

P. 1014.

P. 116.

But becauſe it may probably be here demanded, What Account it was then poſſible for *Plato* to give, of the Original of Evils, ſo as not to impute them to God himſelf, if he neither derived them from ὕλη ἄποιος, *Unqualified Matter* (which *Plutarch* has plainly proved to be abſurd) nor yet from a ψυχὴ ἄνους, *an Irrational and Maleficent Soul of the World or Demon*, Self-exiſtent from Eternity; we ſhall therefore hereunto briefly reply: That though that Philoſopher derived not the Original of Evils, from *Unqualified Matter*, nor from *a Wicked Soul or Demon Unmade*, yet did he not therefore impute them to God neither, but as it ſeemeth, to the *Neceſſity of Imperfect Beings*. For as *Timæus Locrus* had before *Plato* determined, that the World was made by *God* and *Neceſſity*, ſo does *Plato* himſelf accordingly declare in his *Timæus*, ὅτι μεμιγμένη τῇδε τῇ κόσμου γένεσις, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ νοῦ συστάσεως, νοῦ δὲ ἀνάγκης ἄρχοντος· *That the Generation of this World is mixt and made up of a certain compoſition of Mind and Neceſſity both together, yet ſo as that Mind, doth alſo* (in ſome ſence) *rule over Neceſſity*. Wherefore though according to *Plato*, God be properly and directly the Cauſe of nothing elſe but *Good*, yet the *Neceſſity of theſe Lower Imperfect* things, does unavoidably give Being and Birth to *Evils*. For Firſt, as to *Moral Evils*, (which are the Chiefeſt) there is a *Neceſſity* that there ſhould be *Higher* and *Lower Inclinations* in all Rational Beings Vitally United to Bodies, and that as *Autexouſious* or *Free-willed*, they ſhould have a Power of determining themſelves more or leſs, either way; as there is alſo a *Neceſſity*, that the ſame Liberty of Will (eſſential to Rational Creatures) which makes them capable of *Praiſe* and *Reward*, ſhould likewiſe put them in a Poſſibility of *deſerving Blame* and *Puniſhment*. Again, as to the *Evils of Pain* and *Inconvenience*; there ſeems to be a *Neceſſity*, that *Imperfect Terreſtrial Animals*, which are capable of the *Senſe* of *Pleaſure*, ſhould in contrary Circumſtances (which will alſo ſometimes happen, by reaſon of the *Inconſiſtency* and *Incompoſſibility* of things) be obnoxious to *Diſpleaſure* and *Pain*. And Laſtly, for the *Evils of Corruptions* and *Diſſolutions*; there is a plain *Neceſſity*, that if there be *Natural Generations* in the World, there ſhould be alſo *Corruptions*; according to that of *Lucretius* before cited,

> *Quando alid ex alio reſicit Natura, nec ullam*
> *Rem gigni patitur, niſi Morte adjutam alienâ.*

To all which may be added, according to the Opinion of many, That there is a kind of *Neceſſity* of ſome *Evils* in the World, for a Condiment (as it were) to give a *Reliſh* and *Haut-gouſt* to *Good*; ſince the Nature of *Imperfect Animals* is ſuch, that they are apt to have but a *Dull* and *Sluggiſh Senſe*, a *Flat* and *Inſipid Taſte* of *Good*, unleſs it be quickned and ſtimulated, heightned and invigorated, by being compared with the Contrary *Evil*. As alſo, that there ſeems to be a *Neceſſary Uſe* in the World of the κακὰ ἀκούσια, thoſe *Involuntary Evils of Pain* and *Suffering*, both for the Exerciſe of *Vertue*, and

aud the Quickning and Exciting the *Activity* of the World, as also for the Repressing, Chastising and Punishing of those κακὰ ἑκόσια, those *Voluntary Evils of Vice and Action.* Upon which several accompts, probably, *Plato* concluded, that Evils could not be utterly destroyed, at least in this Lower World, which according to him, is the Region of Lapsed Souls: ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατὸν ὦ Θεόδωρε (ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη) ὅτ' ἐν θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἱδρύσθαι, τὸν δὲ θνητὸν φύσιν, καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης· διὸ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε, φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα· φυγὴ δ' ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὁμοίωσις δ', δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι. *But it is neither possible* (O Theodorus) *That Evils should be quite destroyed* (*for there must be something always Contrary to Good*) *nor yet that they should be seated amongst the Gods, but they will of necessity infest this Lower Mortal Region and* Nature. *Wherefore we ought to endeavour to flee from hence, with all possible speed, and our flight from hence is this, to assimilate our selves to God as much as may be. Which Assimilation to God consisteth in being Just and Holy with Wisdom.* Thus, according to the Sence of *Plato*, though God be the Original of all things, yet he is not to be accounted properly the *Cause of Evils*, at least Moral ones, (they being only *Defects*) but they are to be imputed to the *Necessity* of *Imperfect Beings*, which is that ἀνάγκη πολλὰ τῷ θεῷ δυσμαχοῦσα καὶ ἀφνιάζουσα, *That Necessity which doth often resist God, and as it were shake off his Bridle.* Rational Creatures being by means thereof, in a Capability of acting contrary to God's *Will* and *Law*, as well as their own true *Nature* and *Good*; and other things hindred of that Perfection, which the Divine Goodness would else have imparted to them. Notwithstanding which, *Mind*, that is, *God*, is said also by *Plato*, to Rule over *Necessity*, because those *Evils*, occasioned by the *Necessity* of *Imperfect Beings*, are Over-ruled by the *Divine Art, Wisdom* and *Providence*, for *Good*; *Typhon* and *Arimanius* (if we may use that Language) being as it were Outwitted, by *Osiris* and *Oromasdes*, and the worst of all Evils made, in spight of their own Nature, to contribute subserviently to the Good and Perfection of the Whole; καὶ τοῦτο μεγίστης τέχνης ἀγαθοποιεῖν τὰ κακὰ, *and this must needs be acknowledged to be the greatest Art of all, to be able to Bonifie Evils, or Tincture them with Good.*

In Thiæte p. 176. Steph.

And now we have made it to appear (as we conceive) that *Plutarch* had no sufficient Grounds to impute this Opinion, of *Two Active Perceptive Principles* in the World, (one the Cause of *Good* and the other of *Evil*) to *Plato.* And as for the other Greek Philosophers, his Pretences to make them Assertors of the same Doctrine, seem to be yet more slight and frivolous. For he concludes the * Pythagoreans to have held *Two* such *Substantial Principles* of *Good* and *Evil*, merely because they sometimes talkt of the ἐναντιότητες and συστοιχίαι, *The Contrarieties* and *Conjugations* of things, such as Finite and Infinite, Dextrous and Sinistrous, Eaven and Odd, and the like. As also that *Heraclitus* entertain'd the same Opinion, because he spake of a παλίντροπος ἁρμονία κόσμου, *A Versatil Harmony of the World*, whereby things reciprocate forwards and backwards, as when a Bow is successively Intended

* Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἐδαμοῦ τὸ κακὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς παρελάμβανον. *The Pythagoreans no where admitted* Evil *amongst the Principles.* Syrianus in Aristot. Metaphys. MS. p. 218.

tended and Remitted; as likewise because he affirmed, *All things to flow, and War to be the Father and Lord of all.* Moreover he resolves that *Empedocles* his *Friendship* and *Contention* could be no other than a *Good* and *Evil God*; though we have rendred it probable, that nothing else was understood thereby, but an *Active Spermatick Power* in this Corporeal World, causing Vicissitudes of *Generation* and *Corruption.* Again *Anaxagoras* is entitled by him to the same Philosophy, for no other reason, but only because he made *Mind* and *Infinite Matter*, *Two Principles* of the Universe. And Lastly, *Aristotle* himself cann ot scape him from being made an Assertor of a *Good* and *Evil God* too, merely because he concluded *Form* and *Privation*, to be Two Principles of Natural Bodies. Neither does *Plutarch* acquit himself any thing better, as to the Sence of Whole Nations, when this Doctrine is therefore imputed by him to the *Chaldeans*, because their *Astrologers* supposed *Two* of the *Planets* to be *Beneficent*, *Two Maleficent*, and *Three* of a *Middle Nature*: and to the ancient Greeks, because they sacrificed, not only to *Jupiter Olympius*, but also to *Hades* or *Pluto*, who was sometimes called by them the *Infernal Jupiter.* We confess that his Interpretation of the *Traditions* and *Mysteries* of the ancient Egyptians is ingenious, but yet there is no necessity for all that, that by their *Typhon* should be understood a *Substantial Evil Principle*, or *God* Self-existent, as he contends. For it being the manner of the ancient Pagans, (as shall be more fully declared afterwards) to *Physiologize* in their *Theology*, and to Personate all the several *Things* in Nature; it seems more likely, that these Egyptians did after that manner, only προσωποποιεῖν, *Personate* that *Evil* and *Confusion*, *Tumult* and *Hurliburly*, Constant Alternation and Vicissitude of *Generations* and *Corruptions*, which is in this Lower World, (though not without a Divine Providence) by *Typhon.*

Wherefore the only Pobability now left, is that of the *Persian Magi*, that they might indeed assert *Two* such *Active Principles* of *Good* and *Evil*, as *Plutarch* and the *Manicheans* afterwards did; and we must confess, that there is some Probability of this, because besides *Plutarch*, *Laertius* affirms the same of them, δύο κατ' αὐτὸς εἶναι ἀρχὰς, ἀγαθὸν δ' αἰμονα καὶ κακὸν, *That there are Two Principles according to the Persian Magi, a Good Demon and an Evil one*; he seeming to Vouch it also from the Autorities of *Hermippus*, *Eudoxus* and *Theopompus.* Notwithstanding which, it may very well be Questioned, whether the meaning of those *Magi*, were not herein misunderstood, they perhaps intending nothing more by their Evil Demon, than such a *Satanical Power* as we acknowledge, that is, not a *Substantial Evil Principle*, *unmade* and Independent upon God, but only a *Polity* of *Evil Demons* in the World, united together under One *Head* or *Prince.* And this not only because *Theodorus* in *Photius*, calls the Persian *Arimanius*, by that very name, *Satanas*; but also because those very Traditions of theirs, recorded by *Plutarch* himself, seem very much to favour this Opinion, they running after this manner; ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς χρόνος εἰμαρμένος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον λοιμὸν ἐπάγοντα καὶ λιμὸν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνάγκη φθαρῆναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ γῆς ὅπ-

De Is. & Osir. 370. Par.

πέδα

πέρας ἢ ὁμαλῆς γενομένης, ἕνα βίον καὶ μίαν πολιτείαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων καὶ ὁμογλώσσων ἁπάντων γενέσθαι· *That there is a Fatal time at hand, in which* Arimanius, *the Introducer of Plagues and Famines, muſt of neceſſity be utterly deſtroyed, and when, the Earth being made plain and equal, there ſhall be but one Life, and one Polity of men, all happy and ſpeaking the ſame Language.* Or elſe as *Theopompus* himſelf repreſented their ſence, τέλος ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἅιδην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους δυσθανάτους ἔσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους, μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας· τὸν δὲ τοῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεὸν ἡρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνῳ καλῶς μὲν ὀλίγον τῷ θεῷ, ὡσπερ ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτριον· *That in concluſion,* Hades *ſhall be utterly aboliſhed, and then men ſhall be perfectly happy, their Bodies neither needing food, nor caſting any ſhadow. That God, which contrived this whole Scene of things, reſting only for the preſent a certain ſeaſon, which is not long to him, but like the intermiſſion of ſleep to men.* For ſince an Unmade and Self-exiſtent *Evil Demon*, ſuch as that of *Plutarch*'s and the *Manicheans*, could never be utterly aboliſhed or deſtroyed; it ſeems rather probable, that theſe Perſian *Magi* did, in their *Arimanius*, either προσωποποιεῖν, *perſonate Evil* only, as we ſuppoſe the Egyptians to have done in *Typhon*; or elſe underſtand a *Satanical Power* by it: notwithſtanding which, they might poſſibly ſacrifice thereunto (as the Greeks did to Evil Demons) for its Appeaſement and Mitigation; or elſe as worſhipping the Deity it ſelf, in the Miniſters of its Wrath and Vengeance.

However, from what hath been declared, we conceive it does ſufficiently appear, that this *Ditheiſtick Doctrine* of a *Good* and *Evil God*, (or a *Good God* and *Evil Demon* both Self-exiſtent) aſſerted by *Plutarch* and the *Manicheans*, was never ſo univerſally received amongſt the Pagans, as the ſame *Plutarch* pretendeth. Which thing may be yet further evidenced from hence, becauſe the *Manicheans* profeſſed themſelves not to have derived this Opinion from the Pagans, nor to be a Subdiviſion under them, or Schiſm from them, but a quite different Sect by themſelves. Thus *Fauſtus* in St. *Auguſtine*: *Pagani Bona & Mala, Tetra & Splendida, Perpetua & Caduca, Mutabilia & Certa, Corporalia & Divina, Unum habere Principium dogmatizant. His ego valde contraria cenſeo, qui Bonis omnibus Principium fateor Deum, Contrariis verò Hylen (ſic enim Mali Principium & Naturam Theologus noſter appellat.) The Pagans dogmatize, that Good and Evil things, Foul and Splendid, Periſhing and Perpetual, Corporeal and Divine, do all alike procede from the ſame Principle. Whereas we think far otherwiſe, that God is the Principle of all Good, but* Hyle (*or the Evil Demon*) *of the contrary, which names our Theologer (Manes) confounds together.* And afterwards *Fauſtus* there again determines, that there were indeed but Two Sects of Religion in the World, really diſtinct from one another, *viz. Paganiſm* and *Manicheiſm.* From whence it may be concluded, that this Doctrine, of *Two Active Principles* of *Good* and *Evil*, was not then look'd upon, as the Generally received Doctrine of the Pagans. Wherefore it ſeems reaſonable to think, that *Plutarch*'s imputing it ſo Univerſally to them, was either out of Deſign, thereby to gain the better countenance and authority, to a Conceit which himſelf was fond of; or elſe becauſe he being

Contra Fauſt. Lib. 20. c. 3.

ing deeply tinctured, as it were, with the Suffusions of it, every thing which he look'd upon, seem'd to him coloured with it. And indeed for ought we can yet learn, this *Plutarchus Chæronensis*, *Numenius* and *Atticus* were the only Greek Philosophers, who ever in Publick Writings positively asserted any such Opinion.

And probably S. *Athanasius*, is to be understood of These, when in his Oration *Contra Gentes*, he writes thus concerning this Opinion, Ἑλλήνων ἔν τινες πλανηθέντες τ᾽ ὁδὸν, καὶ τ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἀγνοήσαντες, ἐν ὑποδιαιρέσει καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸ εἶναι τὸ κακὸν ἀπεφήναντο· ἁμαρτάνοντες κατὰ δύο ταῦτα, ἢ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀποστεροῦντες τοῦ εἶναι ποιητὴν πάντων ὄντων, ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἦν πάντων ὄντων κύριος, εἰ μὴ κατ᾽ αὐτὸς ἡ κακία καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει καὶ οὐσίαν, ἢ πάλιν θέλοντες αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι πάντων ὅλων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ δόσεως εἶναι, ἐν γὰρ τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ τὸ κακὸν κατ᾽ αὐτός ἐστι. *Some of the Greeks, wandring out of the right way, and ignorant of Christ, have determined Evil to be a Real Entity by it self, erring upon two accounts, because they must of necessity, either suppose God not to be the Maker of all Things, if Evil have a Nature and Essence by it self, and yet be not made by him; or else that he is the Maker and Cause of Evil, whereas it is impossible, that he who is Essentially Good, should produce the Contrary.* After which that Father speaks also of some degenerate Christians, who fell into the same Error; οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεων ἐκπεσόντες τ᾽ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ περὶ τὴν πίστιν ναυαγήσαντες, καὶ ὅτοι μὲν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ κακοῦ ψευδαφερόσιν εἶναι· *Some Hereticks, forsaking the Ecclesiastical Doctrine, and making shipwrak of the Faith, have in like manner, fasly attributed a Real Nature and Essenee to Evil.* Of which Hereticks there were several Sects before the *Manicheans*, sometime taken notice of and censur'd by Pagan Philosophers themselves; as by *Celsus*, where he charges Christians with holding this Opinion, that there is ἐναντίος τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ θεὸς κατηραμένος, *An Execrable God contrary to the Great God*, and by *Plotinus*, writing a whole Book against such Christians, the 9th of his Second Ennead, which by *Porphyrius* was inscribed πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικοὺς, *Against the Gnosticks.*

But if notwithstanding all that we have hitherto said to the contrary, that which *Plutarch* so much contends for, should be granted to be true, that the Pagan Theologers generally asserted *Two Self-existent Principles* (a *Good God*, and an *Evil Soul* or *Demon*) and no more, it would unavoidably follow from thence, that all those other Gods which they worshipped, were not look'd upon by them, as so Many *Unmade Self-existent Beings*, because then they should have acknowledged so many *First Principles*. However it is certain, that if *Plutarch* believed his own Writings, he must of necessity take it for granted, that none of the Pagan Gods (those *Two Principles* of *Good* and *Evil* only excepted) were by their Theologers accounted *Unmade* or *Self-existent* Beings. And as to *Plutarch* himself, it is unquestionably manifest, that though he were a Pagan, and a Worshipper of all those Many Gods of theirs, but especially amongst the rest, of the *Delian Apollo* (whose Priest he declares himself to have been) yet he supposed them all (except only one *Good God*, and

and another *Evil Soul of the World*) to be no Selfexiſtent Deities, but θεοὶ γενητοὶ, *Generated or Created Gods* only. And the ſame is to be affirmed of all his Pagan Followers, as alſo of the Manicheans, foraſmuch as they, beſides their Good and Evil God (the only Unmade Self-exiſtent Beings acknowledged by them) worſhipped alſo Innumerable other Deities.

Hitherto we have not been able to find amongſt the Pagans, any who aſſerted a *Multitude* of *Unmade Self-exiſtent Deities*, but on the contrary we ſhall now find One, who took notice of this Opinion of πολλαὶ ἀρχαὶ, *Many Principles*, ſo far forth as to confute it, and that is *Ariſtotle*, who was not occaſioned to do that neither, becauſe it was a Doctrine then Generally Received, but only becauſe he had a mind, odiouſly to impute ſuch a thing to the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, they making *Idea's* (ſometimes called alſo Numbers) in a certain ſence, the Principles of things. Nevertheleſs the Opinion it ſelf is well confuted by that Philoſopher, from the *Phænomena* after this manner; οἱ δὲ λέγοντες τὸ ἄρτιον πρῶτον καὶ μαθηματικὸν, εἰ ὅτως ἀεὶ ἄλλην ἐχομένην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἑκάστης ἄλλας, ἐπισυνδιάδηλον τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν ποιοῦσιν· *They who ſay that Mathematical Number is the Firſt, and ſuppoſe one Principle of one thing, and another of another, would make the whole World to be like an incoherent and diſagreeing Poem, where things do not all mutually contribute to one another, nor conſpire together to make up one Sence and Harmony; But the contrary* (ſaith he) *is moſt evident in the World; and therefore their cannot be Many Principles, but only One.* From whence it is manifeſt, that though *Ariſtotle* were a Worſhipper of *Many Gods*, as well as the other Pagans, (he ſomewhere repreſenting it as very abſurd to Sacrifice to none but *Jupiter*) yet he was no *Polytheiſt*, in the ſence before declared, of *many Unmade Self-exiſtent Deities*, nor indeed any *Ditheiſt* neither, no aſſertor of *Two Underſtanding Principles*, a *Good* and *Evil God*, (as *Plutarch* pretended him to be) he not only here exploding that Opinion of πολλαὶ ἀρχαὶ, *Many Principles*, but alſo expreſly deriving all from *One*, and in that very Chapter affirming, that *Good* is a *Principle*, but not *Evil*. But as for the Platoniſts and Pythagoreans there perſtringed by him, though it be true that they made *Idea's* in ſome ſence Principles, as the Paradigms of things, yet according to *Ariſtotle*'s own Confeſſion, even in that ſame Chapter, they declared alſo, that there was ἄλλη ἀρχὴ κυριωτέρα, *another Principle more excellent* or *Superiour*, which is indeed that that was called by them the τὸ ἓν, or μονὰς, *Unity it ſelf* or a *Monad*, that is, One moſt Simple Deity. *Ariſt Met. l. 14. c. 10.*

Though we did before demonſtrate, that the *Pagan Gods* were not all ſuppoſed by them to be *Unmade* Self-exiſtent Beings, becauſe they acknowledged a *Theogonia*, a *Generation* and *Temporary Production of Gods*; yet foraſmuch as it might be ſuſpected, that they held notwithſtanding a Multitude of Unmade Deities, we have now made the beſt Enquiry that we could concerning this, and the utmoſt that we have been able yet to diſcover is, that ſome few of the Profeſſed Pagans, as well as of pretended Chriſtians, have indeed aſſerted a

Duplicity

Duplicity of ſuch *Gods* (viz. *Underſtanding Beings Unmade*) one *Good* and the other *Evil*, but no more. Whereas on the contrary we have found, that *Ariſtotle* did profeſſedly oppoſe, this Opinion of *Many Principles*, or *Unmade Gods*, which certainly he durſt never have done, had it then been the Generally received Opinion of the Pagans. And though it be true, that ſeveral of the Ancient Chriſtians, in their Diſputes with Pagans, do confute that Opinion of *Many Unmade* Deities, yet we do not find for all that, that any of them ſeriouſly charge the Pagans with it, they only doing it occaſionally and *ex abundanti*. But we ſhould be the better enabled, to make a clear Judgment concerning this Controverſie, whether there were not amongſt the *Pagan Deities*, a *Multitude* of Suppoſed *Unmade Beings*; if we did but take a ſhort ſurvey of their Religion, and conſider all the ſeveral kinds of Gods worſhipped by them; which may, as we conceive, be reduced to theſe following Heads. In the Firſt place therefore it is certain, that Many of the Pagan Gods, were nothing elſe but *Dead Men* (or the Souls of Men Deceaſed) called by the Greeks *Heroes*, and the Latines *Manes*, ſuch as *Hercules*, *Liber*, *Æſculapius*, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, *Quirinus*, and the like. Neither was this only true of the Greeks and Romans, but alſo of the Ægyptians, Syrians and Babylonians. For which cauſe the Pagan Sacrifices, are by way of contempt in the Scripture called, the *Sacrifices of the Dead*, that is, not of *Dead or Lifeleſs Statues*, as ſome would put it off, but of *Dead Men*. which was the reaſon, why many of the Religious Rites and Solemnities, obſerved by the Pagan Prieſts, were *Mournful* and *Funeral*; accordingly as it is expreſſed in *Baruch* concerning the Babylonians, *Their Prieſts ſit in their Temples having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards ſhaven, and nothing upon their heads; They rore and cry before their Gods, as men do at the Feaſt, when one is dead.* (Some of which Rites, are therefore thought to have been Interdicted to the Iſraelitiſh Prieſts.) And the ſame thing is noted likewiſe by the Poet concerning the Egyptians,

Chap. 6. v. 31.

Et quem tu plangens, Hominem teſtaris, Oſirin:

And intimated by *Xenophanes* the Colophonian, when he reprehenſively admoniſhed the Egyptians after this manner, εἰ θεὸς νομίζεσι μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ ὁ θρηνέσι μὴ θεὸς νομίζειν, *That if they thought thoſe to be Gods, they ſhould not ſo lament them, but if they would lament them, they ſhould no longer think them Gods.* Moreover it is well known, that this Humour of Deifying Men, was afterwards carried on further, and that Living Men (as Emperors) had alſo Temples and Altars, erected to them; Nay Humane *Polities* and *Cities*, were alſo ſometimes *Deified* by the Pagans, *Rome* it ſelf being made a *Goddeſs*. Now no man can imagine that thoſe *Men-gods* and *City-gods*, were look'd upon by them, as ſo many *Unmade Self-exiſtent Deities*, they being not indeed ſo much as φύσει γενητοὶ θεοὶ, *Gods Made or Generated by Nature*, but rather Artificially Made, by Humane Will and Pleaſure. Again, *Another ſort* of the *Pagan Deities*, were all the *Greater Parts* of the Viſible Mundane Syſtem, or Corporeal World, as ſuppoſed to be *Animated*,

The

The Sun, the Moon and the Stars, and even the Earth it ſelf, under the Names of *Veſta*, and *Cybele, the Mother of the Gods*, and the like. Now it is certain alſo, that none of theſe could be taken for Unmade Self-exiſtent Deities neither, by thoſe who ſuppoſed the whole World it ſelf to have been *Generated*, or had a *Beginning*, which as *Ariſtotle* tells us, was the Generally received Opinion before his time. There was alſo a *Third Sort* of Pagan Deities, *Ethereal* and *Aerial Animals* Inviſible, called *Dæmons*, *Genii* and *Lares*, Superiour indeed to Men, but Inferiour to the *Celeſtial* or *Mundane Gods* before mentioned. Wherefore theſe muſt needs be look'd upon alſo by them but as γενητοὶ θεοὶ, *Generated or Created Gods*, they being but certain *Inferiour Parts* of the whole Generated World.

Beſides all theſe, the Pagans had yet another *Sort of Gods*, that were nothing but mere *Accidents* or *Affections* of *Subſtances*, which therefore could not be ſuppoſed by them to be *Self-exiſtent Deities*, becauſe they could not ſo much as *Subſiſt by themſelves*. Such as were, *Vertue*, *Piety*, *Felicity*, *Truth*, *Faith*, *Hope*, *Juſtice*, *Clemency*, *Love*, *Deſire*, *Health*, *Peace*, *Honour*, *Fame*, *Liberty*, *Memory*, *Sleep*, *Night*, and the like; all which had their Temples or Altars erected to them. Now this kind of *Pagan Gods*, cannot well be conceived to have been any thing elſe, but the *Several and Various Manifeſtations* of that One *Divine Force*, *Power and Providence* that runs through the Whole World (as reſpecting the *Good* and *Evil* of Men) *Fictitiouſly Perſonated*, and ſo repreſented as ſo Many *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*.

Laſtly, There is ſtill *Another kind of Pagan Gods* behind, having *Subſtantial* and *Perſonal Names*, which yet cannot be conceived neither to be ſo many *Underſtanding Beings*, *Unmade*, and *Independent* upon any *Supreme*, were it for no other reaſon but only this, becauſe they have all of them their Particular *Places* and *Provinces*, *Offices* and *Functions* ſeverally (as it were) aſſigned to them, and to which they are confined; ſo as not to enterfere and claſh with one another, but agreeably to make up one Orderly and Harmonious Syſtem of the Whole; One of thoſe Gods ruling only in the *Heavens*, Another in the *Air*, Another in the *Sea*, and Another in the *Earth* and *Hell*; One being the *God* or *Goddeſs* of *Learning* and *Wiſdom*, Another of *Speech* and *Eloquence*, Another of *Juſtice* and *Political Order*; One the *God of War*, Another the *God of Pleaſure*, One the *God of Corn*, and Another the *God of Wine*, and the like. For how can it be conceived, that a Multitude of Underſtanding Beings Self-exiſtent and Independent, could thus of themſelves have fallen into ſuch a Uniform Order and Harmony, and without any claſhing, peaceably and quietly ſharing the Government of the whole World amongſt them, ſhould carry it on with ſuch a *Conſtant Regularity?* For which Cauſe we conclude alſo, that neither thoſe *Dii Majorum Gentium*, whether the *Twenty Selecti*, or the *Twelve Conſentes*, nor yet that *Triumvirate* of Gods, amongſt whom *Homer* ſhares the Government of the whole World, according to that of *Maximus Tyrius*, Τῷ μὲν θὰ Ὁμήρῳ δέδασται τὰ πάντα, Ποσειδῶν μὲν ἔλαχε, πολιὴν ἅλα ναιέμεν αἰεί, Ἅιδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα, *Diſſ.* 16.

εἶναι, Ζεὺς ὁ ἄνω, *The Sea being aſſigned to* Neptune, *the Dark and Subterraneous Parts to* Pluto, *but the Heaven to* Jupiter, which Three are ſometimes called alſo the *Celeſtial*, *Marine*, and *Terreſtrial* Jupiter; Nor laſtly, that other *Roman* and *Samothracian Trinity* of *Gods*, worſhipped all together in the Capitol, *Jupiter*, *Minerva* and *Juno*; I ſay, that none of all theſe could reaſonably be thought by the Pagans themſelves, to be ſo many really diſtinct, *Unmade*, and *Self-exiſtent Deities*.

Wherefore the Truth of this whole buſineſs ſeems to be this, that the ancient Pagans did *Phyſiologize* in their *Theology*, and whether looking upon the Whole *World Animated*, as the *Supreme* God, and conſequently the *Several Parts* of it, as his Living Members, or elſe apprehending it at leaſt to be a *Mirror*, or Viſible Image of the Inviſible Deity, and conſequently all its *Several Parts*, and *Things of Nature*, but ſo many *Several Manifeſtations* of the *Divine Power* and *Providence*, they pretended, that all their Devotion towards the Deity, ought not to be Hudled up in one General and Confuſed Acknowledgment, of a *Supreme Inviſible Being*, the *Creator* and *Governour* of all, but that all the *Several Manifeſtations* of the *Deity* in the World, conſidered ſingly and apart by themſelves, ſhould be made ſo many *Diſtinct Objects* of their Devout Veneration; and therefore in order hereunto did they προσωποποιεῖν, *ſpeak of the things in Nature, and the Parts of the World, as Perſons*, and conſequently as ſo many *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*; yet ſo, as that the Intelligent might eaſily underſtand the Meaning, that theſe were all really nothing elſe, but ſo many *Several Names* and *Notions*, of that One *Numen*, *Divine Force* and *Power*, which runs through the whole World, multiformly diſplaying it ſelf therein. To this purpoſe *Balbus* in *Cicero*, *Videtiſne ut à Phyſicis rebus, tracta Ratio ſit ad Commentitios & Fictos Deos? See you not how from the Things of Nature, Fictitious Gods have been made?* And *Origen* ſeems to inſiſt upon this very thing, (where *Celſus* upbraids the Jews and Chriſtians for worſhipping One only God) ſhewing that all that ſeeming Multiplicity of Pagan Gods, could not be underſtood of ſo *Many Diſtinct Subſtantial Independent Deities*;

L. 1. p. 18. C. δεικνύτω τοίνυν πῶς αὐτὸς δύναται ἀποδεῖξαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καθ' Ἕλληνας θεῶν, ἢ τοὺς λοίπους βαρβάρους. Δεικνύτω ὑποῦσαν τὴν ὄντως μνημοσύνης γνησίως ἀπὸ Διὸς τὰς Μούσας, ἢ Θέμιδος τὰς Ὥρας, ἢ τὰς Χάριτας αἰδὼ γυμνὰς ἀποδεικνύτω δύνασθαι κατ' οὐσίαν ὑφεστηκέναι, ἀλλ' οὐ δυνήσεται τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα (σωματοποιεῖσθαι δοκοῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων) δεικνύναι θεούς. To this Sence; *Let* Celſus *therefore himſelf ſhew, how he is able to make out a Multiplicity of Gods* (Subſtantial and Self-exiſtent) *according to the Greeks and other Barbarian Pagans; let him declare the Eſſence and Subſtantial Perſonality of that Memory which by* Jupiter *generated the Muſes, or of that* Themis *which brought forth the Hours; Or let him ſhew how the Graces always Naked do ſubſiſt by themſelves. But he will never be able to do this, nor to make it appear that thoſe Figments of the Greeks (which ſeem to be really nothing elſe but the Things of Nature turned into Perſons) are ſo many diſtinct (Self-exiſtent) Deities.* Where the latter Words are thus rendred in a Late Edition; *Sed nunquam poterit (Celſus) Græcorum Figmenta, quæ validiora fieri videntur, ex rebus ipſis*

ipſis Deos eſſe arguere, which we confeſs we cannot underſtand; but we conceive the word σωμαΤοποιεῖσθαι, there turned *Validiora fieri*, is here uſed by *Origen* in the ſame ſence with πεϱσωποποιεῖσθαι, ſo that his meaning is as we have declared, that thoſe *Figments of the Greeks* and other Barbarian Pagans, (which are the ſame with *Balbus* his *Commentitii & Ficti Dii*) are really nothing elſe but the *Things of Nature*, *Figuratively* and *Fictitiouſly Perſonated*, and conſequently not ſo many *Diſtinct Subſtantial Deities*, but only ſeveral *Notions* and *Conſiderations* of One God, or Supreme Numen, in the World.

Now this *Fictitious Perſonating*, and *Deifying* of Things, by the Pagan Theologers, was done *Two manner* of ways; One, when thoſe *Things* in *Nature*, were themſelves without any more ado or Change of Names, ſpoken of as *Perſons*, and ſo made *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, as in the many inſtances before propoſed. Another, when there were diſtinct *Proper and Perſonal Names* accommodated ſeverally to thoſe *Things*, as of *Minerva* to *Wiſdom*, of *Neptune* to the *Sea*, of *Ceres* to *Corn* and of *Bacchus* to *Wine*. In which Latter Caſe, thoſe Perſonal Names *Properly* ſignifie, the *Inviſible Divine Powers*, ſuppoſed to preſide over thoſe ſeveral Things in Nature, and theſe are therefore properly thoſe Gods and Goddeſſes, which are δωτῆϱες ἐάων, the *Givers* and *Diſpenſers* of *the Good Things*, and the Removers of the Contrary; but they are uſed Improperly alſo, for the *Things* of *Nature* themſelves, which therefore as Manifeſtations of the Divine Power, Goodneſs and Providence, *Perſonated*, are ſometimes alſo *Abuſively*, called *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*. This Myſtery of the *Pagan Polytheiſm*, is thus fully declared by *Moſcopulus*; ἰϛέον ὅτι πάντα οἱ Ἕλλωες ἃ δύναμιν ἔχοντα ἑώρων, ἐπ' ἀνθ' ὑπισαόμας θεῶν τιὼ δύναμιν αὐτῆ ἐνεργεῖν ἐνόμιζον; ἐνὶ δ' ὀνόματι τό τε τιὼ δύναμιν ἔχον, καὶ τ' ὑπισατᾶντα τᾶτῳ θεὸν ὠνόμαζον· ὅθεν Ἥφαισον ἐκάλεσν τότε διακονικὸν τᾶτο πῦϱ, καὶ τ' ὑπισατᾶντα ταῖς διὰ τότο ἐνεργαμμέναις τέχναις, καὶ Δήμητϱαν τ' σῖτον καὶ τὰς καϱπὰς, καὶ τιὼ διϱαμμένω τότας θεὸν, καὶ ὑπισατᾶσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ Ἀθωνᾶν τιὼ φϱόνησιν, καὶ τὴν ἐφοϱὸν τ' φϱονήσεως θεόν· καὶ τ' Διόνυσον τ' οἶνον καὶ τ' διδόντα τᾶτον θεὸν· ὃν καὶ ἀπὸ τᾶ διδόναι τ' οἶνον ὁ Πλάτων παϱάγϱ, καὶ διδόινυσον τᾶτον ποιεῖ εἶτα καὶ Διόνυσον· καὶ Εἰλειθυίας τὰς τόκας, καὶ τὰς ἐφοϱάσας τὰς τόκας θεάς· καὶ Ἀφϱοδίτιω τὴν συνουσίαν καὶ ὑπισατᾶσαν ταύτῃ θεὸν· κ' τᾶτο καὶ Μέσας ἔλεγον τάστε λογικὰς τέχνας, οἷον ῥητοϱικὴν, ἀϱιθμητικὴν, κωμωδίαν, τϱαγωδίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐφόϱους καὶ παϱέχας τότων θεάς. *We muſt know, that whatſoever the Greeks (or Pagans) ſaw to have any Power, Vertue or Ability in it, they looked upon it as not acting according to ſuch Power, without the Providence, Preſidency, or Influence of the Gods; and they called both the Thing it ſelf, which hath the Power, and the Deity preſiding over it, by one and the ſame Name; whence the Miniſterial Fire uſed in Mechanick Arts, and the God preſiding over thoſe Arts that work by fire, were both alike called* Hephæſtus *or Vulcan; ſo the name* Demetra *or* Ceres, *was given as well to Corn and Fruits, as to that Goddeſs which beſtows them;* Athena *or* Minerva, *did alike ſignifie, Wiſdom, and the Goddeſs which is the Diſpenſer of it;* Dionyſus *or* Bacchus, *Wine, and the God that giveth Wine (whence* Plato *etymologizes the Name from giving of Wine.) In like manner, they called both the Childbearing of Women, and the Goddeſſes that ſuperintend over the ſame* Eilithuia *or* Lucina; Coitus *or Copulation, and* *In Heſiod. p. 1.*

the Deity presiding over it, Aphrodite *or* Venus. *And lastly, in the same manner, by the Muses, they signified both those Rational Arts, Rhetorick, Astronomy, Poetry, and the Goddesses which assist therein or promote the same.* Now as the several *Things* in *Nature* and *Parts* of the *Corporeal World*, are thus *Metonymically* and *Catacrestically*, called *Gods* and *Goddesses*, it is evident, that such *Deities* as these, could not be supposed to be *Unmade* or *Self-existent*, by those who acknowledged the whole World to have been Generated and had a Beginning. But as these Names were used more *Properly*, to signifie *Invisible* and *Understanding Powers*, Presiding over the *Things* in *Nature*, and Dispensing of them, however they have an appearance of so many several distinct *Deities*, yet they seem to have been all really nothing else, but as *Balbus* in *Cicero* expresses it, *Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque Rei, God passing through, and acting in the Nature of every thing*, and consequently, but several Names, or so many Different Notions and Considerations of that One Supreme Numen, that Divine Force, Power, and Providence, which runs through the whole World, as variously Manifesting it self therein.

Wherefore, since there were no other Kinds of *Gods* amongst the *Pagans*, besides these already enumerated, unless their *Images*, *Statues* and *Symbols* should be accounted such (because they were also sometimes *Abusively* called *Gods*) which could not be supposed by them to have been *Unmade* or without a Beginning, they being the Workmanship of mens own hands; We conclude universally, that all that *Multiplicity* of *Pagan Gods*, which makes so great a shew and noise, was really either nothing but *Several Names* and *Notions* of One *Supreme Deity*, according to its different *Manifestations*, *Gifts* and *Effects* in the World, *Personated*; or else Many *Inferiour Understanding Beings*, *Generated* or *Created* by One *Supreme*: so that *One Unmade Self-existent Deity*, and no more, was acknowledged by the more Intelligent of the ancient Pagans, (for of the Sottish Vulgar no man can pretend to give an account, in any Religion) and consequently, the *Pagan Polytheism* (or *Idolatry*) consisted not, in worshipping a *Multiplicity* of *Unmade Minds*, *Deities* and *Creators* Self-existent from *Eternity* and Independent upon *One Supreme*; but in Mingling and Blending, some way or other unduly, *Creature-worship*, with the *Worship of the Creator.*

And that the ancient Pagan Theists thus acknowledged One Supreme God, who was the only Θεὸς ἀγένητος, *Unmade* or *Unproduced Deity*, (I say, Theists, because those amongst the *Pagans*, who admitted of Many Gods, but none at all Unmade, were absolute Atheists) this may be undeniably concluded from what was before proved, that they acknowledged Omnipotence or Infinite Power, to be a Divine Attribute. Because upon the *Hypothesis* of *Many Unmade* Self-existent Deities, it is plain that there could be none *Omnipotent*, and consequently no such thing as *Omnipotence in rerum natura:* and therefore *Omnipotence* was rightly and properly styled by *Macrobius*, *Summi Dei Omnipotentia*, it being an Attribute Essentially Peculiar, to One *Supreme*, and Sole Self-existent Deity. And

Simplicius

Simplicius likewiſe a Pagan, confuted the Manichean *Hypotheſis* of *Two Self-exiſtent Deities* from hence alſo, becauſe it deſtroyed *Omnipotence*: ἀναλαμβάνονται δυό λέγοντες τὴν ὅλων ἀρχὰς (τό τε ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν) καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενον θεὸν, μηκέτι πάντων αἴτιον λέγειν, μηδὲ ὡς παντοκράτορα δικαίως ἀνυμνεῖν, μηδὲ δύναμιν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκροτάτην καὶ ὅλην ἀναπτύσσειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως, εἴπερ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο· *For they who aſſert Two Principles of the Univerſe (One Good, the other Evil) are neceſſitated to grant, that the Good Principle called by them God, is not the Cauſe of all things, neither can they praiſe it as Omnipotent, nor aſcribe a Perfect and Whole Entire Power to it, but only the Half of a Whole Power at moſt, if ſo much.* Over and beſides all which, it hath been alſo proved already, that the ancient Atheiſts under Paganiſm, directed themſelves principally, againſt the *Opinion of Monarchy*, or of One *Supreme Deity* ruling over all; from whence it plainly appears, that it was then aſſerted by the Pagan Theiſts. *In Epict. C. 4.*

And we think it here obſervable, that this was a thing ſo generally confeſſed and acknowledged, that *Fauſtus* the Manichean, took up this Conceit, that both the Chriſtians and Jews *Paganized in the Opinion of Monarchy*, that is, derived this Doctrine of One Deity, the Sole Principle of all things, only by Tradition from the Pagans, and by conſequence were no other than *Schiſms* or Subdivided *Sects* of Paganiſm. *Vos deſciſcentes à Gentibus* (ſaith he) *Monarchiæ Opinionem primò vobiſcum divulſiſtis, id eſt, ut Omnia credatis ex Deo. Eſtis ſanè Schiſma, necnon & Priores veſtri Judæi. De Opinione Monarchiæ, in nullo etiam ipſi diſſentiunt à Paganis. Quare conſtat Vos atque Judeos, Schiſma eſſe Gentililitatis. Sectas autem ſi quæras, non plus erunt quàm Duæ,* Gentium & Noſtra. *You revolting from the Gentiles, broke off their Opinion of Monarchy, and carried it along with you, ſo as to believe all things to come from God. Wherefore you are really nothing but a Schiſm of Paganiſm, or a Subdivided Branch of it, and ſo are your Predeceſſors the Jews; who differ nothing from Pagans neither, in this Opinion of Monarchy. Whence it is manifeſt, that both Chriſtians and Jews are but Schiſms of Gentiliſm. But as for Sects of Religion, really differing from another, there are but theſe Two, That of the Pagans, and That of ours, who altogether diſſent from them.* Now though this be falſe and fooliſh, as to the Chriſtians and Jews, deriving that Opinion of Monarchy, only by way of Tradition, from the Pagans, which is a thing founded in the Principles of Nature; yet it ſufficiently ſhews, this to have been the General Sence of the Pagans, that all their Gods were derived from One Sole Self-exiſtent Deity; ſo that they neither acknowledged a *Multitude* of Unmade Deities, nor yet that *Duplicity* of them, which *Plutarch* contended for, (One *Good* and the Other *Evil*) who accordingly denied God to be the Cauſe of all Things, writing thus in his Defect of Oracles, οἱ μὲν ἀδένος ἁπλῶς τὸν θεὸν, οἱ δ' ὁμῶς τι πολλῶν αἴτιον ποιοῦντες, ἀσυχῶσι τῷ μεῖζον καὶ πρέποντος, *They are guilty of one Extreme, who make God the Cauſe of Nothing, and they of another, who make him the Cauſe of all things.* But this Paradox, was both late ſtarted amongſt the Greeks, and quickly cried down by the Succeſſion of their Philoſophers, and therefore prejudiceth not the Truth of *Fauſtus* his *S. Aug. contra Fauſt. L. 20.*

General Assertion, concerning the Pagans. Which is again fully confirmed, by St. *Austin* in his Reply; *Siquis ità dividat, ut dicat eorum quæ aliquâ Religione detinentur, Aliis placere Unum Deum colendum, Aliis Multos; per hanc differentiam & Pagani à nobis Remoti sunt, & Manichæi cum Paganis deputantur, nos autem cum Judæis. Hîc fortè dicatis, quòd Multos Deos Vestros, ex Una Substantia perhibetis; Quasi Pagani Multos suos, non ex Una asserant, quamvis diversa illis Officia, & Opera, & Potestates illis attribuant; sicut etiam apud vos, Alius Deus expugnat Gentem Tenebrarum, Alius ex eâ captâ fabricat Mundum, &c. If one should make another Distribution of Religionists, into such as Worship either One God, or Many Gods; according to this Division the Pagans will be removed from us Christians, and joyned with You Manicheans. But perhaps you will here say, that all your Many Gods are derived from One Substance, as if the Pagans did not also derive all their Gods from One, though attributing several Offices, Works and Powers to them; in like manner as amongst you, One God expugns the Nation of Darkness, Another God makes a World out of it,* &c. And again afterwards he writes further to the same purpose; *Discat ergò* Faustus *Monarchiæ Opinionem, non ex Gentibus nos habere, sed Gentes non usque adeò ad Falsos Deos esse dilapsas, ut Opinionem amitterent Unius Veri Dei, ex quo est Omnis qualiscunque Natura: Let* Faustus *therefore know, that We Christians have not derived the Opinion of Monarchy from the Pagans, but that the Pagans have not so far degenerated, sinking down into the Worship of false Gods, as to have lost the Opinion of One True God, from whom is all Whatsoever Nature.*

L. 20. cap. 10.

S. Aug. contra Faust. L. 20. c. 19.

XIV. It follows from what we have declared, that the *Pagan Polytheism* or *Multiplicity of Gods*, is not to be understood in the sence before expressed, of *Many* θεοὶ ἀγένητοι καὶ αὐθυπόστατοι, *Many Unproduced and Self-existent Deities*, but according to some other *Notion* or *Equivocation* of the word *Gods*. For *God* is, τῶν πολλαχῶς λεγομένων, *one of those words that hath been used in many different sences*, the *Atheists* themselves acknowledging a *God* and *Gods*, according to some Private Sences of their own, (which yet they do not all agree in neither) and *Theists* not always having the same Notion of that Word: Forasmuch as *Angels* in Scripture are called *Gods* in one sence, that is, as *Understanding Beings* Superiour to men, Immortal, Holy and Happy; and the word is again sometimes carried down lower to *Princes* and *Magistrates*; and not only so, but also to *Good men* as such, when they are said to be *Made Partakers of the Divine Nature*. And thus that learned Philosopher and Christian *Boethius*, *Omnis Beatus Deus; sed Natura quidem Unus, Participatione verò nihil prohibet esse quamplurimos*, *every Good and Happy man is a God, and though there be only One God, by Nature, yet nothing hinders but that there may be Many by Participation*. But then again all *Men* and *Angels* are alike denied to be *Gods* in other Respects, and particularly, as to *Religious Worship*. *Thou shalt Worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou Serve*. Now this is that, which seems to be Essentially included in the Pagan Notion of the word *God* or *Gods*, when taken in general, namely, *a Respect to Religious Worship*. Wherefore a *God* in general according to the sence of the *Pagan Theists*, may be thus defined, *An Understanding*

derſtanding Being ſuperiour to Men, not originally derived from Senſleſs Matter, and look'd upon as an Object for mens Religious Worſhip. But this general *Notion* of the word *God*, is again reſtrained and limited, by *Differences*, in the *Diviſion* of it. For ſuch a God as this, may be either ἀγέννητος, *Ingenerate* or *Unproduced*, and conſequently *Self-exiſtent*; or elſe γενητὸς, *Generated* or *Produced*, and *Dependent* on ſome Higher Being as its *Cauſe*. In the former ſence, the Intelligent Pagans, as we have declared, acknowledged only *One God*, who was therefore called by them ὁ θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχὴν, according to that of *Thales* in *Laertius*, πρεσβύτατον γὰρ ὄντων, ὁ θεὸς, ἀγέννητον γάρ· *God is the oldeſt of all things, becauſe he is Unmade or Unproduced, and the only thing that is ſo:* but in the latter, they admitted of *Many Gods*, Many *Underſtanding Beings*, which, though *Generated* or *Produced*, yet were *Superiour to Men*, and look'd upon as *Objects* for their *Religious Worſhip*. And thus the *Pagan Theiſts* were both *Polytheiſts* and *Monotheiſts* in different Sences, they acknowledged both *Many Gods* and *One God*; that is, *Many Inferiour Deities*, ſubordinate to *One Supreme*. Thus *Onatus* the Pythagorean in *Stobæus* declares himſelf, δοκεῖ δέ μοι, οὐ μὴ εἷς εἶναι ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ὁ μέγιστος, καὶ καθ' ὑπέρτερος, καὶ ὁ κρατέων τῶν πάντος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολλοὶ διαφέροντες κατὰ δύναμιν, βασιλεύει ὁ πάντων αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ κράτει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ ἀρετᾷ μείζων· ὅστος ὢν κ' εἴη ὁ περιέχων καὶ σύμπαντα κόσμον· τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ θεοῦντες εἰσὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν, σύν τε τῶ παντὸς περιαγήσει, κατὰ λόγον ὑπαδέοντες, τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ νοητῷ· *It ſeemeth to me that there is not only One God, but that there is* One *the Greateſt and Higheſt God, that governeth the whole World, and that there are* Many *other Gods, beſides him differing as to power, that One God reigning over them all, who ſurmounts them all, in Power, Greatneſs and Vertue. This is that God, who conteins and comprehends the whole World; but the other Gods, are thoſe who together with the Revolution of the Univerſe, orderly follow that Firſt and Intelligible God.* Where it is evident, that *Onatus* his πολλοὶ θεοὶ or *Many Gods*, were only the *Heavenly Bodies*, or *Animated Stars*. And partly, from thoſe words cited, but chiefly others which follow after in the ſame place, (that will be produced elſewhere) it plainly appears, that in *Onatus* his time, there were ſome who acknowledged *One Only God*, denying all thoſe other *Gods*, then commonly Worſhipped. And indeed *Anaxagoras*, ſeems to have been ſuch a one; foraſmuch as aſſerting *One Perfect Mind* Ruling over all, (which is the *True Deity*) he effectually degraded all thoſe other *Pagan Gods*, the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars* from their *Godſhips*, by making the *Sun* nothing but a *Globe of Fire*, and the *Moon Earth* and *Stones*, and the like of the other *Stars* and *Planets*. And ſome ſuch there were alſo amongſt the *Ancient Egyptians*, as ſhall be declared in due place. Moreover *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus* tells us, that there hath been always leſs doubt and controverſie in the World concerning the *One God*, than concerning the *Many Gods*. Wherefore *Onatus* here declares his own ſence, as to this particular, *viz.* that beſides the *One Supreme God*, there were alſo *Many* other *Inferiour Deities*, that is, *Underſtanding Beings, that ought to be Religiouſly Worſhipped.*

Ecl. Phyſ. l. 1. p. 4.

P. 206.

But becauſe it is not impoſſible, but that there might be imagin'd *One Supreme Deity*, though there were many other θεοὶ ἀγένητοι *Unmade*

made and *Self-exiſtent Gods* beſides, as *Plutarch* ſuppoſed before, One Supreme God, together with a ψυχὴ ἄνας, *an Irrational Soul* or *Dæmon Unmade* Inferiour in power to it; therefore we add in the next place, that the more Intelligent Pagans, did not only aſſert *One God* that was *Supreme* and κράτιστος πάντων, *the moſt Powerful of all the Gods*, but alſo who being *Omnipotent*, was the *Principle* and *Cauſe* of all the reſt, and therefore the only Θεὸς ἀγένητος καὶ αὐθυπόστατος, *the only Unproduced and Self-exiſtent Deity*. *Maximus Tyrius* affirms this to have been the general ſence of all the Pagans, that there was, Θεὸς εἷς πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ πατὴρ, καὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ, Θεοῦ παῖδες, συνάρχοντες θεῷ, *One God the King and Father of all, and many Gods, the Sons of God, reigning together with God.* Neither did the Poets imply any thing leſs, when ζεὺς was ſo often called by the Greeks and *Jupiter* by the Latins πατὴρ ἀνδρῶντε θεῶντε, and *Hominum Pater atq; Deorum*, or *Hominum Satórque Deorum*, and the like. And indeed the *Theogonia* of the ancient Pagans before mention'd, was commonly thus declared by them univerſally, γεγονέναι τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι *that the Gods were Generated*, or as *Herodotus* expreſſeth it, ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν ἐγένετο, *that every one of the Gods was Generated or Produced*; which yet is not ſo to be underſtood, as if they had therefore ſuppoſed, no God at all *Unmade* or *Self-exiſtent*, (which is *Abſolute Atheiſm*) but that the οἱ θεοὶ *the Gods*, as diſtinguiſh'd from the ὁ θεὸς or τὸ θεῖον, from *God* or the *Supreme Deity*, were all of them univerſally, *Made* or *Generated*.

Diſſ. 1. pag. 5.

But to the end that we may now render this buſineſs, yet ſomething more eaſie to be believed, that the Intelligent Pagans did thus ſuppoſe all their Gods ſave *One*, to have been *Made* or *Generated*, and conſequently acknowledged only *One* Θεὸν ἀγένητον καὶ αὐθυπόστατον, *One Unproduced and Self-exiſtent Deity*, we ſhall in this place further obſerve, that the *Theogonia* of thoſe Ancient Pagans, their *Geneſis* and *Generation* of *Gods*, was really one and the ſame thing with the *Coſmogonia*, the *Geneſis* and *Generation of the World*, and indeed both of them underſtood of a *Temporary Production* both of theſe Gods and the World. And this we ſhall firſt prove from *Plato* in his *Timæus*; where he being to treat of the *Coſmogonia*, premiſeth this Diſtinction, concerning Two *Heads* of *Being*; That Some were *Eternal and never Made*, and Some again *Made or Generated*, the former whereof he calls ὐσία or *Eſſence*, the latter γένεσις or *Generation*: adding alſo this difference betwixt them, that the *Eternal and Immutable* things, were the proper Objects of *Science* and *Demonſtration*, but the other *Generated things* of *Faith* and *Opinion* only; ὅ, τι γὲ πρὸς γένεσιν ὐσία, τοῦτο πρὸς πίστιν ἀλήθεια, *For what Eſſence is to Generation, the ſame is certainty of Truth or Knowledge to Faith.* And thereupon he declares that his Reader was not to expect the ſame Evidence and Certainty of Truth from him, where he was now to treat of things *Generated* (namely the *Gods* and the *Viſible World*) as if he had been to diſcourſe about things *Immutable* and *Eternal*, in theſe words, ἐὰν ὄν, ὦ Σώκρατες, πολλὰ πολλῶν εἰρόντων περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως, &c. *If therefore, O* Socrates, *many things having been ſpoken by many men, concerning the Gods, and the Generation of the Univerſe, we be not able to diſcourſe Demonſtratively concerning the ſame, you ought not at all to wonder at it, or be diſpleaſed with us, but*

Pag. 29.

Pag. 29.

on

on the contrary, to rest well satisfied with our performance, if upon this Argument we do but deliver Probabilities. Where the *Gods* are by *Plato* plainly referred to γένεσις and not to οὐσία, to *Generation* and not to *Eternal* or *Immutable Essence*, as they are also joyned with the *Generation* of the *World*, as being but a Part thereof. Neither is this at all to be wondred at in *Plato*, since first the whole *Visible World*, was no less to him, than it was to the other Pagans, a *God*; he calling it θεὸν εὐδαίμονα, *a Happy God*, and before it was yet Made, θεὸν ἐσόμενον, *a God about to be Made.* Not as if *Plato* accompted the Senseless Matter of this Corporeal World, whether as perfectly Dead and Stupid, or as endued with a Plastick Nature only, to *be a God*, (for no *Inanimate thing* was a *God* to *Plato*) but because he supposed the World to be an *Animal*, endued with an Intellectual Soul, and indeed the best of all Animals compounded of Soul and Body, ὅτως δὴ κατὰ λόγον ἡ εἰκότα δὴ λέγειν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔννουν τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν· P. 30. *Wherefore we are thus according to Probability to conclude, that this World was really made by the Providence of God, an Intellectual Animal*; whence from an *Animal* forthwith it became a *God.* So that here we are to take notice, of *Two Gods* in *Plato*, very different from one another, One a *Generated God*, this whole *World Animated*, and another that God, by whose Providence this World was *Generated*, and thus made an *Animal* and a *God*; which latter must needs be an *Unmade, Self-existent Deity*, and not belong to γένεσις but to οὐσία, not to *Generation* but to *Immutable Essence.* Again those greater Parts of the World, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, (as supposed also to be *Animated* with Particular Souls of their own) were as well accompted by *Plato*, as by the other Pagans, *Gods*, he plainly calling them there ὁρατοὶ καὶ γενητοὶ θεοὶ, *Visible and Generated Gods.* Besides which *Celestial Gods*, the *Earth* it self also is supposed by him, to be either a *God* or *Goddess*, according to those Ancient Copies of the *Timæus*, used both by *Cicero* and *Proclus*: γῆν δ', τροφὸν μὲν ἡμετέραν, εἱλουμένου δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένου, φύλακα καὶ δημιουργὸν νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐμηχανήσατο, πρώτων καὶ πρεσβυτάτων θεῶν ὅσοι ἐντὸς οὐρανοῦ γεγόνασι. *God Fabricated the Earth also, which is our Nurse, turning round upon the Axis of the World, and thereby causing and maintaining the Succession of Day and Night, the First and Oldest of all the Gods, Generated within the Heavens.* Where since that Philosopher seems the rather to make the Earth an *Animal* and a *God*, because of its *Diurnal Circumgyration* upon its own *Axis*, we may conclude that afterwards when in his old age, (as *Plutarch* records from *Theophrastus*) he gave entertainment also to that other part of the *Pythagorick Hypothesis*, and attributed to the Earth a *Planetary Annual Motion* likewise about the Sun, (from whence it would follow, that as *Plotinus* expresseth it, the Earth was ἓν τῶν ἄστρων, *one of the Stars*) he was therefore still so much the more inclin'd, to think the *Earth* to be a *God* as well as the other *Planets*, or at least as the *Moon*; that having been formerly represented in the *Orphick Tradition*, but as another *Habitable Earth.* For these Verses of *Orpheus*, are recorded by *Proclus*, to that purpose;

Μήσατο δ' ἄλλην γαῖαν ἀπείρεσιον, ἣν τε σελήνην
Ἀθάνατοι κλήζουσιν, ὑπερχθόνιοι δέ τε μήνην,
Ἣ πόλλ' ὄρεα ἔχει, πόλλ' ἄστεα, πολλὰ μέλαθρα.

The sense whereof is this; *That God in the Cosmogonia or Cosmopœia, besides this Earth of ours, fabricated also another Vast Earth, which the Immortal Gods call* Selene, *but mortal men* Mene, *or the Moon; that hath many Hills and Vallies, many Cities and Houses in it.* From whence *Proclus*, though as it seems a Stranger to the Pythagorick System, yet being much addicted to these Orphick Traditions, concluded the Moon to be, γῆν αἰθερίαν, *an Ethereal Earth.*

See Macrob. Som. Scip. L. 1. c. 11.

After all this, *Plato*, that he might be thought to omit nothing in his *Timæan Cosmogonia*, speaks also of the *Genesis*, *Ortus* or *Generation* of the *Poetick Gods*, under the name of *Demons*, such as *Tethys* and *Phorcys*, *Saturn* and *Rhea*, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and the like; which seem to be really nothing else, but the other *Inanimate Parts* of the World and *Things of Nature* θεοποιηθέντα, that is, *Fictitiously Personated and Deified* (as is elsewhere declared.) Which whole business was a Thing set off by those Poets with much Fiction and *Physiological Allegory*. And though *Plato*, out of a seeming compliance with the Laws of his City, pretends here to give credit to this *Poetick Theogonia*, as Tradition delivered down from the *Sons of the Gods*, who must not be supposed to have been ignorant of their Parents; yet as *Eusebius* well observeth, he doth but all the while slily jear it, plainly insinuating the *Fabulosity* thereof, when he affirmeth it to have been introduced not only ἄνευ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων *without necessary Demonstrations*, but also ἄνευ εἰκότων, *without so much as Probabilities.* Nevertheless *Proclus* suspecting no such matter, but taking *Plato* in all this, to have been in very good earnest, interprets these *Poetick Gods* or *Demons* mentioned by him, to be the *Gods below the Moon*, (notwithstanding that the Earth was mentioned before by *Plato*) calling them ὑφεστήρους θεούς, *the Gods that cause Generation*, and seeming to understand thereby the *Animated Elements*; *Jupiter* being here not taken, as he is often elsewhere, for the *Supreme God*, but only for the *Animated Ether*, as *Juno* for the *Animated Air.* And upon this occasion, he runs out into a long Dispute, to prove, that not only the Stars were Animated, but also all the other *Sublunary Bodies* or *Elements*: εἰ γὰρ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος θεὸς εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν συμπληρούντων αὐτὸν μοιρίων, ἄθεον, καὶ ἀπρονόητον, εἰ δὲ καὶ θεοῦ πάντα μετέχει καὶ προνοίας, θείαν ἔλαχε φύσιν, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ οἰκείαι τάξεις θεῶν ἐφεστήκασιν αὐτοῖς, εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀφανὴς διὰ μέσων ψυχῶν καὶ νόων μετέχει τῆς μιᾶς ψυχῆς, καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς νοῦ, τί χρὴ περὶ τούτων οἴεσθαι τῆς στοιχείων· πῶς δ' οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ταῦτα διὰ δή τινων μέσων θείων τάξεων μετείληχε τῆς μιᾶς τοῦ κόσμου θεότητος· *For if the whole World be a Happy God, then none of the Parts of it are Godless, or devoid of Providence; but if all things partake of God and Providence, then are they not unfurnisht of the Divine Nature, and if so, there must be some peculiar Orders of Gods presiding over them. For if the Heavens by reason of particular Souls and Minds, partake of that one Soul and one Mind; why should we not conclude the same, concerning the Elements, that they also by certain*

p 287.

certain intermedious Orders of Gods, partake of that One Divinity of the whole World. Wherefore a little before, the ſame *Proclus* highly condemns, certain Ancient Phyſiologers, whom he ſuppoſeth *Ariſtotle* to have followed: πολλοῖς τῶν φυσιολόγων ἄψυχα εἰκῇ φερόμενα, καὶ ἀπρονόητα τοῦτα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα νενόμικε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐρανία διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξιν, νοῦν καὶ θεῶν μετέχειν ὁμολόγησεν, τὴν δὲ γένεσιν, ὡς πολυμερῆ ἀκόλουθον, καὶ ἀόριστον, καὶ ἀπρονόητον ἀπέλιπον, οἷα δὴ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὕστερον ἐδόξασε, ταῖς οὐρανίαις περιφοραῖς μόνως ὑπισχνούμενος, τὰς ἀκινήτους οὐσίας· εἴτε ὀκτὼ εἶεν, εἴτε πλείους· ἄψυχα δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα καταλείπων. *The Elements were thought by moſt of the Ancient Phyſiologers to be Inanimate, and to be moved Fortuitouſly without Providence. For though they acknowledged the Heavenly Bodies, by reaſon of that Order that appears in them, to partake of Mind and Gods; yet they left this Sublunary World (or Geneſis) to Float up and down without Providence. And theſe* Ariſtotle *afterwards followed, appointing immoveable Intelligences to preſide over the Celeſtial Sphears only, (whether Eight or more) but leaving all the lower Elements Dead and Inanimate* P. 285.

Laſtly, beſides all thoſe other *Mundane Gods* before mentioned, as *Generated* together with the *World*, though *Proclus* ſeem to be of another Opinion, yet it is manifeſt that *Plato* doth not there in his *Timæus*, altogether forget thoſe properly called *Dæmons* (elſewhere ſo much inſiſted upon by him) but in the very next following words, he plainly inſinuates them, after this manner; ὅσοι φαίνονται καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἐθέλωσι θεοὶ, *the Gods which appear viſibly to us as often as they pleaſe*, or *which can appear and diſappear at pleaſure*, ſpeaking alſo of their *Geneſis* or *Generation* as part of the *Coſmogonia*; and then again afterwards calling them νέοι θεοὶ, *Junior Gods*, he deſcribes them as thoſe, whoſe particular Office it was, to ſuperintend and preſide over Humane Affairs, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τὸ θνητὸν διακυβερνᾶν ζῶον, ὅτι μὴ κακῶν αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ γίγνοιτο αἴτιον, *and to govern this mortal Animal, Man, after the beſt manner poſſible, ſo that he ſhould no otherwiſe fail of doing well or being happy, than as he became a cauſe of Evil and Miſery to himſelf, by the abuſe of his own Liberty.* P. 41. P. 42.

And thus much out of *Plato*'s *Timæus*; but the ſame thing might be proved alſo out of his other Writings, as particularly from that Paſſage in his Tenth Book of Laws, where he takes notice again of the *Theogonia* of the Ancients, and that as it had been depraved and corrupted by a great mixture of Impious and Immoral Fables. Εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἐν γράμμασι λόγοι κείμενοι. οἱ μὲν ἔν τισι μέτροις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ μέτρων· λέγοντες περὶ θεῶν, οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι, ὡς γέγονεν ἡ πρώτη φύσις οὐρανοῦ τε τὰ ἄλλων· περιόντες δὲ τὰ ἀρχῆς ὁ πολὺ θεογονίαν διεξέρχοῦσι, γεγόμενοί τε ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡμίλησαν· *There are, ſaith he, extant amongſt us Athenians, certain ſtories and traditions, very ancient, concerning the Gods, written partly in Metre and partly in Proſe, declaring how the Heaven, and the other Gods were at firſt made, or Generated, and then carrying on their fabulous* Theogonia *farther, how theſe Generated Gods, afterward converſed with one another, and ingendring after the manner of men, begat other Gods.* Where that Philoſopher taking off his vizard, plainly diſcovers his great diſlike of that whole *Fabulous Theogonia* (however he acknowledges elſewhere

elsewhere that it did contain ὑπονοίας, that is, *Physiological Allegories* under it) as a thing that was destructive of all Piety and Vertue, by reason of its attributing all Humane Passions and Vices to the Gods. However it plainly appears from hence, that the *Theogonia* and the *Cosmogonia* were one and the same thing, the *Generation of the Gods* being here, the *Generation* of the *Heaven*, and of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the like.

Moreover this same thing is sufficiently manifest also, even from *Hesiod*'s own *Theogonia*, which doubtless was that which *Plato* principally aimed at, and if it were not absolutely the First, yet is it the most ancient Writing now extant, in that kind. For there in the beginning of that Poem, *Hesiod* invokes his Muses after this manner;

Χαίρετε τέκνα Διός, δότε δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν·
Κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
Οἳ Γῆς ἐξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
Νυκτός τ' ὀνοφερῆς, οὓς δ' ἅλμυρὸς ἔτρεφε Πόντος.
Εἴπατε δ', ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ Γαῖα γένοντο,
Καὶ ποταμοί, καὶ Πόντος ἀπείριτος οἰδματι θύων,
Ἀστέρά τε λαμπετόωντα, καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν,
Οἵ τ' ἐκ τούτων ἐγένοντο θεοὶ δωτῆρες ἐάων.

Salvete natæ Jovis, *date verò amabilem cantilenam:*
Celebrate quoq; immortalium divinum genus semper existentium,
Qui Tellure prognati sunt, Cœlo stellato,
Nocteq; caliginosâ, quos item salsus nutrivit Pontus.
Dicite insuper, ut primùm Dii & Terra facti fuerint,
Et Flumina, & Pontus immensus æstu fervens,
Astraq; fulgentia, & Cælum latum supernè,
Et qui ex his nati sunt Dii datores bonorum.

Where we see plainly, that the *Generation of the Gods*, is the *Generation of the Earth, Heaven, Stars, Seas, Rivers*, and other things begotten from them (as probably amongst the rest Demons and Nymphs which the same *Hesiod* speaks of elsewhere.) But immediatly after this Invocation of the Muses, the Poet begins with *Chaos* and *Tartara* and *Love*, as the First Principles, and then procedes to the Production of the Earth, and of *Night* out of *Chaos*; of the *Ether* and of *Day* from *Night*; of the *Starry Heavens*, *Mountains* and *Seas*, *&c.* All which *Genesis* or *Generation* of *Gods* is really nothing but a Poetical Description of the *Cosmogonia*: as throughout the Sequele of that whole Poem, all seems to be *Physiology*, veiled under Fiction and Allegories. And thus the Ancient *Scholia* upon that Book begin, Ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ περὶ τῆς Θεογονίας λόγος φυσικὴν διήγησιν τῶν ὄντων ὑπαγορεύει, *we must know, that the whole Doctrine of the* Theogonia, *contains under it, in way of Allegory, a Physiological Declaration of things.* *Hesiod*'s Gods being not only the Animated Parts of the World, but also all the other *Things of Nature*, fictitiously *Personated* and *Deified*, or Abusively called *Gods* and *Goddesses*.

Neither

Neither was this only the Doctrine of the Greeks, that the *World* was thus *Made* or *Generated*, and that the *Generation of the World*, was a *Theogonia* or a *Generation of Gods* (the World it self and its several Parts being accounted such by them) but also in like manner of the other *Barbarian Pagans*. For *Diogenes Laertius* hath recorded, concerning the Persian *Magi*, ἀποφαίνεσθαι περί τε ὁσίας θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως, ὃς καὶ πῦρ εἶναι καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, *That they did both assert the Being and Generation of Gods, and also that these Gods were Fire and Earth and Water*, that is, That the *Animated Elements* were Gods, (as *Proclus* also before declared) and that these together with the World, were Generated, or had a Beginning. And both *Laertius* and *Diodorus* represent it as the Opinion of the ancient Egyptians, that the World was *Generated* or had a *Temporary Production*; as also that the Sun and Moon and other Parts of the World, were *Gods*. But whereas the same *Diodorus* writes of certain Egyptian Gods, οἱ γένεσιν ἀΐδιον ἐχηκότες, *which had an Eternal Generation*, he seems to mean thereby, only the *Celestial Gods* the Sun, Moon and Stars, as distinct from those other Hero's and Men-Gods, which are again thus described by him, οἱ θνητοὶ ὑπάρξαντες, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν, τετυχηκότες τῆς ἀθανασίας, *who though naturally Mortal, yet by reason of their Wisdom, Vertue and Beneficence toward Mankind, had been advanced to Immortality.*

In Proæm. p. 2.

In the Persian Sacrifices, μάγου δὲ παρεστῶτος ἐπαείδειν θεογονίαν, *one of the Magi standing by sung the Theogonia (i.e. The Cosmogonia) Herod. in Clio. n. 132.*

And by this time we think it doth sufficiently appear, that the *Theogonia* of the Ancients, is not to be understood merely of their *Heroes* and *Men-gods*, or of all their *Gods*, as supposed to have been nothing else but *Mortal Men*, (*Dii Mortalibus nati Matribus*, as *Cotta* in *Cicero* speaks) who according to the more Vulgar signification of the Word, had been Generated, (*Humano More*) as some, otherwise Learned Men, have seemed to suppose; but that it extends to all the Inferiour *Pagan Gods*, some whereof were *Parts* of the Visible *World Animated*, as the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Earth; so that their *Theogonia*, was the very same thing with the *Cosmogonia*, or at least a Part thereof. Notwithstanding which, we deny not but that there was also in the Paganick Fables of the Gods, a certain Mixture of *History* and *Herology* interserted, and complicated all along together with *Physiology*.

We are in the next place to observe, that both this *Theogonia* and *Cosmogonia* of the Ancient Pagans, their *Generation* of the *World* and *Gods*, is to be understood of a *Temporary Production* of them, whereby they were Made ἐκ μὴ ὄντων, or from an *Antecedent Non-existence* brought into Being. For this was the General Tradition amongst the Pagans, that the World was made out of an antecedent *Chaos*, as shall be afterwards further declared. And *Aristotle* affirmeth, that before his time, this *Genesis* and *Temporary Production* of the World had been Universally entertain'd by all, and particularly that *Plato* was an Assertor of the same. Nevertheless, the generality of the latter Platonists, endeavour with all their might, to force a contrary sence upon his *Timæus*. Which is a thing that *Plutarch*, long since observed, after this manner; οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν χρωμένων Πλάτωνι, φοβούμενοι, καὶ ἀπαλυπούμενοι,

De Psychog. Plat. P. 1013. P.

λυπόμενοι, πάντα μηχανῶνται, καὶ διαβιάζονται καὶ στρέφουσιν, ὡς τὸ δεινὸν καὶ ἀρρήτον οἰόμενοι δεῖν διεκλύπτειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν, τήν τε τοῦ κόσμου τήν τε τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ γένεσιν καὶ σύστασιν, ὅτι ἐξ ἀϊδίου συνεστῶτων, οὐδὲ τὸ ἄπαυστον χρόνον ὄντως ἐχόντων. *The most of* Plato's *Followers, being infinitely troubled and perplexed in their minds, turn themselves every way, using all manner of Arts, and offering all kind of violence to his Text, as conceiving, that they ought by all means possible, to hide and conceal that Opinion (as infand and detestable) of the Generation of the World, and of the Soul of it, so as not to have continued from Eternity, or through a succession of Infinite Time.* Notwithstanding which, we conceive it to be undeniably evident, that *Plato* in his *Timæus*, doth assert the *Genesis* of the World in this sence, to wit of a *Temporary Production* of it, and as not having existed from *Eternity* or *without Beginning*. First, because in the entrance of that Discourse, he opposeth these Two things to one another, τὸ ἀεὶ ὄν, *that which alway is*, and τὸ γένεσιν ἔχον, *that which is Generated or Made*, and therefore in affirming the World to have been *Generated*, he must needs deny the *Eternity* thereof. Again, the Question is so punctually stated by him afterwards, as that there is no possibility of any Subterfuge left, πότερον ὧδε ἀεὶ γενέσεως ἀρχὰς ἔχων ἐδημίσατο, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξάμενος· *Whether the World always were, having no Beginning or Generation, or whether it was Made or Generated, having commenced from a certain Epocha?* To which the Answer is, γέγονεν, *that it was Made or had a Beginning.* Moreover this Philosopher, there plainly affirms also, that Time it self was Made, or had a Beginning, χρόνος δ' ὢν μετ' οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν, ἵνα ἅμα γεννηθέντες, ἅμα καὶ λυθῶσιν, ἂν ποτε λύσις τις αὐτῶν γένηται. *Time was made together with the Heaven, that being both Generated together, they might be both dissolved together likewise, if at least there should ever be any dissolution of them.* Besides which, he plainly declares that before this Orderly World was produced, the Matter of it did move disorderly, πᾶν ὅσον ὧδε ὁρατὸν, παραλαβὼν, οὐκ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον, ἀλλὰ κινούμενον πλημμελῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας· *God taking all that Matter, which was, (not then resting, but moving confusedly and disorderly) he brought it into Order, out of Confusion.* Which is no more than if he should have said, God made this World, out of an *antecedent Chaos*; which, as we said before, was the constant Tradition of the Ancient Pagans. Now as to Authority, we may well conclude, that *Aristotle* was better able to understand both *Plato*'s Philosophy, and Greek, than any of those Juniour Platonists, who lived hundreds of years after. And yet we are not quite destitute of other Suffrages besides *Aristotle*'s neither, not only *Philo* the Jew, but also *Plutarch* and *Atticus*, who were both of them Platonick Pagans, voting on this side, besides *Alexander Aphrodisius* a judicious Peripatetick. The only Objection considerable, is from what *Plato* himself writes in his *Third* and *Sixth* Book of *Laws*. In the former whereof *Clinias*, and the Athenian *Hospes*, discourse together after this manner, concerning the Original or First Beginning of Common-wealths: Πολιτείας δὴ ἀρχὴν τίνα ποτὲ φῶμεν γεγονέναι; ΚΛ. Λέγεις δὴ πόθεν; ΑΘ. Οἶμαι μὲν ἀπὸ χρόνου μήκους τε καὶ ἀπειρίας, καὶ τῆς μεταβολῶν ἐν ταύτῃ. ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις; ΑΘ. Φέρε, ἀφ' ὧν πόλεις τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολιτευόμενοι, δοκεῖς ἄν ποτε καταλα-

P. 676. Steph.

καταναοῆσαι χρόνος πλῆθος ὅσον γέγονεν ; ΚΛ. Οὔκουν ῥᾴδιόν γε δαιμονίως. ΑΘ. Τὸ δέ γε ὡς ἄπειρόν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη. ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν τοῦτό γε. ΑΘ. Μῶν γε οὖν δὴ μυρίαι μὲν ὅτι μυρίαις ἡμῶν γεγόνασι πόλεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ; καὶ τὰ αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ πλήθους λόγον, ὃν ἐλάττους ἐφθαρμένοι εἰσί ; πεπολίσθαι μέν φασι πάσας πολιτείας πολλάκις ἑκάσαις ; καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐξ ἐλαττόνων, μείζους, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μειζόνων, ἐλάττους· καὶ χείρους ἐκ βελτιόνων γεγόνασι, καὶ βελτίους ἐκ χειρόνων· Ath. *What beginning ſhall we ſay there was of Common-wealths?* Cl. *Whence would your ſelf derive them?* Ath. *I ſuppoſe from a great length and Infinity of time, through Succeſſive Changes.* Cl. *I underſtand not well what you mean.* Ath. *Thus therefore, Do you think that you are able to determine, what Length or Quantity of Time there hath been ſince Cities and Polities of Men firſt began?* Cl. *This is by no means eaſie to be done* Ath. *Wherefore there is a kind of Infinity and Ineſtimability of this time.* Cl. *It is very true.* Ath. *Have there not then been Innumerable Cities conſtituted within this time, and as many again deſtroyed, of all ſeveral Forms ; they being changed from Greater to Leſſer, and from Leſſer to Greater, from Better to Worſer and from Worſer to Better?* Now we ſay that if *Plato* intended here, to aſſert an Abſolute Infinity of Time Paſt, then it muſt needs be granted, that in his old age, when he wrote his Book of Laws, he changed his Opinion from what it was before when he wrote his *Timæus* ; and if ſo, he ought in all reaſon to have retracted the ſame, which he does not here do. But in very truth, the meaning of this Philoſopher, in thoſe words cited, ſeems to be this ; not that there was an Abſolute Infinity of Time paſt (as *Proclus* contends, taking advantage of that word ἀπειρία) but only that the World had laſted ſuch a Length of Time, as was in a manner ineſtimable to us, or uncomputable by us, there having happened, as he addeth, in the mean time, ſeveral Succeſſive Deſtructions and Conſumptions of Mankind, by means of various Accidents, as particularly, One moſt remarkable Deluge and Inundation of Waters. The Latter place, in his Sixth Book of Laws, runs thus ; P. 781.
ἢ τὴν ἀνθρώπων γένεσιν ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀρχὴν ὁδαμίαν εἴληχεν, οὐδ' ἕξει ποτέ γε τελευτήν· ἀλλ' ἦν τε ἀεὶ καὶ ἔσται πάντως· ἢ μηκός τι τὴν ἀρχῆς ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ἀμήχανον ἂν χρόνον ὅσον γεγονὸς ἂν εἴη. *Either the Generation of Men had no Beginning at all, and will have no End, but always was and always will be, or elſe, there has been an Ineſtimable Length of Time, from the Beginning of it.* Which place affordeth ſtill more light to the former, for we may well conclude that by ἄπειρόν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον there, was not meant an *Abſolute Infinity* of Time, but only ſuch as had a very remote or diſtant Beginning, becauſe ἀμήχανον here, is plainly taken in that ſence. We conceive therefore, that this was *Platos* Opinion in his Old Age, when he wrote his Book of Laws, that though the World had a Beginning, yet it had continued a very long Time, not computable by us ; or at leaſt, he thought fit to declare himſelf after that manner, perhaps by reaſon of the Clamours of *Ariſtotle*, or ſome others againſt his *Timæus*, that ſo he might thereby ſomewhat mollifie that Opinion of the *Novity of the World*, by removing the *Epocha* and Date thereof to ſo great a diſtance.

Now it is very true, what we have ſeveral times before ſuggeſted, that there have been amongſt the Pagans, both *Theogoniſts* and *Coſmogo-*

nists too, that were *Atheists*. They abusing the word *Gods* several ways; Some of them, as *Anaximander*, understanding thereby *Inanimate Worlds* successively Generated out of Senseless Matter, and Corrupted again into it; others, as *Anaximenes* and *Democritus*, allowing that there were certain Animals and Understanding Beings Superiour to Men, but such only as were *Native* and *Mortal*, in like manner as Men, and calling these by the Name of Gods. Of the former of which Two Philosophers, St. *Austin* gives us this accompt; Anaximenes *omnes rerum causas Infinito Aeri dedit, nec Deos negavit aut tacuit, non tamen ab ipsis Aerem factum, sed ipsos ex Aere ortos credidit*: Anaximenes *made Infinite Air, to be the first Original and Cause of all things, and yet was he not therefore silent concerning the Gods, much less did he deny them; nevertheless he did not believe the Air to have been Made by the Gods, but the Gods to have been all generated out of the Air.* These were therefore such *Theogonists*, as supposed all the *Gods* without exception, to be *Generable* and *Corruptible*, and acknowed no Θεὸν ἀγένητον at all, no Understanding Being *Unmade* and *Self-existent*, but concluded *Senseless Matter* to be the only ἀγένητον and Original of all things, which is *Absolute Atheism*. Notwithstanding which, it is certain that all the *Pagan Theogonists* were not *Atheists*, (no more than all their *Cosmogonists Theists*) but that there was another sort of *Theogonists* amongst them, who supposed indeed all the *Inferiour Mundane Gods* to have been *Made* or *Generated* in one Sence or other, but asserted One Θεὸν ἀγένητον καὶ αὐθυπόστατον, *One Supreme Unmade Self-existent Deity*, who was the Cause of them all, Which *Theogonists* for distinction sake, from those other *Atheistick ones*; may be called *Divine*.

And that *Plato* was such a *Divine Theogonist*, is a thing as we conconceive out of question. But if there had been any doubt concerning it, it would have been sufficiently removed from those Passages before cited out of his *Timæus*. To which nevertheless, for fuller satisfaction sake, may be added these Two which follow. The first, *pag.* 34. ὅτῳ δὴ πᾶς ὄντῳ ἀεὶ λογισμὸς θεῷ, ᾧ δὲ ποτὲ ἐσόμενον θεὸν λογισθείς· For thus it ought to be read ὄντῳ, as it is also in *Aldus* his Edition, and not ὄντως, as in *Stevens*, following an error in that of *Ficinus*. And accordingly the words are thus rendred by *Cicero*, *Hæc Deus is qui Semper erat, de Aliquando Futuro Deo cogitans, lævem eum effecit, & undique æquabilem, &c. This was the Ratiocination or Resolution of that God, which Always Is, concerning that God which was sometime about to be made; that he should be Smooth and Spherical*, &c. Where again, it presently follows in *Cicero*'s Version, *Sic Deus ille Æternus, Hunc Perfectè Beatum Deum procreavit, Thus that Eternal God, procreated this perfectly Happy God, the World.* Where there is plainly mention made, of *Two Gods*, one a *Generated God*, the *Animated* World, called elsewhere in *Plato* θεῖον γεννητὸν, and another *Eternal and Unmade God, Innatus & Infectus Deus*, who was the Cause of the Worlds *Generation* or *Production*. Or to keep close to *Plato*'s own Language, One God who belonged to *Genesis*, or that head of Being which he calls *Generation*, and therefore mustneeds have an Antecedent Cause of his Existence; since nothing can be Made without a Cause;

and

and another God, that was truly and properly οὐσία, *Immutable Eſſence*, who was the Cauſe of that *Generated God*, the *Univerſe*, and therefore of All things. The other Paſſage of *Plato*'s is *pag.* 41. of his *Timæus*, ἐπεὶ οὖν πάντες ὅσοι τε φανερᾶς ἧς ὅσοι φαίνονται καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἐθέλωσι θεοὶ, γένεσιν ἔχον, λέγε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας, τάδε, θεοὶ θεῶν ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς, πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἃ δι' ἐμοῦ γεγόμενα· *When therefore all the Gods, both thoſe which move viſibly about the Heavens, and thoſe which appear to us as often as they pleaſe* (that is both the *Stars* & *Demons*) *were Generated or Created; that God which made this whole Univerſe, beſpake theſe Generated Gods, after this manner, Ye Gods of Gods (whom I my ſelf am the Maker and Father of) attend.* Where the words θεοὶ θεῶν, notwithſtanding *Proclus* his other differing conjectures, ſeem to have been very well rendred by *Cicero*, *Dii qui Deorum Satu orti eſtis*, *Ye Gods which are the Progeny or Off-ſpring of the Gods.* And the Gods whoſe Off-ſpring theſe Generated Gods (the Animated *Stars* and *Demons*) are ſaid to be, muſt needs be thoſe ἀΐδιοι θεοὶ, *thoſe Eternal Gods*, elſewhere mentioned in the ſame *Timæus*, as where the Philoſopher calls the World, τὴν ἀϊδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα, *a Generated or Created Image of the Eternal Gods*; as *Cicero* alſo is to be underſtood of theſe, when he ſpeaks of the Worlds being Made by *The Gods*, and by the *Counſel of The Gods.* Now theſe *Eternal Gods* of *Plato*, called by his Followers θεοὶ ὑφηνόσμιοι, *the Supramundane Gods*, though according to that ſtricter Notion of the word γένεσις, as it is uſed both in *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, for a *Temporary Production of things* ἐξ μὴ ὄντων, they were indeed all ἀγένητοι, becauſe they never were not, and had no beginning of their Exiſtence: yet notwithſtanding were they not therefore ſuppoſed by that Philoſopher, to be all αὐτόγονοι and αὐθυπόστατοι ſo many *Self-originated* and *Self-ſubſiſtent Beings*, or *Firſt Principles*, but only One of them ſuch; and the reſt derived from that One; it being very true, as we conceive, what *Proclus* affirms, ὅτι ὁ πλάτων ὅτι μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνάγει πάντα, *That* Plato *reduces all things to One Principle*, even Matter it ſelf; but unqueſtionable, that he deriveth all his *Gods* from *One*. Wherefore all thoſe *Eternal Gods* of *Plato* (*One* only excepted) though they were not γένητοι or *Generated* in one ſence, that is κατὰ χρόνον, as to a Temporary beginning, yet were they notwithſtanding as *Proclus* diſtinguiſheth, γένητοι ἀπ' αἰτίας, *Generated* in another ſence, as *produced from a Superiour Cauſe*, there being only One ſuch ἀγένητον One *Ingenerate or Unproduced Deity*. Thus according to *Plato*, there were Two ſorts of *Secundary* or *Inferiour and Derivative Gods*, Firſt the θεοὶ ἐγκόσμιοι or *Mundane Gods*, ſuch as had all of them a *Temporary Generation* with the World, and of whom *Plato*'s *Theogonia* and γένεσις θεῶν is properly to be underſtood; And Secondly the ὑφηνόσμιοι and ἀΐδιοι θεοὶ, the *Supramundane and Eternal Gods*, which were all of them alſo, ſave only One, produced from that One, and dependent on it as their Cauſe. But of theſe *Inferiour Eternal Gods*, of the Platoniſts and Pythagoreans, we are to ſpeak again afterwards. In the mean time it is evident, that in that Paſſage of *Plato*'s before-cited, there is plain mention made, both of θεοὶ γένεσιν ἔχοντες, of *Dii Orti*, *Gods who were made or Generated* with the World, and of ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας, *of One God who was the maker of them*, and of the Whole Univerſe, who therefore is himſelf every way ἀγένητος *Unmade* or *Unproduced*. *In Time. p.* 118

And accordingly he afterwards ſubjoyns, ὃ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τάξας, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τρόπον ἤθει· μεμόνηκε δὲ νοήσαντες οἱ παῖδες τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάξιν, ἐπεδείξατο αὐτῇ· which *Cicero* thus renders, *Atque is quidem (Deus) qui cuncta compoſuit, conſtanter in ſuo manebat ſtatu, qui autem erant ab eo creati (Dii) cùm Parentis ordinem cognoviſſent, hunc ſequebantur, &c. Then that God who framed all things, remained conſtantly in his former State; and his Sons, or the Gods that were Created by him, obſerved his Order and Appointment.*

Neither was *Plato* ſingular in this, but the Generality of the other Pagan Theiſts who were more Intelligent, all along agreed with him herein, as to the *Generation of the Mundane Gods*, and ſo were both *Theiſts* and *Theogoniſts*, they indeed underſtanding nothing elſe by their *Theogonia* or *Generation of Gods*, than a *Divine Coſmogonia* or *Creation of the World by God*; foraſmuch as they ſuppoſed *the World* it ſelf as *Animated*, and its ſeveral Parts, to be *Gods*. So that they aſſerted theſe *Three Things*, Firſt a *Coſmogonia* the *Generation of the World*, that it was not from *Eternity*, but had a *Novity* or *Beginning*. Secondly, that this *Coſmogonia* or Generation of the World, was alſo a *Theogonia* or *Generation of Gods*, the World it ſelf and ſeveral of its Parts Animated being eſteemed ſuch. And Laſtly, that both theſe *Gods* and the *World*, were Made and Produced by One θεὸς ἀγένητος καὶ αὐτογενὴς, One *Unproduced and Self-originated Deity*. All which Particulars, we may here briefly exemplifie in *P. Ovidius Naſo*, whoſe Paganity ſufficiently appears, from his *Faſtorum* and all his other Writings, and who alſo went off the Stage, before Chriſtianity appeared on it, and may well be preſumed, to repreſent the then generally received Doctrine of the Pagans. Firſt therefore, as for the *Generation and Novity* of the *World*, and its Firſt *Production* out of a *Chaos*, we have it fully acknowledged by him in theſe following Verſes.

Metam. l. 1.

Ante Mare & Terras, &, quod tegit omnia, Cœlum,
Unus erat toto Naturæ Vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos; rudis indigeſtaque moles,
Nec quicquam niſi pondus iners, congeſtaque eodem
Non benè junctarum diſcordia ſemina rerum.
Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat Lumina Titan,
Nec nova creſcendo reparabat cornua Phœbe,
Nec circumfuſo pendebat in æere Tellus,
Ponderibus librata ſuis; nec brachia longo
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.
Quaque erat & Tellus, &c.

Which in Mr. *Sandys* his Engliſh, with ſome little alteration, ſpeaks thus:

Before that Sea and Earth and Heaven was fram'd,
One face had Nature which they Chaos nam'd.
No Titan *yet the World with Light adorns,*
Nor waxing Phebe *fills her wained Horns;*

Nor

Nor hung the ſelf-poiz'd Earth in thin Air plac'd,
Nor Amphitrite *the vaſt ſhore embrac'd;*
Earth, Air and Sea Confounded, &c.

In the next place, when there was a *World* made out of this *Chaos*, that this *Coſmogonia* or *Generation of the World*, was alſo a *Theogonia* or *Generation of Gods*, is plainly intimated in theſe Verſes.

Neu Regio foret ulla ſuis Animalibus orba,
Aſtra tenent cœleſte ſolum, Formæque Deorum.

To this ſence,

That nought of Animals might unfurniſh'd lie,
The Gods, in Form of Stars, poſſeſs the Skie.

And that all this was effected, and this Orderly Mundane Syſtem produced out of a diſorderly confuſed *Chaos*, not by a *Fortuitous Motion* of Matter, or the *Jumbling of Atoms*, but by the *Providence* and *Command* of *One Unmade Deity*, which was alſo that that furniſh'd all the ſeveral Parts of the World with reſpective Animals; the Sea with Fiſhes, the Earth with Men, and the *Heaven* with *Gods*; is thus declared alſo by the Poet;

Hanc Deus & Melior litem Natura diremit,
Nam Cœlo Terras, & Terris abſcidit Undas:
Et liquidum ſpiſſo ſecrevit ab Aere Cœlum, &c.
Sic ubi diſpoſitam, Quiſquis *fuit* Ille Deorum,
Congeriem ſecuit, ſectámque in membra redegit;
Principio terram, nè non æqualis ab omni
Parte foret, magni ſpeciem glomeravit in orbis:
Tum freta diffudit, rapidiſque tumeſcere ventis
Juſſit, &c.
Sic onus incluſum, numero diſtinxit eodem
Cura Dei, &c.

This Strife (*with* Better Nature) God *decides,*
He *Earth from Heaven, the Sea from Earth divides:*
He *Ether pure extracts from Groſſer Air.*
All which unfolded by His Prudent Care,
From that blind Maſs; the happily disjoyn'd
With ſtrifeleſs peace, He *to their ſeats confin'd,* &c.
What God ſoever *this Diviſion wrought,*
And every part to due proportion brought,
Firſt leſt the Earth unequal ſhould appear,
He *turn'd it round in figure of a Sphere.*
Then Seas diffus'd, Commanding them to roar
With ruffling Winds, and give the Land a ſhore.
To thoſe he added Springs, Ponds, Lakes immenſe,
And Rivers whom their winding borders fence.

Where

Where though that learned Paraphraſt, ſuppoſed (and not without ſome probability neither) that *Deus & Melior Natura, God and the Better Nature*, were one and the ſelf ſame thing, yet we rather conceived them to be diſtinct, but one of them ſubordinate to the other as its Inſtrument, *God* and the *Plaſtick Nature*, accordingly as *Ariſtotle* writes in his Phyſicks, Νοῦς ἢ φύσις αἴτιον τοῦδε τοῦ παντός, *That Mind and Nature, were both together, the Cauſe of this Univerſe.*

Nevertheleſs we cannot but obſerve in this place, that though that Poet ſpeak more than once of *God Singularly*, as alſo calls him *Mundi Fabricator*, and *Ille Opifex Rerum*, and *Mundi melioris Origo*, yet notwithſtanding, where he writes of the making of Man, Pagan-like, he affirms him, though to have been made by God, yet according to the *Image or Likeneſs of The Gods, which govern all things.*

Sanctius his Animal, mentiſque capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera poſſet:
Natus homo eſt: ſive hunc divino ſemine fecit,
Ille Opifex rerum, *mundi* melioris Origo:
Sive recens tellus, ſeductáque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat ſemina cœli.
Quam ſatus Iapeto, miſtam fluvialibus undis,
Finxit in effigiem Moderantûm cuncta Deorum.

The Nobler Being, with a Mind poſſeſt,
Was wanting yet, that ſhould command the reſt.
That Maker, the beſt Worlds Original,
Either him fram'd of ſeed Celeſtial;
Or Earth which late he did from Heaven divide,
Some ſacred ſeeds retain'd to Heaven allied:
Which with the living ſtream Prometheus *mixt,*
And in that Artificial Structure fixt,
The Form of all the All-ruling Deities.

And becauſe ſome may probably be puzzled with this ſeeming Contradiction, that *One God* ſhould be ſaid to be the Maker of the *whole World* and of *Man*, and yet the *Government of all* ſhould be attributed to *Gods, Plurally*; and *Man* ſaid to be made in the *Image and Likeneſs of the Gods*; we ſhall therefore add here, that according to the tenor of the *Pagan Theology*, the *Inferiour* and *Minor Gods* were ſuppoſed alſo, to have all of them, their ſeveral ſhare in the Government of things below them: For which cauſe they are called not only by *Maximus Tyrius* συνάρχοντες θεῷ, *Co-rulers with God*, but alſo by *Plato* himſelf, τῷ μεγίστῳ δ' αἰῶνι συνάρχοντες, *the Co-governours and Co-reigners with the Supreme God.* So that the Government of this *Inferiour World*, was by the Pagans often attributed to them joyntly, the Supreme and Inferiour Gods both together, under that one general name of *Gods.* But the chief of thoſe *Inferiour Deities*, in whoſe Image Man is alſo ſaid to have been made, as well as in the Likeneſs of the *Supreme*, were either thoſe *Celeſtial Gods* and *Animated Stars*, before mentioned by the Poet, or elſe the *Eternal Gods* of *Plato*, which were look'd upon likewiſe as *Co-makers* of the World ſubordinate. Beſides

Besides *Ovid*, we might instance here in many more of the Pagan Theogonists, clearly acknowledging in like manner *One Unmade Deity*, which Generated both the World, and all the other Gods in it; as for example, *Strabo*, who affirming that the World was τ̃ φύσεως ἅμα καὶ τ̃ προνοίας ἔργον, *The joint work both of Nature and Providence*, as it was before ascribed by *Ovid*, to *Deus & Melior Natura*; adds concerning *Providence* or the *Deity* in this manner: τὸ δ' τ̃ προνοίας, ὅτι βεβούληται καὶ αὐτὴ ποικιλοτέχνης τις ὤσα; καὶ μυρίων ἔργων δημιουργός, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ζῶα γεννᾶν, ὡς πολὺ διαφέροντα τ̃ ἄλλων· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἄτιστα θεούς τε καὶ Ἀνθρώπους, ὧν ἕνεκεν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συνέστηκε. Τοῖς μὲν ἓν θεοῖς ἀπέδωκε τ̃ οὐρανὸν, τοῖς δ' Ἀνθρώποις τὴν γῆν· *That having a multiform Fecundity in it, and delighting in variety of works, it designed principally to make Animals, as the most excellent things, and amongst them chiefly those Two Noblest kinds of Animals, Gods and Men; for whose sakes the other things were made; and then assigned Heaven to the Gods, and Earth to Men, the Two extreme parts of the World, for their respective Habitations.* Thus also *Seneca* in *Lactantius*, speaking concerning God, *Hic cùm prima Fundamenta molis pulcherrimæ jaceret, & hoc ordiretur quo neque majus quicquam novit Natura nec melius; ut omnia sub Ducibus irent, quamvis ipse per totum se corpus intenderat, tamen* Ministros *regni sui* Deos *genuit. God when he laid the Foundations of this most beautiful Fabrick, and began to erect that Structure, than which Nature knows nothing greater or more excellent; to the end that all things might be carried on under their respective Governours orderly, though he intended Himself through the whole, as to preside in chief over all, yet did he* Generate Gods *also; as subordinate Ministers of his Kingdom under him.* We shall forbear to mention the Testimonies of others here, because they may be more opportunely inserted elsewere, only we shall add, as to *Hesiod* and *Homer*, that though they seem to have been sometimes suspected, both by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, for *Atheistick Theogonists*, yet as *Aristotle* did upon maturer thoughts, afterwards change his Opinion concerning both of them, so is it most probable that they were no *Atheists* but *Divine Theogonists*, such as supposed indeed *Many Generated Gods*, but *One Supreme Unmade Deity*, the *Maker both of the World and Them.* And this not only for the Grounds before alledged concerning *Hesiod*, and because both of them do every where affirm, even their *Generated Gods* to be *Immortal*, (which no *Atheists* did) but also for sundry other Reasons, some of which may be more conveniently inserted elsewhere. Moreover it hath been already intimated, that the *Generated Gods* of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, extend farther than those of *Plato*'s, they being not only the *Animated Parts of the World*, but also all the other *Things* of *Nature Fictitiously Personated*, and Improperly or Abusively called *Gods* and *Goddesses*, whereof a farther account will be afterwards given.

L. 17. p. 809.

Neither ought it at all to be wondred at, if these *Divine Theogonists* amongst the Pagans, did many times as well as those other *Atheistick ones*, make *Chaos* and *the Ocean, Seniour to the Gods*, and *Night* the *Mother of them.* The former of these being not only done by *Hesiod* and *Homer*, but also by the Generality of the ancient *Pagan Theists* in

Epichar-

Epicharmus: and the Latter by *Orpheus* an undoubted *Theiſt*, in his Hymn of the *Night*,

Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν, ἀείσομαι, ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν·

Noctem concelebro Genetricem Hominúmque Deûmque.

They not underſtanding this Abſolutely and Univerſally, of all the *Gods* without exception, as the other *Atheiſtick Theogoniſts* did, as if there had been no *Unmade Deity* at all, but *Chaos* and *Night*, (that is, *Senſleſs Matter*, blindly and fortuitouſly moved) had been the Sole Original of all things, but only of the οἱ θεοὶ, *The Gods*, ſo called by way of Diſtinction from *God* or the *Supreme Deity*, that is, the *Inferiour Mundane Gods Generated* together with the *World*. The Reaſon whereof was, becauſe it was a moſt ancient and in a manner Univerſally received Tradition amongſt the Pagans, as hath been often intimated, that the *Coſmogonia* or Generation of the World took its firſt Beginning from a *Chaos*, (the *Divine Coſmogoniſts* agreeing herein with the *Atheiſtick* ones;) this Tradition having been delivered down, from *Orpheus* and *Linus* (amongſt the Greeks) by *Heſiod* and *Homer* and others; acknowledged by *Epicharmus*; and embraced by *Thales*, *Anaxagoras*, *Plato*, and other Philoſophers, who were *Theiſts:* The Antiquity whereof was thus declared by *Euripides*;

οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα,
Ὡς ἀρμονός τε γαῖα τ' ἦν μορφὴ μία,
Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,
Τίκτουσι πάντα, κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος,
Τὰ δένδρεα, πτηνὰ, θῆρας, ὃς θ' ἅλμη τρέφει,
Γένος τε θνητῶν·

Non hic Meus, ſed Matris eſt ſermo meæ,
Figura ut Una fuerit & Cœli & Soli,
Secreta quæ mox ut receperunt Statum,
Cuncta ediderunt hæc in oras Luminis;
Feras, Volucres, Arbores, Ponti Gregem,
Homines quoque ipſos.

Neither can it reaſonably be doubted, but that it was *Originally Moſaical*, and indeed at firſt a *Divine Revelation*, ſince no man could otherwiſe pretend to know, what was done before Mankind had any Being. Wherefore thoſe *Pagan Coſmogoniſts* who were *Theiſts*, being *Polytheiſts* and *Theogoniſts* alſo, and aſſerting beſides the One *Supreme Unmade Deity*, other *Inferiour Mundane Gods*, *Generated* together with the World (the Chief whereof were the *Animated Stars*) they muſt needs according to the Tenor of that Tradition, ſuppoſe them as to their Corporeal Parts at leaſt, to have been Juniors to *Night* and *Chaos*, and the Off-ſpring of them, becauſe they were all made out of an Antecedent *Dark Chaos*. Τὸν μυγαλῆν ὑπτιάσθαι λέγουσιν (ſaith *Plutarch*) ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τυφλὸν ὄντα, ὅτι τὸ σκότος τοῦ φάους ἡγοῦντο πρεσβύτερον· *The* Mus Araneus *being blind, is ſaid to have been deified by the Egyptians,*

Sympoſ. l. 4. Quæſ.

ans, becauſe they thought, that Darkneſs was older than Light. And the Caſe was the ſame concerning their Demons likewiſe, they being conceived to have their *Corporeal Vehicula* alſo; for which Cauſe as *Porphyrius* from *Numenius* writeth, the ancient Egyptians pictured them in Ships or Boats floating upon the Water: τὰς ὁ Αἰγυπτίους διὰ τοῦτο τὰς δαίμονας ἅπαντας ἐν ἐσθαι ὅτι σφεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὅτι πλοίοις· *The Egyptians therefore repreſented all their Demons, as not ſtanding upon firm Land, but in Ships upon the Water.* But as for the Incorporeal Part or Souls of thoſe *Inferiour Gods*, though theſe *Divine Theogoniſts* could not derive their Original from *Chaos* or *Matter*, but rather from that other Principle called *Love*, as being *Divinely Created*, and ſo having God for their *Father*, yet might they notwithſtanding, in another ſence, phancy *Night* to have been their *Mother* too, inaſmuch as they were all made ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *from an antecedent Non-exiſtence* or *Nothing*, brought forth into Being. For which Cauſe there ſeems to have been in *Orpheus*, a Dialogue betwixt the *Maker of the World and Night*. For that this ancient *Cabala*, which derived the *Coſmogonia* from *Chaos* and *Love*, was at firſt *Religious* and not *Atheiſtical*, and *Love* underſtood in it not to be the *Off-ſpring of Chaos*; may be concluded from hence, becauſe this *Love* as well as *Chaos*, was of a Moſaical Extraction alſo, and plainly derived from that *Spirit of God*, which is ſaid in the *Scripture*, *To have moved upon the waters*, that is, upon the *Chaos*: whether by this *Spirit* be to be meant *God Himſelf*, as acting immediatly upon the Matter, or ſome other *Active Principle* derived from God and not from Matter (as a *Mundane Soul* or *Plaſtick Nature.*) From whence alſo it came, that as *Porphyrius* teſtifieth, the ancient Pagans thought the *Water* to be *Divinely inſpired*, ἠγοῦντο γὰρ προσιζάνειν τῷ ὕδατι τὰς ψυχὰς θεοπνόῳ ὄντι ὡς φησιν ὁ Νουμήνιος διὰ τοῦτο λέγων καὶ τὸ προφήτην εἰρηκέναι, ἐμφέρεσθαι ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος θεοῦ πνεῦμα· *They thought that Souls attended upon the Water or reſorted thereunto, as being Divinely Inſpired, as* Numenius *writeth, adding the Prophet alſo, therefore to have ſaid, That the Spirit of God moved upon the Water.* *De Aut. Nymph. p. 256.*

And that this *Cabala* was thus underſtood by ſome of the ancient Pagan Coſmogoniſts themſelves, appears plainly, not only from *Simmias Rhodius* and *Parmenides*, but alſo from theſe following Verſes of *Orpheus*, or whoever was the Writer of thoſe Argonauticks, undoubtedly ancient, where *Chaos* and *Love* are thus brought in together; *P. 17. Ed. Steph.*

Πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχαίου χάεος μελιηφάτου ὕμνον,
Ὡς ἐπάμειψε φύσις, ὡς τ' οὐρανὸς εἰς πέρας ἦλθε,
Γῆς τ' εὐρυσέρνου ῥίζωσιν, πυθμένά τε θαλάσσης,
Πρεσβύτατόν τε καὶ αὐτοτελῆ πολύμητιν Ἔρωτα,
Ὅσσα τ' ἔφυεν ἅπαντα, διέκρινέ θ' ἄλλον ἀπ' ἄλλου.

To this Sence; *We will firſt ſing a pleaſant and delightful Song, concerning the ancient* Chaos, *how Heaven, Earth and Seas, were framed out of it, as alſo concerning that Much-wiſe and Sagacious Love, The Oldeſt of all, and Self-perfect, which actively produced all theſe things, ſeparating one thing from another.* Where this Love is not only called πολύμητις of *Much-counſel* or *Sagaciouſneſs*, which implies it to have been

been a *Substantial* and *Intellectual Thing*, but also πρεσβύτατος *the Oldest of all*, and therefore *Senior to Chaos*, as likewise αὐτοτελὴς, *Self-perfect* or *Self-originated*. From whence it is manifest, that according to the *Orphick Tradition*, this *Love* which the *Cosmogonia* was derived from, was no other than the *Eternal Unmade Deity* (or an Active Principle depending on it) which produced this whole Orderly World, and all the *Generated Gods* in it, as to their Material part, out of *Chaos* and *Night*. Accordingly as *Aristotle* determines in his Metaphysicks, not only in the place before-cited, but also afterward; ἕτεροι δέ τινες, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, ὅσοι ἢ Νοῦν ἢ Ἔρωτα ποιοῦσιν ἀρχήν· *Others, besides the Material Cause of the World, assign an Efficient, or Cause of Motion; namely whosoever make, either* Mind (*and* Intellect) *or* Love *a Principle*. Wherefore we conclude that that other *Atheistick Cabala*, or *Aristophanick Tradition* before-mentioned, which accordingly as *Aristotle* also, elsewhere declareth concerning it, did ἐκ νυκτὸς πάντα γεννᾶν, *Generate all things whatsoever*, even the Gods themselves universally *out of Night and Chaos*, making *Love* it self likewise, to have been produced from an *Egg of the Night*. I say, that this was nothing else but a mere *Depravation* of the ancient *Mosaick Cabala*, as also an Absolutely Impossible Hypothesis, it deriving all things whatsoever in the Universe, besides the *Bare Substance of Senseless Matter*, in another Sence then that before-mentioned, out of *Non-entity* or *Nothing*; as shall be also farther manifested afterwards.

Lib. 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 849.

We have now represented the Sence and generally received Doctrine of the ancient *Pagan Theologers*, that there was indeed a *Multiplicity of Gods*, but yet so that One of them only was ἀγέννητος, *Ingenerate* or *Unmade*, by whom all the other Gods together with the World were Made, so as to have had a *Novity of Being* or a Temporary Beginning of their Existence. *Plato* and the Pythagoreans here only differing from the rest in this, that though they acknowledged the *World* and all the *Mundane Gods*, to have been Generated together in Time, yet they supposed certain other *Intelligible* and *Supramundane Gods* also, which however produced from one Original Deity, were nevertheless *Eternal* or without *Beginning*. But now we must acknowledge, that there were amongst the Pagan Theists some of a different perswasion from the rest, who therefore did did not admit of any *Theogonia* in the sence before declared, that is, any *Temporary Generation* of Gods, because they acknowledged no *Cosmogonia*, no *Temporary Production* of the *World*, but concluded it to have been from Eternity.

That *Aristotle* was one of these, is sufficiently known, whose Inferior Gods therefore, the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, must needs be ἀγένητοι or *Ingenerate*, in this sence, so as to have had no *Temporary Production*, because the *Whole World* to him was such. And if that Philosopher be to be believed, himself was the very First, at least, of all the Greeks, who asserted this *Ingenerateness* or *Eternity* of the World, he affirming that all before him, did γενᾶν τὸν κόσμον, and κοσμοποιεῖν, *Generate or Make the World*, that is attribute a *Temporary Production* to it, and consequently to all those *Gods* also, which were a Part thereof. Notwithstanding

ſtanding which, the Writer *de Placitis Philoſophorum*, and *Stobæus*, impute this Dogma of the *Worlds Eternity*, to certain others of the Greek Philoſophers before *Ariſtotle*, (beſides *Ocellus Lucanus*, who is alſo acknowledged by *Philo* to have been an aſſertor thereof.) And indeed *Epicharmus*, though a Theiſt, ſeems plainly to have been of this Perſwaſion, that the World was *Unmade*, as alſo that there was no *Theogonia* nor *Temporary Production* of the *Inferiour Gods*, from theſe Verſes of his, according to *Grotius* his Correction.

Excerp p. 478.

Ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τοὶ θεοὶ παρῆσαν, ὑπέλιπον δ' ὀ πώποκα·
Τάδε δ' ἀεὶ πάρεσθ' ὁμοια, διὰ τ' αὐτῶ ἀεί·
Ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὲν χάος πρᾶτον γένεσθαι τῶν θεῶν·
Πῶς τ'; ἀμάχανον γ' ἀπὸ μηδετίνος ὅ, τι πρᾶτον μόλοι·
Οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμολε πρᾶτον ὀδέν, ὀδὲ μὰ Δία δεύτερον,
Τῶν δέ γ' ὧν ἄμμες νῦν λέγομεν ὥσ' εἶναι μέλλει τάδε.

Nempe Dî ſemper fuerunt, atque nunquam intercident:
Hæc quæ dico ſemper nobis rebus in iiſdem ſe exhibent.
Extitiſſe ſed Deorum Primum perhibetur Chaos:
Quînam verò? nam de nihilo nîl pote primum exiſtere.
Ergo nec Primum profecto quicquam, nec fuit Alterum:
Sed quæ nunc ſic appellantur, alia fient poſtmodum.

Where, though he acknowledges this to have been the *General Tradition* of the ancient *Theiſts*, That *Chaos* was before the *Gods*, and that the Inferior *Mundane Gods*, had a *Temporary Generation* or Production with the World, yet notwithſtanding does he conclude againſt it, from this Ground of Reaſon, becauſe *Nothing could procede from Nothing*, and therefore, both the Gods, and indeed whatſoever elſe is Subſtantial in the World, was from Eternity Unmade, only the Faſhion of things having been altered.

Moreover *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, the Chaldeans likewiſe to have aſſerted this Dogma of the Worlds Eternity, οἱ δ' ἐν Χαλδαίοις τὸν μὲν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἀίδιόν φασιν εἶναι, καὶ μήτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν ἐσχηκέναι, μήθ' ὕστερον φθορὰν ὑποδέξεσθαι· *The Chaldeans affirm, the Nature of the World to be Eternal, and that it was neither Generated from any Beginning, nor will ever admit Corruption.* Who, that they were not Atheiſts for all that (no more than *Ariſtotle*) appears from thoſe following words of that Hiſtoriographer, τὸν τε τῶν ὅλων τάξιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν, θείᾳ τινι προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι, καὶ νῦν ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ γινομένων, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλ' ἀϊδιομένῃ τινι καὶ βεβαίως κεκυρωμένῃ θεῶν κρίσει, συντελεῖσθαι· *They believe alſo, that the Order and Diſpoſition of the World, is by a certain Divine Providence, and that every One of thoſe things which come to paſs in the Heavens, happens not by chance, but by a certain determinate and firmly ratified Judgment of the Gods.* However, it is a thing known to all, that the Generality of the later Platoniſts ſtiffly adhered to *Ariſtotle* in this, neither did they onely aſſert the Corporeal World, with all the *Inferior Mundane Gods* in it, to be ἀγενήτους, or *Ingenerate*, and to have exiſted from Eternity, but alſo maintained the ſame concerning the *Souls of Men* and all *other Ani-*

L. 2. p. 82.

mals; (They concluding that *no Souls* were *Younger* than *Body* or the *World*;) and becauſe they would not ſeem to depart from their Maſter *Plato*, therefore did they endeavour, violently to force this ſame ſence upon *Plato*'s words alſo.

Notwithſtanding which, concerning theſe *Latter Platoniſts*, it is here obſervable, that though they thus aſſerted, the *World*, and all *Inferior Gods and Souls*, to have been ἀγένητος, according to that ſtricter ſence of the Word declared, that is, to have had no *Temporary Generation* or *Beginning*, but to have Exiſted from *Eternity*, yet by no means did they therefore conceive them to be αὐτογενεῖς καὶ αὐθυποστάτους, *Self-originated, and Self-exiſting*, but concluded them to have been all derived from *one ſole Self-exiſtent Deity* as their Cauſe, which therefore, though not in order of *Time*, yet of *Nature*, was before them. To this purpoſe *Plotinus*, νῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ εἶναι οὐχ ὡς χρόνῳ πρότερον αὐτοῦ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκ νοῦ ὄντος καὶ φύσει πρότερος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ αἴτιον τοῦτο, ἀρχετυπον οἷον καὶ παράδειγμα ἐκεῖνος· καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ὄντος καὶ ὑποστάντος ἀεὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· *Mind or God, was before the World, not as if it exiſted before it in Time, but becauſe the World proceeded from it, and that was in order of Nature Firſt, as the cauſe thereof, and its Archetype or Paradigm; the World alſo always ſubſiſting, by it and from it.* And again elſewhere to the ſame purpoſe, ἃ τοίνυν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐγίνετο καὶ γενήσεται, ὅσα γεννητὰ λέγεται, ἃ δὲ φθαρήσεται, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅσα ἔχει εἰς ἄ· *The things which are ſaid to have been made or Generated, were not ſo Made, as that they ever had a Beginning of their Exiſtence, but yet they were Made and will be always Made, (in another ſence;) nor will they ever be deſtroyed, otherwiſe than as being diſſolved into thoſe Simple Principles, out of which ſome of them were compounded.* Where though the World be ſaid never to have been *Made*, as to a Temporary beginning, yet in another ſence, is it ſaid to be *always Made*, as depending upon God perpetually, as the Emanative Cauſe thereof. Agreeably whereunto, the Manner of the Worlds Production from God, is thus declared by that Philoſopher; οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἱ φθείροντες καὶ γεννῶντα αὐτὸν, ὅστις γὰρ τρόπος τῆς ποιήσεως ταύτης, οὐκ εἰδήσουσι συνιέναι, ὅτι ἔστιν, ὅτι ὄντος ἐκείνου ἐλλάμπει, ὃ μήποτε τὰ ἄλλα ἐλλείπει· *They do not rightly, who Corrupt and Generate the World, for they will not underſtand what Manner of Making or Production the World had, to wit, by way of Effulgency or Eradiation from the Deity. From whence it follows, that the World muſt needs have been ſo long as there was a God, as the Light was coeve with the Sun.* So likewiſe *Proclus* concludes, that the World was ἀεὶ γιγνόμενος, καὶ ἐλλαμπόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, *always Generated or Eradiated from God*, and therefore muſt needs be *Eternal*, God being ſo. Wherefore theſe Latter Platoniſts, ſuppoſed the ſame thing concerning the *Corporeal* World, and the Lower *Mundane Gods*, which their Maſter *Plato* did, concerning his *Higher Eternal Gods*; that though they had no *Temporary Production*, yet they all depended no leſs upon one Supreme Deity, than if they had been made out of Nothing by Him. From whence it is manifeſt, that none of theſe Philoſophers apprehended any Repugnancy at all, betwixt theſe Two Things; *Exiſtence from Eternity*, and *Being Cauſed or produced by Another.* Nor can we make any great Doubt, but that if the Latter Platoniſts, had been fully convinced

En.3.l.2.c.1.

En.2.l.9.c.3.

En.5.l.8.c.12.

convinced of any *Contradictious Inconsistency* here, they would readily have disclaimed, that their so beloved *Hypothesis*, of the *Worlds Eternity*; it being so far from Truth what some have supposed, that the Assertors of the Worlds Eternity, were all *Atheists*, that these Latter Platonists, were led into this Opinion no otherwise than from the sole Consideration of the *Deity*; to wit, its ἀγαθοειδὴς βούλησις, καὶ γόνιμος δύναμις, *its Essential Goodness, and Generative Power*, or *Emanative Fecundity*, as *Proclus* plainly declares upon the *Timæus*. *Pag.* 116.

Now though *Aristotle* were not Acted with any such *Divine Enthusiasm*, as these Platonists seem to have been, yet did he notwithstanding, after his sober Manner, really maintain the same thing; That though the World and Inferior Mundane Gods, had no *Temporary Generation*, yet were they nevertheless, all *Produced* from One *Supreme Deity* as their Cause. Thus *Simplicius* represents that Philosopher's Sence, Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ γίνεσθαι ἀξιοῖ τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἀδιάλειπτον. Aristotle *would not have the World to have been made* (so as to have had a Beginning) *but yet nevertheless to have been produced from God after some other manner.* And again afterward; Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ ἄπιον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀΐδιον κίνησιν αὐτοῦ θεὸν λέγων, ὅμως ἀγένητον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι. Aristotle *though making God the Cause of the Heaven and its Eternal Motion, yet concludes it notwithstanding to have been Ingenerate or Unmade*, that is, without Beginning. However, we think fit here to observe, that though *Aristotle* do for the most part express, a great deal of Zeal and Confidence, for that Opinion of the *Worlds Eternity*, yet doth he sometimes for all that, seem to flag a little, and speak more Languidly and Sceptically about it; as for Example, in his Book *De Partibus Animalium*, where he treats concerning an *Artificial Nature*, μᾶλλον εἰκὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν γεγονέναι, ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, εἰ γέγονε, καὶ εἶναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, μᾶλλον ἢ ζῷα τὰ θνητά· *It is more likely that the Heaven was made by such a Cause as this (if it were Made) and that it is maintained by such a Cause, than that Mortal Animals should be so; which yet is a thing more generally acknowledged.* Now it was before declared, that *Aristotle's Artificial Nature*, was nothing but the mere Executioner or Opificer of a *Perfect Mind*, that is, of the Deity, which Two therefore he sometimes joyns together in the *Cosmopœia*, affirming that Mind and Nature, that is, *God and Nature*, were the Cause of this Universe. *In Arist. Phys. L.* 8. *L.* 1. *C.* 1.

And now we see plainly, that though there was a Real Controversie amongst the *Pagan Theologers*, (especially from *Aristotle's* time downward) concerning the *Cosmogonia* and *Theogonia*, according to the Stricter notion of those words, the *Temporary Generation* or *Production* of the *World* and *Inferior Gods*; or whether they had any Beginning or no; yet was there no Controversie at all, concerning the *Self-existency* of them, but it was Universally agreed upon amongst them, That the *World* and the *Inferior Gods*, however supposed by some to have existed from Eternity, yet were nevertheless all derived, from one *Sole Self-existent Deity*, as their Cause; ὑπὸ θεοῦ φωτογόμενοι ἢ ἐλλαμπόμενοι, *being either Eradiated or Produced from God.* Wherefore it is observable, that these *Pagan Theists*, who asserted

the *Worlds Eternity*, did themſelves diſtinguiſh concerning the word γενητὸν *Ortum*, *Natum*, *& Factum*, as that which was Equivocal, and though in one ſence of it, they denied that the World and Inferior Gods were γενητοὶ, yet notwithſtanding did they in another ſence clearly affirm the ſame. For the word γενητὸν (ſay they) ſtrictly and properly taken, is τὸ ἐν μέρει χρόνῳ τινὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι πρόϊον λαχόν, *that which in reſpect of time, paſſed out of Non-exiſtence into Being*, or ὃ τὸ πρότερον μὴ ὄν, ὕστερον δὲ ὄν, *that which being not before, afterwards was.* Neverthleſs they acknowledge, that in a larger ſence, this Word γενητὸν may be taken alſo for τὸ ὁπωσδὴν ἀπ' αἰτίας ὑφισάμενον, *that which doth any way depend upon a Superior Being as its Cauſe.* And there muſt needs be the ſame Equivocation in the word ἀγένητον, ſo that this in like manner may be taken alſo, either χρονικῶς, for that which is *Ingenerate* in reſpect of Time, as having no Temporary Beginning; or elſe for that which is, ἀπ' αἰτίας ἀγένητον, *Ingenerate or Unproduced from any Cauſe*; in which latter ſence, that word ἀγένητον or *Unmade* is of equal force and extent, with αὐθυπόστατον or αὐτόγενες, *that which is Self-ſubſiſtent* or *Selforiginated*; and accordingly it was uſed by thoſe Pagan Theiſts, who concluded ὅτι ὕλη ἀγένητος, i. e. *That Matter was Unmade*, that is, not only exiſted from *Eternity* without *Beginning*, but alſo was *Self-exiſtent*, and *Independent upon any Superior Cauſe.* Now as to the Former of theſe two ſences of thoſe words, γενητὸν and ἀγένητον, the Generality of the ancient Pagans, and together with them *Plato*, affirmed, the World and all the *Inferior Gods* to be γενητὸς, *to have been Made in Time*, or to have *had a Beginning*; (for whatever the Latter Platoniſts pretend, this was undoubtedly *Plato*'s Notion of that word and no other, when he concluded the World to be γενητὸν, foraſmuch as himſelf expreſly oppoſes it to ἀΐδιον, *that which is Eternal.*) But on the contrary, *Ariſtotle* and the Later Platoniſts, determined the World and all the Inferior Gods, to be in this ſence ἀγενήτους, *ſuch as had no Temporary Beginning*, but were from *Eternity.* However according to the later Sence of thoſe words, all the Pagan Theologers agreed together, that the World and all the Inferior Gods,, whether having a *Beginning*, or Exiſting *from Eternity*, were notwithſtanding γενητοὶ ἀπ' αἰτίας, *produced or derived from a Superior Cauſe*; and that thus, there was only One θεὸς ἀγένητος, One *Unproduced and Self-exiſtent Deity*, who is ſaid by them to be αἰτίας κρείττων καὶ πρεσβύτερος, *Superior to a Cauſe and Older than any Cauſe*, he being the Cauſe of all things beſides himſelf. Thus *Crantor* and his Followers in *Proclus*, zealous Aſſertors of the Worlds Eternity, determined, γενητὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν κόσμον ὡς ἀπ' αἰτίας ἄλλης παραγόμενον, καὶ ὄντα αὐτόγονον ὐδὲ αὐθυπόστατον· *that the World (with all the Inferior Mundane Gods in it)* notwithſtanding their Being from Eternity, *might be ſaid to be* γενητοὶ *that is* orti *or made, as being produced from another Cauſe, and not Self-originated or Self-exiſting.* In like manner *Proclus* himſelf, that grand Champion for the Worlds Eternity, plainly acknowledged notwithſtanding, the *Generation of the Gods* and *World* in this ſence, as being produced from a Superior Cauſe, λέγομεν θεῶν γενέσεις, τὴν ἀῤῥήτον αὐτοῖς πρόοδον ἐνδηλούμενοι, καὶ τὴν τοῖς δευτέροις ἑτερότητα, πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας αὐτοῖς· *We call it the Generations of the Gods, meaning thereby, not any Temporary Production*

Simplic. in Ariſt. Phyſ. fol. 265.

In Timæ. pag. 85.

duction of them, but their Ineffable Procession, from a Superior First Cause. Thus also *Salustius*, in his Book *de Diis & Mundo*, where he contends the World to have been from Eternity or without Beginning, yet concludes both it, and the other Inferiour Gods to have been made by One Supreme Deity, who is called by him, ὁ πρῶτος θεὸς, *the First God.* For saith he, μεγίστης τ δυνάμεως ὄντος, ἓν ἀνθρώπους ἔδ ἢ ζῶα μόνα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεούς τε ἢ δαίμονας· *God or the First Cause, having the greatest power or being Omnipotent, ought therefore to make, not only Men, and other Animals, but also Gods and Demons.* And accordingly this is the Title of his 13. Chapter, πῶς τὰ ἀΐδια λέγεται γίγνεσθαι, *How Eternal things may be said to be Made or Generated.* It is true indeed (as we have often declared) that some of the Pagan Theists asserted, God not to be the only ἀγένητον ἢ αὐθυπόστατον, *the only Unmade and Self-existent Being*, but that Matter also was such; nevertheless, this Opinion was not so generally received amongst them, as is commonly supposed: and though some of the ancient Fathers confidently impute it to *Plato*, yet there seems to be no sufficient ground for their so doing; and *Porphyrius*, *Jamblychus*, *Proclus*, and other Platonists, do not only professedly oppose the same, as false, but also as that which was dissonant from *Plato*'s Principles. Wherefore according to that larger Notion of the Word ἀγένητον, as taken synonymously with αὐτόγονες and αὐθυπόστατον, there were Very many of the Pagan Theologers who agreed with Christians in this; ὅτι αὐτὸ Ἀγέννητον ὁ θεὸς, ἢ οὐσία αὐτῦ ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἡ Ἀγεννησία, *That God is the only Ingenerate or Unmade Being, and that his very Essence is Ingenerability or Innascibility*; all other things, even *Matter* it self, being made by him. But all the rest of them (only a few Ditheists excepted) though they supposed Matter to be Self-existent yet did they conclude, that there was only, ἓς θεὸς ἀγένητος, onely *One Unmade or Unproduced God*, and that all their other *Gods*, were γενητοὶ, in One sence or other, if not as *Made in Time*, yet at least as *Produced* from a *Superiour Cause.*

Nothing now remaineth, but onely that we shew, how the Pagans did distinguish, and put a difference, betwixt the *One Supreme Unmade Deity*, and all their other *Inferior Generated Gods.* Which we are the rather concerned to do; because it is notorious that they did many times also confound them together, attributing the Government of the Whole World to the Gods promiscuously, and without putting any due Discrimination, betwixt the Supreme, and Inferior; (the true reason whereof seems to have been this, because they supposed the Supreme God, not to do all immediatly, in the Government of the World, but to permit much to his Inferior Ministers) One Instance of which we had before in *Ovid*, and innumerable such others might be cited out of their most sober Writers. As for Example *Cicero*, in his First Book of Laws; *Deorum Immortalium vi, ratione, potestate, mente, numine, Natura omnis regitur, The Whole Nature, or Universe, is governed by the Force, Reason, Power, Mind, and Divinity of the Immortal Gods.* And again in his Second Book, *Deos esse Dominos ac Moderatores omnium rerum, eáque quæ geruntur, eorum geri Judicio atque Numine, eosdémque optimè de genere hominum mereri, & qualis*

quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate Religiones colat, intueri; piorúmque & impiorum habere Rationem; à Principio Civibus suasum esse debet: The Minds of Citizens, ought to be first of all embued with a firm perswasion, that the Gods are the Lords and Moderators of all things, and that the Conduct and Management of the whole World is directed and over-ruled by their Judgement and Divine Power; that they deserve the best of mankind, that they behold and consider what every man is, what he doth and takes upon himself, with what Mind, Piety and Sincerity he observes the Duties of Religion; and Lastly, that these Gods have a very different regard to the Pious and the Impious. Now such Passages as these, abounding every where in Pagan Writings, it is no wonder if many, considering their Theology but slightly and superficially, have been led into an Error, and occasioned thereby to conclude, the Pagans not to have asserted a Divine Monarchy, but to have imputed both the making and Governing of the World to an *Aristocracy* or *Democracy* of *Coordinate Gods*, not only all *Eternal*, but also *Self-existent* and *Unmade*. The contrary whereunto, though it be already sufficiently proved, yet it will not be amiss for us here in the Close, to shew how the Pagans, who sometimes jumble and confound the Supreme and Inferior Gods all together, do notwithstanding at other times, many ways distinguish, betwixt the One Supreme God, and their other Many Inferior Gods.

First therefore, as the Pagans had Many *Proper Names* for One and the same Supreme God, according to several *Particular Considerations* of him, in repect of his several different *Manifestations and Effects* in the World; which are oftentimes mistaken for so many Distinct Deities; (some supposing them Independent, others Subordinate;) so had they also besides these, other *Proper Names* of God, according to that more full and comprehensive notion of him, as the Maker of the Whole World, and its Supreme Governour, or the Sole Monarch of the Universe. For thus the Greeks called him Ζεὺς and Ζὴν, &c. the Latins *Jupiter* and *Jovis*, the Babylonians *Belus* and *Bel*, the Persians *Mithras* and *Oromasdes*, the Egyptians and Scythians (according to *Herodotus*) *Ammoun* and *Pappæus*. And *Celsus in Origen*, concludes it to be a Matter of pure Indifferency, to call the Supreme God by any of all these Names, either Ζεὺς or *Ammoun* or *Pappæus* or the like, Κέλζ@- οἴεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν, Δία Ὕψιστον, καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα, ἢ Ἀδωναῖον, ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἢ (ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι) Ἄμμωνα, ἢ (ὡς Σκῦθαι) Παπαῖον· Celsus *thinks it to be a matter of no moment, whether we call the Highest and Supreme God,* Adonai *and* Sabaoth, *as the Jews do; or* Dia *and* Zena, *as the Greeks; or as the Egyptians* Ammoun; *or as the Scythians* Pappæus. Notwithstanding which, that Pious and Jealous Father expresseth a great deal of Zeal, against Christians then using any of those Pagan Names. *But we will rather endure any torment* (saith he) *than confess* Zeus (*or* Jupiter) *to be God; being well assured that the Greeks often really worship, under that Name, an Evil Demon, who is an enemy both to God and Men. And we will rather suffer death, than call the Supreme God* Ammoun, *whom the Egyptian Enchanters thus Invoke;* λεγέτωσαν ἢ τὸν Σκύθαι τὸν Παπαῖον, θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ὅλων πάντων· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε πεισόμεθα, πθένΐες μὲν

Lib. 5. C. Celsum.

μὲν ὅτι πᾶσι θεὸν, ὡς ὁ φίλον τῷ λαχόντι τὼ Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῷ καὶ διάλεκτον, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸν θεὸν, ὡς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι τῷ Παππαῖον. Σκυθισὶ γὰρ τὸ προσαγορευόμενον τὸν θεὸν, καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ παρὰ διαλέκτῳ, ἣ ἕκαστος ἐντέθραπται, ὀνομάζων, οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται· *And though the Scythians call the Supreme God* Pappæus, *yet we acknowledging a Supreme God, will never be perſwaded, to call him by that name, Which it pleaſed that* Dæmon *(who ruled over the Scythian Deſert, People and Language) to impoſe. Nevertheleſs he that ſhall uſe the Appellative name for God, either in the Scythian, Egyptian, or any other Language, which he hath been brought up in, will not offend.* Where *Origen* plainly aſſirms, the Scythians to have acknowledged *One Supreme God*, called by them *Pappæus*, and Intimates that the Egyptians did the like, calling him *Ammoun*. Neither could it poſſibly be his intent, to deny the ſame of the Greeks and their *Zeus*, however his great Jealouſie, made him to call him here a Demon, it being true in a certain ſence, which ſhall be declared afterward, that the Pagans did oftentimes, really worſhip an Evil Demon, under thoſe very Names, of *Zeus*, and *Jupiter*, as they did likewiſe under thoſe of *Hammon* and *Pappæus*. L.5.p.252.

In the mean time we deny not, but that both the Greeks uſed that word *Zeus*, and the Latins *Jupiter*, ſometimes φυσικῶς, for the *Æther*, *Fire*, or *Air*, ſome accordingly etymologizing ζεὺς from ζέω, others Δεὺς from δεύω: Whence came thoſe Formes of Speech, *Sub Jove*, and *Sub Dio*. And thus *Cicero*, Jovem Ennius *nuncupat ità dicens*, *De nat. D.l.2. 223.Lamb.*

Aſpice hoc ſublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.

Hunc etiam Augures noſtri cùm dicunt, Jove Fulgente, Jove Tonante; dicunt enim in Cœlo Fulgente, Tonante, &c. The reaſon of which ſpeeches ſeems to have been this, becauſe in ancient times, ſome had ſuppoſed the *Animated Heaven*, *Ether* and *Air*, to be the *Supreme Deity*. We grant moreover, that the ſame words have been ſometimes uſed ἱστορικῶς alſo, for an *Hero* or *Deified Man*, ſaid by ſome to have been born in *Crete*, by others in *Arcadia*. And *Callimachus* though he were very angry with the Cretians, for affirming *Jupiter's* Sepulchral Monument, to have been with them in *Crete*, as thereby making him Mortal,

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσαι, ἢ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο,
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί·

Cretes *ſemper mendaces, tuum enim, Rex, Sepulchrum Extruxerunt: Tu verò non es mortuus, ſemper enim es.*

Himſelf nevertheleſs (as *Athenagoras* and *Origen* obſerve) attributed the beginning of death to him, when he affirmed him to have been born in *Arcadia*; ἀρχὴ γὰρ θανάτου ἡ ἐκ γῆς γένεσις, *becauſe a Terrene Nativity is the Beginning of Death.* Wherefore this may paſs for a general Obſervation here, that the *Pagan Theology*, was all along Confounded with a certain Mixture, of *Phyſiology* and *Herology* or *Hiſtory* blended together. Nevertheleſs it is unqueſtionable, that the more intelligent,

intelligent of the Greekiſh Pagans, did frequently underſtand by *Zeus*, that *Supreme Unmade Deity*, who was the *Maker* of the *World*, and of all the *Inferiour Gods*. *Porphyrius* in *Euſebius* thus declares their ſence, ὁ Δία, ὁ Νοῦν νόμῳ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὃς τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδημιούργησεν, ἔχων ὁ νόμιον· *By* Zeus, *the Greeks underſtand that Mind of the World which framed all things in it, and containeth the whole World.* Agreeable whereunto is that of *Maximus Tyrius*, Κάλει ὁ μὲν Δία, νοῦν πρεσβύτατον, καὶ ἀρχικώτατον, ᾧ πάντα ἕπεται καὶ πειθαρχεῖ· *By* Jupiter *you are to underſtand, that moſt Ancient and Princely Mind, which all things follow and obey.* And *Euſebius* himſelf, though not forward to grant any more than needs he muſt to Pagans, concludes with this acknowledgment hereof, ἔστω ὁ Ζεὺς μηκέθ' ὁ πυρώδης καὶ αἰθέριος οὐσία, ὥσπερ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐνομίζετο, ὁ δὲ Πλούταρχον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνωτάτω Νοῦς, ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός· *Let* Jupiter *therefore be no longer, that Fiery and Ethereal Subſtance, which the ancient Pagans according to* Plutarch *ſuppoſed him to be; but that Higheſt Mind, which was the Maker of all things.* But *Phornutus* by *Jupiter* underſtands the *Soul of the World*, he writing thus concerning him; ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ ψυχῆς διοικούμεθα, ἕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος ψυχὴν ἔχει τὴν συνέχουσαν αὐτόν, καὶ αὕτη καλεῖται Ζεύς, αἰτία οὖσα τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βασιλεύειν ὁ Ζεὺς λέγεται τῶν ὅλων· *As we our ſelves are governed by a Soul, ſo hath the World in like manner a Soul that containeth it; and this is called* Zeus, *being the Cauſe of Life to all things that live; and therefore* Zeus *or* Jupiter, *is ſaid to reign over all things.* However, though theſe were two different Conceptions amongſt the Pagans concerning God, ſome apprehending him to be an *Abſtract Mind* ſeparate from the World and Matter, but others to be a *Soul of the World* only, yet nevertheleſs they all agreed in this, that Ζεὺς or *Jupiter* was the Supreme Moderator or Governour of all. And accordingly *Plato* in his *Cratylus* taking theſe Two Words, Ζῆνα and Δία, both together, etymologizeth them as one, after this manner: συνιὸν μὲν ἓν ἐν ὅλοις τὸ φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, ὅστις ἐστὶν αἴτιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ζῆν, ἢ ὁ ἄρχων τε καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων· συμβαλνὶ δὲν ὀρθῶς ὀνομάζεσθαι ὅτως, τοῦ θεὸς εἶναι δι' ὃν ζῆν ἀεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ζῶσιν ὑπάρχει, διείληπται ὁ δίχα (ὥσπερ λέγω) ἐν ὂν τὸ ὄνομα, τοῦ Διὶ καὶ Ζηνί· *Theſe Two words compounded together, declare the Nature of God; for there is nothing, which is more the Cauſe of Life both to our ſelves and all other Animals, than He who is the Prince and King of all things, ſo that God is rightly thus called; He being that by whom all things Live. And theſe are really but one Name of God, though divided into Two Words.* But becauſe it was very obvious, then to object againſt this Poſition of *Plato*'s, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* could not be the Prince of all things, and Firſt Original of Life, from the *Theogonia* of *Heſiod* and other ancient Pagans, in which himſelf was made to have been the *Son* of Κρόνος or *Saturn*; therefore this Objection is thus preoccupated by *Plato*, τοῦτον δ', Κρόνε υἱὸν, ὑβριστικὸν μὲν ἄν τινι δόξειεν εἶναι ἀκούσαντι ἐξαίφνης· *Whoſoever ſhall hear this,* (ſaith he) *will preſently conclude it, to be contumelious to this* Zeus *or* Jupiter (*as he hath been deſcribed by us*) *to be accounted the Son of* Cronos *or* Saturn. And in anſwer hereunto, that Philoſopher ſtretcheth his Wits, to ſalve that *Poetick Theogonia*, and reconcile it with his own *Theological Hypotheſis*; and thereupon he interprets that *Heſiodian*

Præp. Ev. L. 3.

Præp. Ev. L. 3. c. 13.

P. 396. Steph.

ſtodian ΖΕΥΣ or *Jupiter*, into a Compliance with the *Third Hypoſtaſis* of his *Divine Triad*, ſo as properly to ſignifie the *Superiour Soul* of the World; ΔΥΛΟΓΟΥ Ὲ, μεγάλης τινὸς διανοίας ἔκγονον εἶναι τὸν Δία· ΚΡΟΝΟΝ ΔῈ τὸ καθαρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκήρατον τοῦ ΝΟΥ· ἔτι Ὲ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ὑὸς, ὡς ΛΟΓΟΥ· *Nevertheleſs it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe*, Zeus *or* Jupiter *to be the Offſpring of ſome Great Mind: and* Chronos *or* Saturn *ſignifieth a pure and Perfect Mind Eternal; who again is ſaid to be the Son of* Uranus *or* Cœlius. Where it is manifeſt, that *Plato* endeavours to accommodate this *Poetick Trinity* of Gods, *Uranus*, *Chronos* and *Zeus*; or *Cœlius*, *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, to his own *Trinity* of *Divine Hypoſtaſes*, ΤΑΓΑΘΟΝ, ΝΟΥΣ and ΨΥΧΗ, the *Firſt Good*, a *Perfect Intellect*, and the *Higheſt Soul*. Which Accommodation, is accordingly further purſued by *Plotinus* in ſeveral places, as *Enn.* 5. *l.* 1. *c.* 4. and *Enn.* 5. *l.* 8. *c.* 13. Nevertheleſs theſe Three *Archical Hypoſtaſes* of the *Platonick Trinity*, though look'd upon as Subſtances diſtinct from each other, and Subordinate; yet are they frequently taken all together by them for the Whole *Supreme Deity*. However the Word ΖΕΥΣ is by *Plato* ſeverally attributed, to each of them; which *Proclus* thus obſerved upon the *Timæus*: ΛΕΓΩΜΕΝ ὅΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΣΙ ΤΑΞΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ· ΑΛΛΟΣ ΜΕΝ Ὁ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΖΕΥΣ, ὡς ἐν ΚΡΑΤΥΛΩ ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ἄΛΛΟΣ Ὁ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΟΝΙΑΣ ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ, ὡς ἐν ΓΟΡΓΙΑ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ἄΛΛΟΣ Ὁ ἈΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ, ὡς ἐν ΤΩΙ ΦΑΙΔΡΩΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΔΟΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ἄΛΛΟΣ Ὁ ὈΡΦΝΙΟΣ, ἔΤΕ ὅΤΙ ΤΟΥ ἀΠΛΑΝΟΥΣ ἔΤΕ Ὁ ἐν ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΩΙ· *We ſay therefore, that there are ſeveral Orders, Ranks or Degrees of* Zeus *or* Jupiter *in* Plato; *for ſometimes he is taken for the* Demiurgus *or Opificer of the World, as in* Cratylus, *ſometimes for the Firſt of the Saturnian Triad, as in* Gorgias, *ſometimes for the Superiour Soul of the World, as in* Phædrus, *and laſtly ſometimes for the Lower Soul of the Heaven.* Though by *Proclus* his lieve, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* which is mentioned in *Plato*'s *Cratylus* (being plainly the Superiour *Pſyche* or Soul of the World) is not properly the *Demiurgus* or Opificer, according to him, that Title rather belonging to ΝΟΥΣ or *Intellect*, which is the *Second Hypoſtaſis* in his *Trinity*. P. 298.

As for the Vulgar of the Greekiſh Pagans, whether they apprehended God to be ΝΟΥΝ ἐξῃρημένον ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ, *a Mind or Intellect ſeparate from the World*, or elſe to be a *Soul of the World only*; it cannot be doubted, but that by the word *Zeus*, they commonly underſtood the Supreme Deity in one or other of thoſe ſences, the *Father* and *King* of *Gods*: he being frequently thus ſtiled in their ſolemn Nuncupations of Vows, ΖΕΥ ΠΑΤΕΡ, ΖΕΥ ἄΝΑ, *O* Jupiter *Father*, and *O* Jupiter *King*. As he was invoked alſo ΖΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ, inthat excellent Prayer of an ancient Poet, not without cauſe commended in *Plato*'s *Alcibiades*.

ΖΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ, ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ἐΣΘΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΧΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ἀΝΕΥΚΤΟΙΣ
ἌΜΜΙ ΔΙΔΟΥ· ΤΑ Δ' ΔΕΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΧΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ἀΠΑΛΕΞΕΙΝ·

O Jupiter *King, give us good things whether we pray or pray not for them, but with-hold evil things from us, though we ſhould pray never ſo earneſtly for them.* But the Inſtances of this kind being innumerable, we ſhall forbear to mention any more of them. Only we ſhall obſerve, that *Zeus Sabazius* was a name for the Supreme God, ſometime introduced

duced amongst the Greeks, and derived in all probability, from the Hebrew *Sabaoth*, or *Adonai Tsebaoth*, *the Lord of Hosts*, (that is of the Heavenly Hosts) or the Supreme Governour of the World. Which therefore *Aristophanes* took notice of, as a strange and foreign God, lately crept in amongst them, that ought to be banish'd out of *Greece:* these several Names of God being then vulgarly spoken of, as so many distinct Deities; as shall be more fully declared afterwards. We shall likewise elsewhere show, that besides ζεὺς, πὰν also was used by the Greeks, as a Name for that God, who is the supreme Moderator and Governour of the whole World.

That the Latins did in like manner, by *Jupiter* and *Jovis*, frequently denote the *Supreme Deity*, and *Monarch of the Universe*, is a thing unquestionable; and which does sufficiently appear from those Epithets that were commonly given to him, of *Optimus* and *Maximus*, the *Best and the Greatest*, as also of *Omnipotens* frequently bestowed upon him by *Virgil* and others. Which word *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, though *Cicero* etymologize it *à Juvando*, or from *Juvans Pater*, as not knowing how to do it otherwise, yet we may rather conclude it to have been of an Hebraical Extraction, and derived from that *Tetragrammaton* or Name of God, consisting of Four Consonants; whose Vowels (which it was to be pronounced with) though they be not now certainly known, yet must it needs have some such sound as this, either *Jovah*, or *Jahvoh*, or Ἰάὼ or Ἰάω, or the like: and the abbrebreviation of this Name was *Jah*. For as the Pagan Nations, had besides Appellatives, their several Proper Names for God, so also had the Hebrews theirs, and such as being given by God himself, was most expressive of his Nature, it signifying *Eternal and Necessary Existence.*

But in the next place we shall suggest, that the Pagans did not only signifie the *Supreme God*, by these *Proper Names*, but also frequently by the *Appellatives* themselves, when used not for *a God* in General, but for *The God*, or God κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and *by way of eminency*. And thus ὁ θεὸς and θεὸς are often taken by the Greeks, not for θεῶν τις, *a God*, or *one of the Gods*, but for *God*, or the *Supreme Deity*. We have several Examples hereof, in Passages before-cited occasionally in this very Chapter, as in that of *Aristotle's*, τί ἔν ἂν κρεῖττον ἢ ἐπιστήμης πλὴν ὁ θεὸς; *What is there therefore, that can be better than Knowledge, but only God:* As also that other of his, that Happiness consisteth principally in Vertue, ἔστω συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ χρωμένοις, *it is a thing that ought to be acknowledged by us from the Nature of God.* So likewise in that of *Thales*, πρεσβύτατον πάντων ὁ θεὸς, ἀγένητον γάρ, *God is the oldest of all things, because he is Unmade*, and that of *Maximus Tyrius*, πολλοὶ θεοὶ παῖδες θεοῦ καὶ συνάρχοντες θεῷ, *Many Gods the Sons of God and Co-reigners together with God.* Besides which, there have been others also mentioned, which we shall not here repeat. And innumerable more Instances of this kind might be added, as that of *Antiphanes*, θεὸς ὀδενὶ ἔοικεν, διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ὀκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνος δύναται, *God is like to nothing, for which cause he cannot be learnt by any, from an Image:* This of *Socrates*, εἰ ταύτῃ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ταύτῃ γενέσθω, *If God*

God will have it ſo, let it be ſo. And that of *Epictetus*, σὺ μόνον μέμνησο τῶν καθολικῶν, τί ἐμόν, τί οὐκ ἐμόν; τί θέλῃ με ποιεῖν ὁ θεὸς νῦν; *Do thou only remember, theſe Catholick and Univerſal Principles; What is Mine and what is not Mine? What would God have me now to do? and what would he have me not to do?* But we ſhall mention no more of theſe, becauſe they occurr ſo frequently in all manner of Greek Writers, both Metrical and Proſaical.

Wherefore we ſhall here only add, that as the Singular θεὸς, was thus often uſed by the Greeks for *God* κατ' ἐξοχήν or *in way of Eminency*, that is, for the *Supreme Deity*, ſo was likewiſe the Plural θεοὶ frequently uſed by them, for the *Inferiour Gods* by way of Diſtinction from the *Supreme*. As in that uſual Form of Prayer and Exclamation ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, *O* Jupiter *and the Gods*, and that Form of Obteſtation, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, *By* Jupiter *and the Gods*. So in this of *Euripedes*,

Ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ἔστι· κἂν τις ἐγγελᾷ λογῷ,
Ζεὺς καὶ θεοὶ, βρότεια λῦσαίτες πάθη·

Eſt, (ſint licèt qui rideant) eſt Jupiter,
Superique; Caſus qui vident Mortalium.

In which Paſſages, as *Jupiter* is put for the *Supreme God*, ſo is θεοὶ likewiſe put, for the *Inferiour Gods*, in way of diſtinction from him. Thus alſo θεὸς and θεοὶ are taken both together, in *Plato*'s *Phædo*, θεὸς for the Supreme, Unmade and Incorruptible Deity, and θεοὶ for the *Inferiour Gods only*, ὁ δέ γε θεὸς (οἶμαι) ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς εἶδος ἆρα πάντων ἂν ὁμολογηθείη, μηδέποτε ἀπόλλυσθαι. Παρὰ πάντων μέντοι νὴ Δι' (ἔφη) ἀνθρώπων γε; καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἆρα θεῶν. *I ſuppoſe, ſaid* Socrates, *that God and the very Species, Eſſence or Idea of Life, will be granted by all to be Incorruptible. Doubtleſs by all men (ſaid* Cebes) *but much more as I conceive, by the Gods.* But a further Inſtance will be propounded afterwards, of the word θεοὶ thus uſed by way of diſtinction, for the Inferiour Gods only; as it was before declared, that the *Theogonia* or Generation of Gods was accordingly underſtood by the Greeks univerſally, of the οἱ θεοὶ, that is, the *Inferiour Gods*. P. 106.

Moreover as the word θεὸς was taken κατ' ἐξοχήν, or *by way of eminency*, for the *Supreme God*, ſo was δαίμων likewiſe. As for example, in this Paſſage of *Callimachus* before cited imperfectly,

——————— Εἰ θεὸν οἶσθα,
Ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ ῥέξαι δαίμονι πᾶν δυνατόν·

——————— *Si Deus eſt tibi notus,*
Hoc etiam noris, omnia poſſe Deum.

Where θεὸς and δαίμων are uſed both alike *ſignanter*, for the Supreme God. And thus alſo in that famous Paſſage of another Poet,

——Τοῖς

Plato de Rep. ἐκ τούτου θεῶν πότε ἀμελεῖται, ὃς ἂν προθυμεῖσθαι ἐθέλῃ δίκαιος γίνεσθαι, καὶ ὑπιτηδεύων ἀρετὴν, εἰς ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁμοιοῦσθαι θεῷ. *He will never be neglected of the Gods, who endeavours, as much as it is poſſible for a man, to be like to God.* p. 613.

——————— Τοῖς γὸ ἁλίτροις,
Εἰν ἁλὶ ἢ γαίᾳ, κακὰ μήϱια ϑήκατο Δαίμων.

Homer likewiſe, in one and the ſame place, ſeems to uſe Θεὸς and Δαίμων both together, after the ſame manner, for the *Supreme God*,

Ὁππότ' ἀνὴϱ ἐϑέλει πϱὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι,
Ὅν κε ϑεὸς τιμᾷ, τάχα οἱ μέγα πῆμα κυλίϑη·

Quoties homo vult, adverſo Numine, cum viro pugnare
Quem Deus honorat, mox in eum magna clades devolvitur.

Again we conceive, that *Jupiter* or the *Supreme God*, was ſometimes ſignified amongſt the Pagans, by that expreſſion, Θεὸς αὐτὸς *Deus Ipſe*, as in that of *Homer*'s Ninth Iliad,

———οὐδ' εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσαίη Θεὸς αὐτὸς,
Γῆϱας ἀποξύσας ϑήσειν νέον ἡβώοντα·

——— *Neque ſi mihi promitteret Deus Ipſe,*
Senectutem abradens, effecturum me Juvenem pubeſcentem.

And thus St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* interprets *Homer* here, ἢ γάϱ πϖ φησὶν, εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ὑπόσχοιτό μοι τῶ μὲν γήϱως ἀπεμπολῶ, παλινάγερέτον ἢ τὴν νεότητα, τετήϱηκε ἢ τὸ χϱῆμα μόνῳ τῳ ὅτι πάντας ϑεῷ, &c. τὸ γάϱ τοι Θεὸς αὐτὸς, ὅπ ἐφ' ἕνα τῳ ἐν μύθοις πεπλασμένων τινὰ, αὐτὸν ἢ δὴ μόνον καταμηνύει ἂν ἢ ἀληθῶς ὄντα Θεόν· Homer *doth not ſay, If any of the Gods would promiſe me freedom from old Age and reſtitution of Youth, but he reſerves the matter only to the Supreme God; neither doth he refer it to any of the Fictitious Poetick Gods, but to the true God alone.* The ſame Language was alſo ſpoken, in the Laws of the Twelve Tables; *Deos adeunto caſte, Opes amovento: Si ſecus faxint, Deus ipſe vindex erit: Let the Gods be worſhipp'd chaſtely, ſuperfluity of Riches and Pomp being removed: If men do otherwiſe, God Himſelf will be the Avenger.* Where though the word *Gods* be uſed generally, ſo as to comprehend both the *Supreme* and *Inferiour Gods* under it, yet *Deus Ipſe*, *God himſelf*, denotes the Supreme God only. In like manner ὁ Δαίμων αὐτὸς alſo ſeems to be taken for the Supreme God in that of *Euripedes*,

Λύσῃ με ὁ Δαίμων αὐτὸς, ὅταν ἐγὼ ϑέλω,

Which was thus rendred by *Horace*,

——*Ipſe Deus, ſimulatque volet, me ſolvet.*

Notwithſtanding which, Δαίμων and Δαίμονες, are often diſtinguiſhed from Θεὸς and Θεοὶ, they being put for an Inferiour rank of Beings below the Gods, vulgarly called Demons, which word in a large ſence

Contra Jul. L. 1.

So *Juſtin. Mart. Ad Græc.* coh. p. 22.

ſence comprehends alſo *Heroes* under it. For though theſe *Dæmons* be ſometimes called Gods too, yet were they rather accounted Ἡμίθεοι, *Demi-gods*, than *Gods*. And thus θεοὶ καὶ Δαίμονες, *Gods and Demons*, are frequently joyned together, as things diſtinct from one another: which Notion of the word *Plato* refers to, when he concludes, *Love* not to be a *God*, but a *Demon* only. But of theſe Demons we are to ſpeak more afterwards.

Furthermore, the Pagan Writers frequently underſtand the Supreme God by the τὸ θεῖον, when the word is uſed Subſtantively. As for example, in this of *Epicharmus*,

Οὐδὲν διαφθύγῃ τὸ θεῖον· τοῦτο γινώσκειν σε δεῖ·
Αὐτὸς ἐσθ' ἡμῶν ἐποπτης. ἀδυνατεῖ δ' οὐδὲν θεῷ.

Res nulla eſt Deum quæ lateat, ſcire quod te convenit:
Ipſe eſt noſter Introſpector, tum Deus nil non poteſt.

So likewiſe in this of *Plato*'s, πόρρω ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης ἵδρυται τὸ θεῖον, *God is far removed both from Pleaſure and Grief.* And *Plotinus* calls the Supreme God, τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ θεῖον, *The Divinity that is in the Univerſe.* But becauſe the Inſtances hereof are alſo innumerable, we ſhall decline the mentioning of any more, and inſtead of them, only ſet down the Judgment of that diligent and impartial Obſerver of the Force of words, *Henricus Stephanus*, concerning it; *Redditur etiam* τὸ θεῖον *ſæpe Deus, ſed ita tamen ut intelligendum ſit, non de quolibet Deo, ab ipſis etiam profanis Scriptoribus dici, verùm de eo quem intelligerent, cùm* θεὸν *dicebant quaſi* κατ' ἐξοχήν, *ad differentiam eorum, qui multi, appellatione* θεῶν *includebantur, ſummum videlicet Supremúmque Numen, & quaſi dicas* θεὸν θεῶν ὕπατον καὶ ἄριστον, *ut loquitur de* Jove Homerus.

Laſtly, as τὸ θεῖον ſo likewiſe was τὸ δαιμόνιον uſed by the Greeks, for the Supreme *Numen*, or that Divinity which governs the whole World. Thus whereas it was commonly ſaid (according to *Herodotus*) ὅτι τὸ θεῖον φθονερόν, *That God was envious*; the meaning whereof was, that he did not commonly ſuffer any great Humane Proſperity, to continue long, without ſome check or counterbuff; the ſame Proverbial ſpeech is expreſſed in *Ariſtotle*, φθονερὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον. And in this ſence the word ſeems to be uſed in *Iſocrates ad Demonicum*, τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεὶ μέν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως, *Worſhip God always, but eſpecially with the City, in her Publick Sacrifices.* And doubtleſs it was thus taken by *Epictetus* in this Paſſage of his, μία ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εὐροίαν, τοῦτο καὶ ὄρθρου, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, ἕξω παρέχειρόν, ἀπόσασις τὰ ἀπροαιρέτων, τὸ μηδὲν ἴδιον ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ παραδοῦναι πάντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ· *There is but one way to Tranquillity of Mind and Happineſs, Let this therefore be always ready at hand with thee, both when thou wakeſt early in the morning, and all the day long, and when thou goeſt late to ſleep; to account no external things thine own, but to commit all theſe to God and Fortune.* And there is a very remarkable Paſſage in *Demoſthenes* (obſerved by *Budeus*) that muſt not be here omitted; in which we have οἱ θεοὶ plainly for the *Inferiour* or *Minor Gods* only, and τὸ δαιμόνιον for

Arr. Lib. 4. c. 4. p. 387.

the Supreme God, both together; ἔσονται οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὃ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ψηφισάμενον· *The Gods and the Deity will know or take notice of him that gives not a righteous sentence*; that is, both the *Inferior Gods* and *the Supreme God himself*. Wherefore we see, that the word δαιμόνιον, as to its Grammatical Form, is not a Diminitive, as some have conceived, but an Adjective Substantiv'd; as well as τὸ θεῖον is. Nevertheless in Pagan Writings, δαιμόνιον also, as well as δαίμων from whence it is derived, is often used for an Inferionr Rank of Beings *below the Gods*, though sometimes called *Gods* too; and such was *Socrates* his δαιμόνιον so commonly known. But the Grammar of this Word, and its proper Signification in Pagan Writers, cannot better be manifested, than by citing that Passage of *Socrates his own*, in his Apology, as written by *Plato*; who though generally supposed to have had a *Dæmon*, was notwithstanding by *Melitus* accused of Atheism; ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων, ὦ Μέλιτε, ἀνθρώπεια μὲν νομίζει πράγματα εἶναι, ἀνθρώπους δὲ οὐ νομίζει; ἢ ὅστις ἵππους μὲν οὐ νομίζει, ἱππικὰ δὲ πράγματα; &c. οὐκ ἔστιν ὦ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπόκρυναι, ἔσθ' ὅστις δαιμόνια μὲν νομίζει πράγματα εἶναι, δαίμονας δὲ οὐ νομίζει; οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἔν δαιμονιά γε νομίζω κατ' ἐμὸν λόγον. εἰ δὲ μὴ δαιμόνια νομίζω, μὴ δαίμονας ἆπερ πόλλη ἀνάγκη νομίζειν με ἐστίν. τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας οὐχὶ ἤτοι θεούς γε ἡγούμεθα εἶναι, ἢ θεῶν παῖδας; &c. *Is there any one*, O Melitus, *who acknowledging that there are Humane things, can yet deny that there are any Men? or confessing that there are Equine things, can nevertheless deny that there are any Horses? If this cannot be, then no man who acknowledges Demonial things, can deny Demons. Wherefore I being confessed to assert* δαιμόνια, *must needs be granted, to hold* δαίμονας *also. Now do we not all think, that Demons are either Gods, or at least Sons of the Gods. Wherefore for any one to conceive that there are* Dæmons, *and yet no Gods, is altogether as absurd, as if one should think that there are Mules, but yet neither Horses nor Asses.* However, in the New Testament, according to the Judgment of *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and others of the Ancient Fathers, both those words δαίμονες and δαιμόνια, are alike taken, always in a *Worser sence*, for Evil and Impure Spirits only.

P. 27. *Steph.*

But over and besides all this; the Pagans do often characterize the *Supreme God*, by such *Titles*, *Epithets*, and *Descriptions*, as are Incommunicably proper to him: thereby plainly distinguishing him from all other *Inferiour Gods*. He being sometimes called by them, ὁ Δημιουργὸς, *the Opifex Architect or Maker of the World*, ὁ Ἡγεμὼν τοῦ παντὸς καὶ Ἀρχηγέτης, *the Prince and chief Ruler of the Universe*; ὁ πρῶτος and ὁ πρώτιστος θεὸς (by the Greeks) and (by the Latins) *Primus Deus*, *the First God*; ὁ πρῶτος Νοῦς, *the First Mind*; ὁ Μέγας θεὸς, *the Great God*; ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων, and ὁ μέγιστος θεῶν, *the greatest God* and *the greatest of the Gods*; ὁ Ὕψιστος, *the Highest*; and ὁ ὕπατος θεῶν, *the Supreme of the Gods*; ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεὸς, *the Uppermost, or most Transcendent God*; *Princeps ille Deus*, *that Chief or Principal God*; θεὸς θεῶν, *the God of Gods*; and Ἀρχὴ Ἀρχῶν, *the Principle of Principles*; τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον, *the First Cause*; Ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γενέσας, *He that Generated or Created this whole Universe*; ὁ κραταιέων τοῦ παντὸς, *He that ruleth over the whole World*; *Summus Rector & Dominus*, *The Supreme Governour and Lord of all*; ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸς, *the God over all*; ὁ θεὸς ἀγένητος, αὐτογενὴς, αὐτοφυὴς, αὐθυ-

αὐθυπόστατος, *The Ingenerate or Unmade Self-originated and Self-subsisting Deity*; Μονὰς *a Monad*; Τὸ ἓν καὶ αὐτο ἀγαθὸν, *Unity and Goodness it self*; Τὸ ἐπέκεινα τ᾽ οὐσίας, and τὸ ὑπερέσιον, *that which is above Essence or Super-essential*; Τὸ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, *that which is above mind and Understanding*; *Summum illud & Æternum, neque mutabile neque interiturum, That Supreme and Eternal Being, which is Immutable and can never perish*; Ἀρχὴ, καὶ τέλος, καὶ μέσον ἁπάντων, *The Beginning, and End, and Middle of all things*; Ἓν καὶ πάντα, *One and all things*; *Deus Unus & Omnes, One God and All Gods*; And Lastly, to name no more, ἡ πρόνοια, or *Providence*, as distinguished from φύσις *Nature*, is often used by them also, as a Name for the Supreme God, which because it is of the Feminine Gender, the Impious and Atheistical Epicureans, therefore took occasion, to call God ridiculously and jearingly, *Anum fatidicam Pronœan*: Now all these, and other such like Expressions, being found in the Writings of Professed Pagans (as we are able to shew) and some of them very frequently, it cannot be denied, but that the Pagans did put a Manifest Difference betwixt the *Supreme God*, and all their other *Inferiour Gods*.

XV. What hath been now declared, might, as we conceive, be judged sufficient, in order to our present Undertaking; which is to prove, that the more Intelligent of the Ancient *Pagans*, notwithstanding that *Multiplicity of Gods* worshipped by them, did generally acknowledge, *One Supreme, Omnipotent, and Only Unmade Deity*. Nevertheless, since men are commonly so much prepossess'd with a contrary Perswasion; (the reason whereof seems to be no other than this, that because the *Notion* of the Word *God*, which is now generally received amongst us Christians, is such as does essentially include *Self-existence in it*, they are therefore apt to conceit, that it must needs do so likewise amongst the Pagans;) we shall endeavour to produce yet some further Evidence for the Truth of *our Assertion*. And first we conceive, This to be no small Confirmation thereof, because after the Publication of *Christianity*, and all along during that Tugging and Contest which was betwixt it and *Paganism*, none of the Professed Champions for *Paganism*, and Antagonists of Christianity (when occasion was now offered them) did ever assert any such thing, as a *Multiplicity of Understanding Deities Unmade* (or *Creators*) but on the contrary, they all generally disclaimed it, professing to aknowledge *One Supreme Self-existent Deity, the Maker of the whole Universe*.

It is a thing highly probable, if not unquestionable, that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, shortly after the Publication of the Gospel to the World, was a Person made choice of by the *Policy*, and assisted by the *Powers of the Kingdom of Darkness*, for the doing of some things Extraordinary; merely out of design, to derogate from the *Miracles* of our *Saviour Christ*, and to enable *Paganism* the better, to bear up against the assaults of *Christianity*. For amongst the many Writers of this Philosophers Life; some, and particularly *Philostratus*, seem to have had no other aim in this their whole undertaking, then only to dress up *Apollonius*, in such a garb and manner, as might make him best seem

to be a fit Corrival, with our Saviour Christ, both in respect of *Sanctity* and *Miracles*. *Eunapius* therefore telling us, that he mis-titled his Book, and that in stead of Ἀπολλωνίε βίον, *the Life of* Apollonius, he should have called it θεῶ ἐς ἀνθρώπες ἐπιδημίαν, *The Coming down, and Converse of God with Men*; forasmuch as this *Apollonius* (saith he) was not a bare Philosopher or Man, ἀλλά τι θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπε μέσον, *but a certain middle thing betwixt the Gods and Men*. And that this was the use commonly made by the Pagans, of this History of *Apollonius*, namely to set him up in way of opposition and Rivalry to our Saviour Christ, appears sundry ways. *Marcellinus*, in an Epistle of his to St. *Austin*, declares this as the Grand Objection of the Pagans against Christianity, (therefore desiring St. *Austin*'s answer to the same;) *Nihil aliud Dominum, quàm alii homines facere potuerunt, feciſſe vel egiſſe mentiuntur*; Apollonium *ſiquidem ſuum nobis*, & Apuleium, *aliósque Magicæ artis homines, in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt extitiſſe miracula: The Pagans pretend, That our Saviour Christ did no more, than what other men have been able to do, they producing their* Apollonius *and* Apuleius, *and other Magicians, whom they contend to have done greater miracles.* And it is well known that *Hierocles* to whom *Eusebius* gives the commendation of a very Learned man, wrote a Book against the Christians (entituled Φιλαλήθης, or Λόγοι φιλαλήθεις) the chief design whereof was to compare this *Apollonius Tyanæus* with, and prefer him before our Saviour Christ: Ἄνω ἢ κάτω θρυλλοῦσι, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς τυφλοῖς ἀναβλέψαι τε ποιήσαντα, καί τινα τοιαῦτα θαύματα θαυμάσια· they are *Hierocles* his own words in *Eusebius*; *The Christians* (saith he) *keep a great deal of stir, crying up of one Jesus, for restoring sight to the blind, and doing some such other Wonders.* And then mentioning the *Thaumaturgi* or *Wonder-workers* amongst the Pagans, but especially *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and insisting largely upon his Miracles, he adds in the close of all, Τίνος δὲν ἕνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵνα ἐξῇ συγκρίνειν τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀκριβὲς ἢ βεβαίαν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ κρίσιν, ἢ τὸ τῆς χρισιανῶν κουφότητα· εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα, οὐ θεὸν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγούμεθα· οἱ δὲ ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσι· *To what purpose now have we mentioned all these things? but only that the solid Judgement of us* (Pagans) *might be compared with the Levity of the Christians; forasmuch as we do not accompt him a God, who did all these Miracles, but only a Person beloved of the Gods; whilst they declare Jesus to be a God, merely for doing a few Wonders.* Where, because *Eusebius* is silent, we cannot but subjoyn an Answer out of *Lactantius* (which indeed he seems to have directed against those very words of *Hierocles*, though not naming of him) it being both pertinent and full; *Apparet nos ſapientiores eſſe, qui mirabilibus factis, non ſtatim fidem Divinitatis adjunximus, quàm vos, qui ob exigua portenta Deum credidiſtis* —— *Diſce igitur, ſi quid tibi cordis eſt, non ſolùm idcirco à nobis Deum creditum Chriſtum, quia mirabilia fecit, ſed quia vidimus in eo facta eſſe omnia quæ nobis annunciata ſunt, Vaticinia Prophetarum. Fecit mirabilia; Magum putaſſemus, ut & vos nuncupatis; & Judæi tunc putaverunt; ſi non illa ipſa facturum Chriſtum, Prophetæ omnes uno ſpiritu prædicaſſent. Itaque Deum credimus, non magis ex factis, operibúſque mirandis; quàm ex illa ipſa Cruce, quam vos ſicut Canes lambitis; quoniam ſimul & illa prædicta eſt. Non igitur Suo*

Ep. 4.

De Juſti. l. 5. c. 3.

Teſtimo-

Testimonio, (cui enim de se dicenti potest credi?) sed Prophetarum Testimonio, qui omnia quæ fecit ac passus est, multo antè cecinerunt; fidem Divinitatis accepit; quod neque Apollonio *neque Apuleio, neque cuiquam Magorum potest aliquando contingere. It is manifest that we Christians are wiser than you Pagans, in that we do not presently attribute Divinity to a person, merely because of his Wonders; whereas a few Portentous things, or Extraordinary actions, will be enough with you, to make you Deifie the Doer of them;* (and so indeed did some of them, however *Hierocles* denies it, Deifie *Apollonius.*) *Let this writer against Christianity therefore learn, (if he have any Understanding or Sense in him) that Christ was not therefore believed to be a God by us Christians, merely because of his Miracles, but because we saw all those things done by, and accomplish'd in him, which were long before predicted to us, by the Prophets. He did miracles, and we should therefore have suspected him for a Magician (as you now call him, and as the Jews then supposed him to be;) had not all the Prophets, with one voice foretold, that he should do such things. We believe him therefore to be God, no more from his Miracles, than from that very Cross of his, which you so much quarrel with, because that was likewise foretold. So that our Belief of Christ's Divinity, is not founded upon his own Testimony (for who can be believed concerning himself?) but upon the Testimony of the Prophets, who sang long before of all those things, which he both did and suffered. Which is such a peculiar advantage and privilege of his, as that neither* Apollonius *nor* Apuleius, *nor any other Magician, could ever share therein.* Now as for the Life and Morals of this *Apollonius Tyanæus*, as it was a thing absolutely necessary, for the carrying on of such a Diabolical Design, that the Person made use of for an Instrument, should have some colourable and plausible pretence to Vertue, so did *Apollonius* accordingly take upon him the profession of a Pythagorean; and indeed act that part externally so well, that even *Sidonius Apollinaris*, though a Christian, was so dazled with the glittering show and lustre of his counterfeit Vertues, as if he had been inchanted by this Magician, so long after his death. Nevertheless whosoever is not very dim-sighted in such matters as these, or partially affected, may easily perceive, that this *Apollonius* was so far from having any thing of that Divine Spirit which manifested it self in our Saviour Christ (transcending all the Philosophers that ever were) that he fell far short of the better moralized Pagans, as for example *Socrates*, there being a plain appearance of much Pride and Vain-glory (besides other Foolery) discoverable both in his Words and Actions. And this *Eusebius* undertakes to evince from *Philostratus* his own *History* (though containing many Falshoods in it) ὃδ' ἐν ὑπεικέζι τῇ μετρίοις ἀνδρᾶσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, ὄχ' ὅπως τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν χρισῷ παραθέναι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, *That* Apollonius *was so far from deserving to be compared with our Saviour Christ, that he was not fit to be ranked amongst the moderately and indifferently Honest men.* Wherefore as to his reputed *Miracles*, if credit be to be given to those Relations, and such things were really done by him, it must for this reason also be concluded, that they were done no otherwise than by *Magick* and *Necromancy*; and that this *Apollonius* was but an *Archimago* or *grand Magician.* Neither ought this to be suspected for a mere slander cast upon him, by partially affected Christians only, since, during his Life-

time, he was generally reputed, even amongſt the Pagans themſelves, for no other than a γόης, or *Infamous Inchanter*, and accuſed of that very Crime before *Domitian the Emperour*; as he was alſo repreſented ſuch, by one of the Pagan Writers of his Life, *Mœragenes*, ſenior to *Philoſtratus*; as we learn from *Origen*; Περὶ μαγείας φαμὲν, ὅτι ὁ βουλόμενος ἐξετάσαι, πότερόν ποτε ἢ φιλόσοφοι ἁλωτοί εἰσιν αὐτῇ, εἰ μὴ, ἀναγνώτω τὰ γεγραμμένα Μοιραγένει τῷ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως μάγου ἢ φιλοσόφου ἀπομνημονευμάτων· ἐν οἷς ὁ μὴ χρίστιανὸς ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος, ἔφησεν ἁλῶναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγείας, ἔνια ἀξιοπίστους τινας φιλοσόφους, ὡς περὶς γήτα αὐτὴν εἰσελθόντας· ἐν οἷς, οἶμαι, ἢ περὶ Εὐφράτου πάνυ διηγήσαιτο, καί τινος Ἐπικουρείου· *As concerning the Infamous and Diabolical Magick, he that would know whether or no a Philoſopher be temptable by it, or illaqueable into it, let him read the Writings of* Mœragenes, *concerning the memorable things of Apollonius Tyanæus, the Magician and Philoſopher; in which he that was no Chriſtian, but a Pagan Philoſopher himſelf, affirmeth, ſome not ignoble Philoſophers to have been taken, with* Apollonius *his Magick, including (as I ſuppoſe) in that number* Euphrates *and a certain Epicurean.* And no doubt but this was the reaſon why *Philoſtratus* derogates ſo much from the authority of this *Mœragenes*, affirming him to have been ignorant of many things concerning *Apollonius* (ὃ γὰρ Μοιραγένει τε προσεπτέον, &c.) Becauſe *Mœragenes* had thus repreſented *Apollonius* in his true colours, as a Magician; whereas *Philoſtratus* his whole buſineſs and deſign was, on the contrary, to vindicate him from that Imputation: the Truth whereof notwithſtanding, may be ſufficiently evinced, even from thoſe very things that are recorded by *Philoſtratus* himſelf. And here by the way we ſhall obſerve, that it is reported by good Hiſtorians, that Miracles were alſo done by *Veſpaſian* at *Alexandria*, *Per eos menſes* (they are the words of *Tacitus*) *multa miracula evenere, quîs cœleſtis favor, & quædam in* Veſpaſianum *inclinatio numinum oſtenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrinâ quidam, oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium cæcitatis expoſcens gemitu; monitu* Serapidis *Dei, quem dedita ſuperſtitionibus gens ante alios colit; precabatúrque Principem, ut genas & oculorum orbes dignaretur reſpergere oris excremento. Alius manu æger, eodem Deo auctore, ut pede ac veſtigio* Cæſaris *calcaretur orabat. At that time many Miracles happen'd at* Alexandria, *by which was manifeſted the Heavenly Favour, and Inclination of the Divine Powers towards* Veſpaſian. *A Plebeian Alexandrian, that had been known to be blind, caſts himſelf at the feet of* Veſpaſian, *begging with tears from him a remedy for his ſight (and that according to the ſuggeſtion of the God* Serapis) *that he would deign but to ſpit upon his Eyes and Face. Another having a Lame hand (directed by the ſame Oracle) beſeeches him but to tread upon it with his foot.* And after ſome debate concerning this buſineſs, both theſe things being done by *Veſpaſian, ſtatim converſa ad uſum manus, & cæco reluxit dies, the Lame hand preſently was reſtored to its former uſefulneſs, and the Blind man recovered his ſight: Both which things* (ſaith the Hiſtorian) *ſome who were Eye-witneſſes, do to this very day teſtifie, when it can be no advantage to any one to lye concerning it.* And that there ſeems to be ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that our *Archimago Apollonius Tyanæus*, might have ſome Finger in this buſineſs alſo, becauſe he was not only familiarly and intimately acquainted with

Con. Celſ. L. 6. p. 302.

Hiſt. l. 4. p. 111.

with *Vespasian*, but also at that very time (as *Philostratus* informeth us) present with him at *Alexandria*, where he also did many Miracles himself. However we may here take notice of another Stratagem and Policy of the Devil in this, both to obscure the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, and to weaken mens Faith in the *Messiah*, and baffle the Notion of it; that whereas a Fame of Prophecies had gone abroad every where, that a King was to come out of *Judea*, and rule over the whole World (by which was understood no other than the *Messiah*) by reason of these Miracles done by *Vespasian*, this Oracle or Prediction might the rather seem to have its accomplishment in him, who was first proclaimed Emperour in *Judea*, and to whom *Josephus* himself basely and flatteringly had applied it. And since this business was started and suggested by the God *Serapis*, that is, by the Devil; (of whose Counsel probably *Apollonius* also was:) this makes it still more strongly suspicable, that it was really a Design or Policy of the Devil, by imitating the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, both in *Apollonius* and *Vespasian*, to counter-work God Almighty in the Plot of Christianity, and to keep up or conserve his own Usurped Tyranny in the Pagan World still. Nevertheless we shall here show *Apollonius* all the favour we can, and therefore suppose him, not to have been one of those more foul and black Magicians, of the common sort, such as are not only grosly sunk and debauched in their Lives, but also knowingly do Homage to Evil Spirits as such, for the gratification of their Lusts; but rather one of those more refined ones, who have been called by themselves *Theurgists*, such as being in some measure freed from the grosser Vices, and thinking to have to do only with good Spirits; nevertheless being Proud and Vainglorious, and affecting Wonders,, and to transcend the Generality of Mankind, are by a Divine *Nemesis*, *justly exposed* to the illusions of the Devil or Evil Spirits, cunningly insinuating here, and aptly accommodating themselves to them. However concerning this *Apollonius*, it is undeniable, that he was a zealous Upholder of the *Pagan Polytheism*, and a stout Champion for *The Gods*, he professing to have been taught by the Samian *Pythagoras* his Ghost how to Worship these Gods, Invisible as well as Visible, and to have converse with them. For which cause he is stiled by *Vopiscus*, *Amicus verus Deorum*, *A true Friend of the Gods*, that is, a hearty and sincere Friend, to that old Pagan Religion, now assaulted by Christianity, in which not One only True God, but a *Multiplicity of Gods*, were Worshipped. But notwithstanding all this, *Apollonius* himself was a clear and undoubted Asserter of *One Supreme Deity*, as is evident from his Apologetick Oration in *Philostratus*, prepared for *Domitian*, in which he calls him τὸν τῶν ὅλων, and τὸν πάντων δημιουργὸν θεὸν, *that God who is the Maker of the whole Universe, and of all things.* And as he elsewhere in *Philostratus* declares both the Indians and Egyptians to have agreed in this Theology; insomuch that though the Egyptians condemn'd the Indians for many other of their Opinions, yet did they highly applaud this Doctrine of theirs, τὸν μὲν ὅλων γενέσεως τε καὶ ἕξεως θεὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι, τόδε ἐνθυμηθῆναι ταῦτα, αἴτιον τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αὐτὸν, *That God was the Maker both of the Generation and Essence of all things, and that the cause of his making them, was his*

Essential

Essential Goodness: So doth he himself very much commend this Philosophy of *Jarchas* the Indian *Brachman, viz.* That the whole World was but *One Great Animal*, and might be resembled to a *Vast Ship*, wherein their are many Inferiour subordinate Governours, under One Supreme, the Oldest and Wisest; as also expert Mariners of several sorts, some to attend upon the Deck, and others to climb the Masts and order the Sails, ἐν ᾗ τῳ μὲν πρώτῳ καὶ τελεωτάτην ἕδραν ἀποδοτέον θεῷ γενέτορι τοῦδε τοῦ ζώου, τῳ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ, θεοῖς οἱ τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ νεμονεύουσι· καὶ τῷδε ποιηταῖς ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἐπειδὰν πολλοὺς μὲν φάσκωσιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ θεοὺς εἶναι, πολλοὺς δ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐν πηγαῖς τε καὶ νάμασι, πολλοὺς δ' καὶ ἐπὶ γῆν, εἶναι δ' καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τινας· *In which the first and highest seat is to be given to That God, who is the Generatour or Creator of this great Animal, and the next under it, to those Gods that govern the several parts of it respectively; so that the Poets were to be approved of here, when they affirm, that there are Many Gods in the Heavens, Many in the Seas, Many in the Rivers and Fountains, Many also upon the Earth and some under the Earth.* Wherein we have a true representation of the old Paganick Theology, which both Indians, and Egyptians, and European Poets (Greek and Latin) all agreed in; That there is One Supreme God, the Maker of the Universe, and under him Many Inferiour Generated Gods, or Understanding Beings (Superiour to Men) appointed to govern and preside over the several parts thereof, who were also to be religiously honoured and worshipped by Men. And thus much for *Apollonius Tyanæus*.

Philos.P.142.

The first Pagan Writer against Christianity, was *Celsus*; who lived in the times of *Adrian*, and was so professed a Polytheist, that he taxes the Jews for having been seduced by the Frauds of *Moses* into this Opinion of One God, ὅτι τοῦ ἡγησαμένου σφῶν ἐπόμενοι μωϊσῇ ἀιπόλοι καὶ πίμενες, ἀγροίκοις ἀπάταις ψυχαγωγηθέντες, ἓνα ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεόν· *Those silly Shepherds and Herdsmen, following* Moses *their Leader, and being seduced by his Rustick frauds, came to entertain this Belief, that there was but One only God.* Nevertheless this *Celsus* himself plainly acknowledged, amongst his *Many Gods, One Supreme*, whom he sometimes calls τὸ πρῶτον θεὸν, *the First God*; sometimes τὸ μέγιστον θεὸν, *the Greatest God*; and sometimes τὸ ὑπερουράνιον θεὸν, *the Supercelestial God*, and the like; and he doth so zealously assert the Divine Omnipotence, that he casts an imputation upon the Christians of derogating from the same, in that their *Hypothesis* of an Adversary Power, σφάλλονται δ' ἀσεβέστατα ἄπλα, καὶ περὶ τιμῶδε τιμῶ μεγίστην ἄγνοιαν ὁμοίως ἀπὸ θείων αἰνιγμάτων πεπλανημένῳ, ποιοῦντες τοῦ θεῷ ἐναντίον τινα, διάβολον τε καὶ γλώττῃ Ἑβραίᾳ Σατανᾶν ὀνομάζοντες τὸ αὐτόν. ἄλλως μὲν ὃν παντελῶς θνητὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ὅσ' ὅσια λέγειν, ὅτι ὁ μέγιστος θεὸς, βουλόμενός τι ἀνθρώποις ὠφελῆσαι, τὸ ἀντιπράσσοντα ἔχει, καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ. *The Christians are erroneously led into most wicked Opinions concerning God, by reason of their great ignorance of the Divine Enigms; whilst they make a certain Adversary to God, whom they call the Devil, and in the Hebrew Language* Satan: *And affirm, contrary to all Piety, that the Greatest God, having a mind to do good to men, is disabled or withstood by an Adversary, resisting him.* Lastly where he pleads most for the worship of Demons, he concludes thus concerning the Supreme God, θεοῦ δὲ δαιμὴν δαιμόνων ἀπο-

Orig.p.17,18.

Orig.l.6.p.303

Orig.con.Cels. l.8.p.419.

ἀπολφπέον; ὅτε μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὅτε νύκτως, ὅτ' ἐς κοινόν, ὅτ' ἰδίᾳ; λόγῳ τε ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἔργῳ διηνεκῶς, ἀλλά μοι καὶ μετὰ τοῦδε, καὶ χωρὶς, ἡ ψυχὴ ἀεὶ τετάσθω πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· *But God is by no means, any where to be laid aside, or left out; neither by Day nor by Night, neither in Publick nor in Private, either in our Words or Actions; but in every thing our Mind ought constantly to be directed towards God.* A Saying that might very well become a Christian.

The next and greatest Champion for the Pagan Cause in Books and Writings, was that Famous Tyrian Philosopher, *Malchus*, called by the Greeks *Porphyrius*; who published a Voluminous and elaborate Treatise (containing Fifteen Books) against the Christians; and yet He notwithstanding was plainly as zealous an Assertor of *One Supreme Deity*, and One Onely ἀγένητον, *Unmade or Self-existent Principle* of all things; as any of the Christians themselves could be; he strenuously opposing that forementioned Doctrine of *Plutarch* and *Atticus*, concerning Three Unmade Principles, a *Good God*, an *Evil Soul* or *Demon*, and *the Matter*, and endeavouring to demonstrate, that all things whatsoever, even Matter it self, was derived from One Perfect Understanding Being, or Self-originated Deity. The Sum of whose Argumentation to which purpose, we have represented by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, Page 119.

After *Porphyrius*, the next eminent Antagonist of Christianity, and Champion for Paganism, was *Hierocles* the Writer of that Book entituled (in *Eusebius*) φιλαλήθης, or *a Lover of the Truth*; which is noted to have been a Modester Inscription, than that of *Celsus* his ἀληθὴς λόγος, or *True Oration*. For if *Eusebius Pamphili*, were the Writer of that Answer to this *Philalethes* now Extant, as we both read in our Copies, and as *Photius* also read; then must it needs be granted, that *Hierocles* the Author of it, was either contemporary with *Porphyrius*, or else but little his Junior. Moreover this *Hierocles* seems plainly to be the person intended by *Lactantius* in these following words, *Alius eandem materiam mordaciùs scripsit; qui erat tum è numero Judicum, & qui auctor in primis faciendæ persecutionis fuit: quo scelere non contentus, etiam scriptis eos quos afflixerat, insecutus est. Composuit enim Libellos Duos, non Contrà Christianos, nè inimicè insectari videretur, sed Ad Christianos; ut humanè ac benignè consulere videretur. In quibus ita falsitatem Scripturæ Sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria.*—— *Præcipuè tamen* Paulum Petrúmque *laceravit, cæterósque Discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ seminatores; quos eosdem tamen rudes & indoctos fuisse testatus est. Another hath handled the same matter more smartly; who was First himself one of the Judges and a chief Author of the Persecution; but being not contented with that wickedness, he added this afterwards, to persecute the Christians also with his Pen: He composing Two Books, not inscribed Against the Christians (lest he should seem plainly to act the part of an enemy) but To the Christians (that he might be thought to counsel them humanely and benignly:) in which he so charges the holy Scripture with Falshood, as if it were all nothing else but contradictions: but he chiefly lashes* Paul *and* Peter, *as divulgers of lyes and deceits, whom notwithstanding he declares to have* De Just. L. 5. c. 2.

have been rude and illiterate Persons. I say, though *Hierocles* for some cause or other be not named here by *Lactantius* in these Cited words, or that which follows, yet it cannot be doubted, but that he was the Person intended by him, for these Two Reasons: First, because he tells us afterward that the main business of that *Christiano-mastix*, was to compare *Apollonius* with our Saviour Christ. *Cum facta Christi mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit ostendere,* Apollonium *vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum quòd* Apuleium *prætermiserit, cujus solent & multa & mira memorari. Et ex hoc insolentiam Christi voluit arguere, quòd Deum se constituerit: ut ille verecundior fuisse videretur, qui cùm majora faceret (ut hic putat) tamen id sibi non arrogaverit: That he might obscure the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, which he could not deny, he would undertake to show that Equal or greater Miracles were done by* Apollonius. *And it was a wonder he did not mention* Apuleius *too: of whose many and wonderful things, the Pagans use to brag likewise. Moreover he condemns our Saviour Christ of Insolency, for making himself a God, affirming* Apollonius *to have been the modester Person, who though he did (as he supposes) greater miracles, yet arrogated no such thing to himself.* The Second Reason is, because *Lactantius* also expressly mentions the very Title of *Hierocles* his Book, *viz. Philalethes. Cùm talia ignorantiæ suæ deliramenta fudisset, cúmque Veritatem penitùs excidere connixus est, ausus est Libros suos nefarios, ac Dei hostes,* φιλαλήθεις *annotare: Though pouring out so much folly and madness, professedly fighting against the Truth, yet he presumed to call these his wicked Books, and Enemies of God,* Philaletheis *or Friends to Truth.* From which words of *Lactantius* and those foregoing, where he affirms this *Christiano-mastix* to have writen Two Books, the Learned Prefacer to the late Edition of *Hierocles*, probably concludes, that the whole Title of *Hierocles* his Book was this, λόγοι φιλαλήθεις πρὸς Χριστιανούς: And I conceive that the First of those Two Books of *Hierocles* insisted upon such things as *Porphyrius* had before urged against the Christians; but then in the Second he added this *de novo* of his own, to compare *Apollonius* with our Saviour Christ: which *Eusebius* only takes notice of. Wherefore *Epiphanius* telling us, that there was one *Hierocles* a Prefect or Governour of *Alexandria*, in those persecuting times of *Diocletian*, we may probably conclude, that this was the very Person described in *Lactantius*, who is said to have been First, of the Number of the Judges, and a Principal Actor in the Persecution; and then afterwards to have written this *Philalethes* against the Christians, wherein, besides other things, he ventured to compare *Apollonius Tyanæus* with our Saviour Christ. Now if this *Hierocles* who wrote the *Philalethes* in defence of the Pagan Gods, against the Christians, were the Author of those two other Philosophick Books, the Commentary upon the Golden Verses, and that *De Fato & Providentia*, it might be easily evinced from both of them, that he was notwithstanding, an Asserter of One Supreme Deity. But *Photius* tells us that that *Hierocles* who wrote the Book concerning Fate and Providence, did therein make mention of *Jamblichus* and his Junior *Plutarchus Atheniensis*: from whence *Jonsius* taking it for granted, that it was one and the same *Hierocles*, who wrote against the Christians, and *de Fato*, infers, that it could not be *Eusebius Pamphili*

Dr. Pearson Bp. of Chester.

phili who Anſwered the *Philalethes*, but that it muſt needs be ſome other *Euſebius* much Junior. But we finding *Hierocles* his *Philalethes* in *Lactantius*, muſt needs conclude on the contrary, that *Hierocles* the famous *Chriſtiano-maſtix*, was not the ſame with that *Hierocles* who wrote *de Fato*. Which is further evident, from *Ænæas Gazeus* in his *Theophraſtus*; where firſt he mentions one *Hierocles* an Alexandrian, that had been his Maſter, whom he highly extols, ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι, ἔτι παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ τὰ φιλοσοφίας δεικνύντες τὰς τελετὰς, οἵῳ ἦν Ἱεροκλῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος; *But tell me, I pray you, are there yet left amongſt you in* Ægypt, *any ſuch Expounders of the Arcane Myſteries of Philoſophy as Hierocles our Maſter was?* And this we ſuppoſe to be that *Hierocles*, who wrote concerning Fate and Providence, (if not alſo upon the Golden Verſes.) But afterward upon occaſion of *Apollonius*, the Cappadocian, or Tyanæan, he mentions another *Hierocles* diſtinct from the former; namely him, who had ſo boaſted of *Apollonius* his Miracles, in theſe words, ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὰ ψευδῆ λέγων ἐλέγχεται. Ἱεροκλῆς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὁ περιαλλόμενος τὰ θαυμάζια, ἄπιστον ἄλλο τοῦτο προσέθηκεν, *Thus* Apollonius *is convinced of falſhood; but* Hierocles (*not our Maſter*) *but he that boaſts of the Miracles* (*of* Apollonius) *adds another incredible thing.* And though it be probable, that one of theſe was the Author of that Commentary upon the Golden Verſes, (for that it ſhould be written by a Chriſtian is but a dream) yet we cannot certainly determine which of them it was. However that this *Hierocles*, who was the *Maſtix* of *Chriſtianity* and *Champion* for *The Gods*, was notwithſtanding, a profeſſed aſſerter of one *Supreme Deity*, is clearly manifeſt alſo from *Lactantius*, in theſe following words, *Quam tandem nobis attuliſti Veritatem? niſi quod Aſſertor Deorum, eos ipſos ad ultimum prodidiſti: Proſecutus enim Summi Dei laudes, quem Regem, quem Maximum, quem Opificem rerum, quem Fontem bonorum, quem Parentem omnium, quem Factorem Altorémque viventium confeſſus es; ademiſti* Jovi *tuo Regnum; eúmque Summa poteſtate depulſum, in Miniſtrorum numerum redigiſti. Epilogus ergo te tuus arguit Stultitiæ, Vanitatis, Erroris. Affirmas Deos eſſe; & illos tamen ſubjicis & mancipas ei Deo, cujus Religionem conaris evertere.* *Though you have entitled your Book* Philalethes, *yet what Truth have you brought us therein, unleſs only this, that being an Aſſerter of the Gods* (*contradicting your ſelf*) *you have at laſt betrayed thoſe very Gods. For in the cloſe of your Book, proſecuting the praiſes of the Supreme God, and confeſſing him to be the King, the Greateſt, the* Opifex *of the World, the Fountain of Good, the Parent of all things, the Maker and Conſerver of all Living beings, you have by this means dethroned your* Jupiter, *and degrading him from his Sovereign Power, reduced him into the rank of Inferiour Miniſters. Wherefore your Epilogue argues you guilty of Folly, Vanity and Error, in that you both aſſert Gods, and yet ſubject and mancipate them under that one God, whoſe Religion you endeavour to overthrow.* Where we muſt confeſs we underſtand not well *Lactantius* his Logick; foraſmuch as *Hierocles* his *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, was one and the ſame with his Supreme God (as is alſo here intimated) and though he acknowledged all the other Gods to be but his Inferiour Miniſters yet nevertheleſs did he contend, that theſe ought to be Religiouſly Worſhipped, which was the thing that *Lactantius* ſhould have confuted. But that which we here take notice

P. 7.

P. 24.

tice of, is this, that *Hierocles* a grand Perſecutor of the Chriſtians, and the Author of that bitter Invective againſt them, called *Philalethes*, though he were ſo ſtrenuous an aſſerter of Polytheiſm and Champion for The Gods, yet did he nevertheleſs at the ſame time, clearly acknowledge one Supreme Deity, calling him the King (that is the Monarch of the Univerſe) the Greateſt, the *Opifex* of the World, the Fountain of Good, the Parent of all things, and the Maker and Conſerver of all Life.

But the greateſt Oppoſer of Chriſtianity every way, was *Julian* the Emperour; who cannot reaſonably be ſuſpected to have diſguiſed or blanched Paganiſm, becauſe he was an Emperour, and had ſo great an Animoſity againſt Chriſtianity, and was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly or bigotically zealous for the *Worſhip of the Gods*; and yet this very *Julian* notwithſtanding, was an unqueſtionable Aſſertor of *One Supreme Deity*. In his Book written againſt the Chriſtians, he declares the general ſence of the Pagans, after this manner; οἱ γὰρ ἡμέτεροι φασὶν, ὁ δημιουργὸν ἁπάντων μὲν εἶναι κοινὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα, νενεμῆσθαι δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη ἐθνῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, ἐθνάρχαις καὶ πολισούχοις θεοῖς, ὧν ἕκαστος ἐπιτροπεύῃ τὴν ἑαυτῷ λῆξιν οἰκείως αὐτῷ· ἐπεὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πάντα τέλεια, καὶ ἓν πάντα, ἓν δὲ τοῖς μεριστοῖς, ἄλλη παρ' ἄλλῳ κρατεῖ δύναμις, &c. *Our Theologers affirm, the Maker of all to be a common Father, and King, but that the Nations, as to particular things, are diſtributed by him to other Inferiour Gods, that are appointed to be Goveruonrs over Countries and Cities, every one of which adminiſters in his own Province agreeably to himſelf. For whereas in the Common Father, all things are Perfect, and One is All, in the Particular or Partial Deities, one excels in one Power, and another in another.* Afterwards in the ſame Book he contends, that the Pagans did entertain righter Opinions concerning the Supreme God, than the Jews themſelves; ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ περισχὼς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ δημιουργὸς ὁ κηρυττόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωσέως, ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βελτίους ἔχομεν δόξας, οἱ κοινὸν μὲν ἐκεῖνον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἁπάντων δεσπότην, ἐθνάρχας δ' ἄλλους, οἱ τυγχάνουσι μὲν ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον, εἰσὶ δ' ὡσπερ ὕπαρχοι βασιλέως, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διαφερόντως ἐπανορθούμενος φροντίδα, ἣν ὁ καθίσαμεν αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ ἀτιμερίτως τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεῶν καθισαμένων· *If that God who is ſo much ſpoken of by* Moſes, *be the Immediate Opificer of the whole World, we Pagans entertain better Opinions of him; who ſuppoſe him to be the common Lord of all; but that there are other Governours of Nations and Countries under him, as Prefects or Preſidents appointed by a King; we not ranking him, amongſt thoſe Partial Governours of Particular Countries and Cities, as the Jews do.* From both which places, it is evident, that according to *Julian*'s Theology, all thoſe other *Gods*, whoſe Worſhip he contended ſo much for, were but the *Subordinate Miniſters* of that *One Supreme God*, the *Maker of all.*

Cyril. cont. Jul. 4. p. 115.

P. 146.

The ſame thing might be further manifeſted from *Julian*'s Oration made in praiſe of the *Sun* as a *Great God* in this viſible World; he therein plainly acknowledging another far more *Glorious Deity*, which was the Cauſe of all things, εἷς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦντες δημιουργικοὶ θεοί· *There is One God the Maker*

P. 262.

ker of all things, but beſides him there are many other Demiurgical Gods moving round the Heavens, in the midſt of which is the Sun. Where we have a clear acknowledgement of *One Supreme God,* and of *Many Inferiour Deities* both together. Moreover in the ſame Oration, he declareth that the Ancient Poets, making the Sun to have been the Off-ſpring of *Hyperion*, did by this *Hyperion* underſtand nothing elſe, but the *Supreme Deity,* ὁ πάντων ὑπερέχοντα, πάντων ἐπέκεινα, περὶ ὃν πάντα, καὶ δι' ἕνεκα πάντα ὄντα, *Him who is above all things, and about whom, and for whoſe ſake, are all things.* Which Supreme Deity is thus more largely deſcribed by him in the ſame Oration (where he calls him the King of all things;) ἔστιν τοίνυν, εἴτε τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ νοῦ καλεῖν αὐτὸν θέμις· εἴτε ἰδέαν τῶν ὄντων ὃ δὴ φημὶ τὸ νοητὸν σύμπαν· εἴτε, ἓν ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἓν δοκεῖ ὡς πρεσβύτατον· εἴτε ὃ Πλάτων ἔωθεν ὀνομάζειν τὸ ἀγαθὸν· αὕτη γ' ἂν ἡ μονοειδὴς τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐξηγεμονεύουσα καλλους τε, καὶ τελειότητος, ἑνώσεως τε, καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμηχάνου· καθ' ὃ τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ μένοντα προϊέναι δοκεῖν οὐσίαν, ἥλιον θεὸν μέγιστον ἀνέφηνεν, &c. *This God, whether he ought to be called, that which is above Mind and Underſtanding, or the Idea of all things, or The One (ſince Unity ſeems to be the oldeſt of all things;) or elſe as* Plato *was wont to call him, The Good; I ſay, this Uniform Cauſe of all things, which is the Original of all Pulchritude and Perfection, Unity and Power; produced from himſelf a certain Intelligible Sun, every way like himſelf, of which the Senſible Sun is but an Image.* For thus *Dionyſius Petavius* rightly declares the ſence of *Julian* in this Oration; *Vaniſſimæ hujus & loquaciſſimæ diſputationis myſterium eſt; à Principe ac Primario Deo,* νοητόν *quendam, & archetypum Solem editum fuiſſe; qui eandem prorſus* χώραν & τάξιν *in genere* τῶν νοητῶν *habeat, quam in* αἰσθητοῖς *ille quem videmus, Solaris Globus obtinet. Tria itaque diſcernenda ſunt, Princeps ille Deus, qui* τἀγαθὸν *à* Platone *dicitur,* ὁ νοητὸς ἥλιος, ὁ φαινόμενος θεός. *The myſtery of this moſt vain and loquacious Diſputation is this, That from the Firſt and Chief Deity, was produced a certain Intelligible and Archetypal Sun, which hath the ſame place or order, in the rank of Intelligible Things, that the Senſible Sun hath in the rank of Senſibles. So that here are Three things to be diſtinguiſh'd from one another, Firſt the Supreme Deity which* Plato *calls, The Good, Secondly the Intelligible Sun or Eternal Intellect, and Laſtly the Corporeal or Senſible Sun (Animated.)* Where notwithſtanding, we may take notice, how near this Pagan Philoſopher and Emperour, *Julian,* approached to Chriſtianity, though ſo much oppoſed by him; in that he alſo ſuppoſed an *Eternal Mind* or *Intellect,* as the Immediate Off-ſpring of the Firſt Fountain of all things; which ſeems to differ but a little from the Chriſtian λόγος. However it is plain that this devout Reſtorer of Paganiſm, and zealous Contender for the Worſhip of *The Gods,* aſſerted no *Multiplicity* of *Independent, Self-exiſtent Deities,* but derived all his *Gods* from *One.*

P. 248.

P. 274.

As for thoſe other Philoſophers and Learned men, who in thoſe latter times of the Declining of Paganiſm, after *Conſtantine,* ſtill ſtood out in oppoſition againſt Chriſtianity, ſuch as *Jamblichus, Syrianus, Proclus, Simplicius,* and many others, it is unqueſtionably evident concerning them all, that they clearly acknowledged *One Supreme Deity,*

as the Original of all things. *Maximus Madaurensis*, a confident and
Ep. 43. resolved Pagan in St. *Austin*'s time, expressed both his own and the general sence of Pagans after this manner; *Equidem Unum esse Deum Summum, sine initio, Naturæ ceu Patrem Magnum atque Magnificum, quis tam demens tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Hujus nos virtutes per Mundanum opus diffusas, multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen ejus cuncti proprium videlicet ignoramus. Ita fit, ut dum ejus quasi quædam Membra carptim, variis supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere profectò videamur. Truly that there is One Supreme God, without beginning, as the Great and Magnificent Father of Nature; who is so mad or devoid of sense as not to acknowledge it to be most certain? His Vertues diffused throughout the whole World (because we know not what his proper name is) we invoke under many different names. Whence it comes to pass, that whilst we prosecute with our supplications, his as it were divided Members severally, we must needs be judged to worship the whole Deity.* And then he concludes his Epistle thus; *Dii te servent, per quos & Eorum, atque cunctorum mortalium, Communem Patrem, universi mortales quos terra sustinet, mille modis, concordi discordia venerantur: The Gods keep thee, by and through whom, we Pagans, dispersed over the whole World, do worship the common Father, both of those Gods, and all Mortals, after a thousand different manners, neverthelesse with an agreeing discord.* *Longimanus* likewise, another
Ep. 21. more modest Pagan Philosopher, upon the request of the same St. *Austin*, declares his sence concerning the way of worshipping God and arriving to happiness to this purpose. *Per Minores Deos perveniri ad Summum Deum non sine Sacris Purificatoriis, That we are to come to the Supreme God, by the Minor or Inferior Gods, and that not without Purifying Rites and Expiations*; he supposing that besides a vertuous and holy Life, certain Religious Rites and Purifications, were necessary to be observed, in order to that end. In which Epistle, the Supreme God is also stiled by him, *Unus, Universus, Incomprehensibilis, Ineffabilis & Infatigabilis Creator.*

Moreover, that the Pagans generally disclaim'd this Opinion of *Many Unmade Self-existent Deities*, appeareth plainly from *Arnobius*,
Lib. 1. *p.* 19. where he brings them in complaining, that they were falsly and maliciously accused by some Christians, as guilty thereof, after this manner; *Frustrà nos falso & calumnioso incessitis & appetitis crimine, tanquam inficias eamus* Deum esse Majorem; *cùm à nobis &* Jupiter *nominetur, &* Optimus *habeatur &* Maximus: *cúmque illi augustissimas sedes, & Capitolia constituerimus immania; In vain do you Christians calumniate us, Pagans, and accuse us as if we denied, One Supreme Omnipotent God; though we both call him* Jupiter, *and accompt him the Best and the Greatest; having dedicated the most august seats to him, the vast Capitols.* Where *Arnobius* in way of opposition, shows first how perplexed and intangled a thing the Pagans Theology was, their Poetick Fables of the Gods, nonsensically confounding *Herology* together with *Theology*; and that it was impossible that that *Jupiter* of theirs, which had a Father and a Mother, a Grandfather and a Grandmother, should be the *Omnipotent God.* *Nam De-*

us Omnipotens, mente una omnium, & communi mortalitatis assensu, neque Genitus scitur, neque novam in lucem aliquando esse prolatus; nec ex aliquo tempore cœpisse esse, vel sæculo. Ipse enim est Fons rerum, Sator sæculorum ac temporum. Non enim ipsa per se sunt, sed ex ejus perpetuitate perpetua, & infinita semper continuatione procedunt. At verò Jupiter *(ut vos fertis) & Patrem habet & Matrem, Avos & Avias, nunc nuper in utero matris suæ formatus, &c. You Pagans confound your selves with Contradictions; for the Omnipotent God, according to the natural sence of all mankind, was neither begotten or made, nor ever had a Beginning in time, he being the Fountain and Original of all things. But* Jupiter *(as you say) had both Father and Mother, Grandfathers and Grandmothers, and was but lately formed in the womb; and therefore he cannot be the Eternal Omnipotent God.* Nevertheless *Arnobius* afterwards considering (as we suppose) that these Poetick Fables, were, by the wiser Pagans, either totally rejected, or else some way or other Allegorized, he candidly dismisseth this advantage which he had against them, and grants their *Jupiter* to be the true *Omnipotent Deity*, and consequently that same God which the Christians worshiped; but from thence infers, that the Pagans therefore must needs be highly guilty, whilst worshipping the same God with the Christians, they did hate and persecute them after that manner. *Sed sint, ut vultis, unum, nec in aliquo, vi numinis, & majestate distantes; ecquid ergò injustis persequimini nos odiis? Quid, ut ominis pessimi, nostri nominis inhorrescitis mentione, si, quem Deum colitis, eum & nos? aut quid in eadem causa vobis esse contenditis familiares Deos, inimicos atque infestissimos nobis? Etenim, si una religio est nobis vobisque communis, cessat ira cœlestium. But let it be granted that (as you affirm) your* Jupiter *and the Eternal Omnipotent God, are one and the same; Why then do you prosecute us with unjust hatreds? abominating the very mention of our names, if the same God that you worship be worshipped by us? or if your Religion and ours be the same, why do you pretend that the Gods are propitious to you, but most highly provoked and incensed against us?* Where the Pagans defence and reply is, *Sed non idcirco Dii vobis infesti sunt, quòd Omnipotentem colatis Deum: sed quod hominem natum, & quod personis infame est vilibus, crucis supplicio interemptum, & Deum fuisse contenditis, & supereresse adhuc creditis, & quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis: But we do not say that the Gods are therefore displeased with you Christians, because you worship the Omnipotent God, but because you contend him to be a God, who was not only born a mortal man, but also died an ignominious death, suffering as a Malefactor; believing him still to survive, & adoring him with your dayly prayers.* To which *Arnobius* retorts in this manner: *Tell us, now I pray you, who these Gods are, who take it as so great an injury & indignity done to themselves, that Christ should be worshipped? Are they not* Janus *and* Saturn, Æsculapius *and* Liber, Mercurius *the son of* Maia, *and the Theban or Tyrian* Hercules, Castor *and* Pollux, *and the like? Hice ergo Christum coli & à nobis accipi & existimari pro Numine, vulneratis acipiunt auribus? & obliti paulo ante sortis & conditionis suæ, id quod sibi concessum est, impertiri alteri nolunt? Hæc est Justitia Cœlitum? hoc Deorum judicium sanctum? Nonne istud livoris est & avaritiæ genus? non obtrectatio quædam sordens, suas eminere solummodo velle fortunas, aliorum res premi & in contempta humilitate calcari?*

Natum hominem colimus; Quid enim, Vos hominem nullum colitis natum? non unum & alium? non innumeros alios? quinimo non omnes quos jam templis habetis vestris, mortalium sustuliſtis ex numero, & cœlo sideribúsque donastis? Concedamus interdum manum vestris opinationibus dantes, unum Christum fuisse de nobis, mentis, animæ, corporis, fragilitatis & conditionis unius; nonne dignus à nobis est tantorum ob munerum gratiam, Deus dici Deúsque sentiri? Si enim vos Liberum *quòd reperit usum vini; si quòd panis,* Cererem; *si* Æsculapium, *quòd herbarum; si* Minervam, *quòd oleæ; si* Triptolemum, *quòd aratri; si denique* Herculem, *quòd feras, quòd fures, quòd multiplicium capitum superavit compescuitque natrices, divorum retuliſtis in cœlum: honoribus quantis afficiendus est nobis, qui ab erroribus nos magnis insinuatâ veritate traduxit? &c. Are these the Gods who are so much offended, with Christ's being worshipped, and accompted a God by us? they who being forgetful of their former condition, would not have the same bestowed upon another, which hath been granted to themselves? Is this the Justice of the Heavenly Powers? This the righteous judgment of Gods? or is it not rather base Envy and Covetousness, for them thus to ingross all to themselves? We worship indeed one that was born a man, What then? Do you worship no such? not one, and another, and innumerable? And are not almost all your Gods, such as were taken from out of the rank of men, and placed among the Stars? And will you accompt that damnable in us, which you your selves practice? Let us for the present yield thus much to your Infideity, and grant, that Christ was but an ordinary man, of the same rank and condition with other mortals, yet might we not for all that (according to your Principles) think him worthy, by reason of the great benefits we received from him to be accompted a God? For if you have advanced into the number of your* Divi, Bacchus *or* Liber *for inventing the use of Wine,* Ceres *of Corn,* Æsculapius *of Herbs,* Minerva *of the Olive,* Triptolemus *of the Plow, and* Hercules *for subduing Beasts, Thieves and Monsters; With how great honours ought he to be affected by us, who by the insinuation of divine truth hath delivered us from such grreat Errors of mind,* &c. Which Argumentation of *Arnobius* though it were good enough *ad homines,* to stop the mouths of the Pagans, there being more reason, that Christ should be made a God, for the Benefits that mankind receive from him, than that *Bacchus* or *Ceres* or *Hercules* should be so; yet as the same *Arnobius* himself seems to intimate, it is not sufficient without something else superadded to it, for the Justification of Christianity. Neither indeed was that the chief quarrel which the Pagans had with the Christians, That they had deified one who was crucified (though the Cross of Christ was also a great offence to them) but that they condemning the Pagans, for worshipping others besides the Supreme Omnipotent God, and decrying all those Gods of theirs, did themselves notwithstanding worship one Mortal man for a God. This *Celsus* urges in *Origen,* εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐσεβοῦον ὅτοι πλὴν ἕνα θεὸν, ᾧ ἄν τις αὐτοῖς ἴσως ὡρὸς τὸς ἄλλας ἀτενὴς λόγον· νυνὶ δ' ἢ ἐναίχον φανέντα τῶτον ἐνθρηςκεύσι, κὴ ὅμως ὀδὲν πλημμελὲν νομίζσι ὡρὸς τὸν θεὸν, εἰ κὴ ὑπηρέτης αὐτῶ ἐσεβευθήσεται· *If these Christians themselves worshipp'd no other but One God, or the pure Divinty, then might they perhaps seem to have some just pretense of censuring us; but now they themselves give divine Honour, to one that lately rose up and yet*

Lib. 8 *p.* 385.

they perſwade themſelves, that they do not at all offend God in worſhipping that ſuppoſed Miniſter of his. Which as *Origen* makes there a reply to it, ſo ſhall it be further conſidered by us afterwards.

As for the Judgment of the Fathers in this Particular, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, was not only of this Opinion, that the Pagans (at leaſt the Greekiſh) did worſhip the true God, and the ſame God with the Chriſtians (though not after a right manner) but alſo endeavours to confirm it from the Authority of St. *Peter* : *That the Greeks knew God* Peter *intimates in his Predication. There is One God, ſaith he, who made the Beginning of all things, and hath power over their End,* &c. *Worſhip this God, not as the Greeks do. Wherein he ſeemeth to ſuppoſe, the Greeks to worſhip the ſame God, with us, though not according to the right Tradition received by his Son. He does not enjoyn us not to worſhip that God, which the Greeks worſhip; but to worſhip him otherwiſe than they do; altering only the manner of the worſhip, but not the Object, or preaching another God. And what that is, not to worſhip God as the Greeks do, the ſame Peter intimated in thoſe words, They worſhip him in images of wood and ſtone, braſs and Iron, gold and ſilver, and ſacrifice to the Dead alſo, as to Gods.* Where he adds further out of St. *Peter's* Predication, *Neither worſhip God as the Jews do,* &c. *The one and only God* (ſaith *Clemens*) *is worſhipped by the Greeks Paganically, by the Jews Judaically, but by Us newly and Spiritually. For the ſame God who gave the two Teſtaments to the Jews and Chriſtians, gave Philoſophy to the Greeks,* δι' ἧς ὁ παντοκράτωρ παρ' Ἕλλησι δοξάζεται, *by which the Omnipotent God, is glorified amongſt the Greeks.* *Strom. 6. p. 635.*

Lactantius Firmianus alſo, in many places affirms, the Pagans to have acknowledged One Supreme Deity; *Summum Deum & Philoſophi & Poetæ, & ipſi denique qui Deos colunt, ſæpè fatentur, That there is One Supreme Deity, both Philoſophers and Poets, and even the vulgar Worſhippers of the Gods themſelves, frequently acknowledge.* From whence he concludes, that all the other Pagan Gods, were nothing but the Miniſters of this One Supreme, and Creatures made by him, (he then only blaming them, for calling them Gods, and giving them religious Worſhip) *Lib.* 1. When he had declared that it was altogether as abſurd to ſuppoſe, the World to be governed by many Independent Gods, as to ſuppoſe the Body of a man to be governed by many Minds or Souls Independent; he adds, *Quòd quia intelligunt iſti aſſertores Deorum, ita eos præeſſe ſingulis rebus ac partibus dicunt, ut tantùm Unus ſit Rector eximius. Jam ergo cæteri non Dii erunt, ſed Satellites ac Miniſtri, Quos ille Unus, Maximus & Potens omnium, officiis his præfecit, ut ipſi ejus imperio & nutibus ſerviant. Si univerſi pares non ſunt; non igitur Dii omnes ſunt. Nec enim poteſt hoc idem eſſe, quod ſervit & quod dominatur. Nam ſi Deus eſt nomen ſummæ poteſtatis, Incorruptibilis eſſe debet, Perfectus, Impaſſibilis, nulli rei ſubjectus. Ergo Dii non ſunt quos parere Uni* Maximo Deo *neceſſitas cogit. Which becauſe the Aſſertors of Gods well underſtand, they affirm theſe Gods of theirs ſo to preſide over the ſeveral parts of the World, as that there is only One chief Rector or Governour. Whence it follows, that all their other Gods, can be no other thing than Miniſters and Officers, which one Greateſt* *D. F. D. p. 727.* *Lib. 1. p. 16.*

eſt God, who is Omnipotent, hath variouſly appointed and conſtituted, ſo as to ſerve his command and beck. Now if all the Pagan Gods be not equal, then can they not be all Gods; ſince that which ruleth, and that which ſerveth cannot be the ſame. God is a name of abſolute Power, and implies Incorrubtibility, Perfection, Impaſſibility and Subjection to nothing.

P. 28. *Wherefore theſe ought not to be called Gods, whom neceſſity compels, to obey one Greateſt God.* Again in the ſame Book, *Nunc ſatis eſt, Demonſtrare, ſummo ingenio viros attigiſſe veritatem ac propè tenuiſſe; niſi eos retrorſum infatuata pravis opinionibus conſuetudo rapuiſſet, qua & Deos alios eſſe opinabantur, & ea quæ in uſum hominis Deus fecit, tanquam ſenſu prædita eſſent, pro Diis habenda & colenda credebant. It is now ſufficient to have ſhown, that the more ingenious and intelligent Pagans, came very near to the truth, and would have fully reach'd it, had not a certain cuſtomary Infatuation of Evil Opinions, ſnatch'd them away, to an acknowledgment of other Gods; and to a belief that thoſe things which God made for the uſe of men, as endued with ſenſe (or animated) ought to be accompted Gods and Worſhipped;* namely, the Stars.

P. 39. And afterward, *Quòd ſi Cultores Deorum, eos ipſos ſe colere putant, quos ſummi Dei Miniſtros appellamus, nihil eſt quod nobis faciant invidiam, qui Unum Deum dicamus, Multos negemus; If the Worſhippers of the Gods think that they worſhip no other than the Miniſters of the one Supreme God, then there is no cauſe, why they ſhould render us as hateful, who ſay, that there is one God and deny Many Gods.*

Prap. Evang. Lib. 3. cap. 13. *Euſebius Cæſarienſis* likewiſe gives us this accompt of the Pagans Creed or the Tenour of their Theology, as it was then held forth by them, ἕνα γὰρ ὄντα θεὸν, παντοίαις δυνάμεσι, τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπισκοπεῖν· ἀσωμάτως δὲ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν πᾶσιν ὄντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκοντα· καὶ τοῦτον εἰκότως διὰ τῶν δεδηλωμένων σέβειν φάσι· *The Pagans declare themſelves in this manner, That there is One God, who with his various Powers filleth all things, and paſſeth through all things, and preſideth over all things; but being incorporeally and inviſibly preſent in all things, and pervading them, he is reaſonably worſhipped By or In thoſe things that are manifeſt and viſible.* Which Paſſage of *Euſebius* will be further conſidered afterward, when we come to give a more particular accompt of Paganiſm.

What St. *Auſtin*'s ſence was, concerning the Theology of the Pagans, hath been already declared, namely, *That they had not ſo far degenerated as to have loſt the knowledge of One Supreme God, from whom is all whatſoever Nature; and That they derived all their Gods from One.* We ſhall now in the laſt place conclude with the Judgment of *Pau-*

Hiſ. lib. 6. c. 1. *lus Oroſius*, who was his Contemporary, *Philoſophi dum intento mentis ſtudio quærunt ſcrutantúrque omnia, Unum Deum, Authorem omnium repererunt, ad quem Unum omnia referrentur; unde etiam nunc Pagani, quos jam declarata Veritas de contumaciâ magis quàm de ignorantia convincit, cùm à nobis diſcutiuntur, non ſe Plures ſequi, ſed ſub Uno Deo Magno, Plures Miniſtros venerari fatentur. Reſtat igitur de intelligentia veri Dei, per multas intelligendi ſuſpiciones, Confuſa diſſenſio, quia de Uno Deo, omnium penè una eſt opinio. The Philoſophers of the Gentiles, whilſt with intent ſtudy of mind, they enquired and ſearched after things, found that*

that there was One God, the Author of all things, and to which One, all things should be referred. Whence also the Pagans at this very day, whom the declared truth rather convinceth of Contumacy, than of Ignorance; when they are urged by us, confess themselves, not to follow Many Gods, but only under One God to worship Many Ministers. So that there remaineth only a confused dissension concerning the manner of understanding the true God, because about One God, there is almost one and the same opinion of all.

And by this time we think it is sufficiently evident; that the Pagans (at least after Christianity) though they asserted *Many Gods*, they calling all *Understanding Beings Superiour* to men by that Name (according to that of St. *Jerom*, *Deum quicquid supra se esset, Gentiles putabant*;) yet they acknowledged *One Supreme Omnipotent and only Unmade Deity*.

XVI. But because its very possible, that some may still suspect, all this to have been nothing else but a *Refinement* and *Interpolation* of Paganism, after that Christianity had appeared upon the Stage; or a kind of *Mangonization* of it, to render it more vendible and plausible; the better able to defend it self, and bear up against the Assaults of Christianity; whilest in the mean time the Genuine Doctrine of the ancient Pagans was far otherwise: although the contrary hereunto might sufficiently appear from what hath been already declared, yet however, for the fuller satisfaction of the more strongly prejudiced, we shall by an Historical Deduction made, from the most ancient times all along downwards, demonstrate that the Doctrine of the Greatest *Pagan Polytheists*, as well before Christianity as after it, was always the same, That besides their *Many Gods*, there was *One Supreme, Omnipotent* and *Only Unmade Deity*.

And this we shall perform not as some have done, by laying the chief stress upon the *Sibylline Oracles*, and those reputed Writings of *Hermes Trismegist*, the Authority whereof hath been of late so much decried by Learned Men; nor yet upon such Oracles of the Pagan Deities, as may be suspected to have been counterfeited by Christians: but upon such Monuments of Pagan Antiquity, as are altogether unsuspected and indubitate. As for the *Sibylline Oracles*, there may (as we conceive) be Two *Extremes* concerning them: One, in swallowing down all that is now extant under that Title, as Genuine and Sincere; whereas nothing can be more manifest, than that there is much Counterfeit and Suppositious stuff, in this Sibylline *Farrago* which now we have. From whence, besides other Instances of the like kind, it appears tooevidently to be denied, that some pretended Christians of former times, have been for *Pious and Religious Frauds*; and endeavoured to uphold the Truth of Christianity by Figments and Forgeries of their own devising. Which as it was a thing Ignoble and Unworthy in it self, and argued that those very Defenders of Christianity, did themselves distrust their own Cause; so may it well be thought, that there was a *Policy of the Devil* in it also, there being no other more Effectual way than this, to render all Christianity (at least

leaſt in after-ages) to be ſuſpected. Inſomuch that it might perhaps be queſtion'd, Whether the Truth and Divinity of Chriſtianity appear more, in having prevail'd againſt the open force and oppoſition of its profeſſed Enemies, or in not being at laſt ſmothered and oppreſſed, by theſe *Frauds* and *Forgeries* of its ſeeming Friends and Defenders. The *Other Extreme* may be, in concluding the whole buſineſs of the *Sibylline Oracles* (as any ways relating to Chriſtianity) to have been a mere *Cheat* and *Figment*; and that there never was any thing in thoſe *Sibylline Books*, which were under the Cuſtody of the *Quindecimviri*, that did in the leaſt predict our Saviour Chriſt or the Times of Chriſtianity. For notwithſtanding all that the Learned *Blundel* hath written, it ſeems to be undeniably evident, from *Virgil*'s *Fourth Idyllium*, that the Cumean *Sibyl*, was then ſuppoſed to have predicted a *New Flouriſhing Kingdom* or *Monarchy*, together with a *Happy State* of *Juſtice* or *Righteouſneſs*, to ſuccede, in the *Latter Age* of the World.

Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis ætas,
Magnus ab integro Seclorum naſcitur ordo.
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna,
Jam nova progenies Cœlo delabitur alto, &c.

Moreover it is certain, that in *Cicero*'s time, the Sibylline Prophecies, were interpreted by ſome in favour of *Cæſar*, as predicting a Monarchy; *Sibyllæ verſus obſervamus, quos illa furens fudiſſe dicitur. Quorum Interpres nuper falſa quadam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, Enm, quem revera Regem habebamus, appellandum quoque eſſe Regem, ſi ſalvi eſſe vellemus.* *We take notice of the Verſes of the Sibyl, which ſhe is ſaid to have powred out in a Fury or Prophetick Frenzy, the Interpreter whereof, was lately thought to have been about to declare in the Senate-houſe, That if we would be ſafe, we ſhould acknowledge him for a King, who really was ſo.* Which Interpretation of the Sibylline Oracles (after *Cæſar*'s Death) *Cicero* was ſo much offended with, (he alſo looking upon a Roman Monarchy, as a thing no neſs impoſſible than undeſirable) that upon this occaſion, he quarrels with thoſe very Sibylline Oracles themſelves, as well as the Readers and Expounders of them, after this manner; *Hoc ſi eſt in Libris, in quem Hominem, & in quod Tempus eſt? Callidè enim, qui illa compoſuit, perfecit, ut, quodcunque accidiſſet, prædictum videretur, Hominum & Temporum definitione ſublatâ. Adhibuit etiam latebram obſcuritatis, ut iidem verſus aliàs in aliam rem poſſe accommodari viderentur. Non eſſe autem illud Carmen furentis, tum ipſum Poema declarat, (eſt enim magis Artis & Diligentiæ quàm Incitationis & motus) tum verò ea quæ ἀνεφγχὶς, dicitur, cum deinceps ex primis Verſuum literis aliquid connectitur. Quamobrem* Sibyllam *quidem ſepoſitam & conditam habeamus, ut, id, quod proditum eſt à Majoribus, injuſſu Senatûs nè legantur quidem Libri.* *If there be any ſuch thing conteined in the Sibylline Books, then we demand, concerning what Man is it ſpoken, and of what Time? For whoever framed thoſe Sibylline Verſes, he craftily contrived, that whatſoever ſhould come to paſs, might ſeem to have been predicted in them, by taking away all Diſtinction of Perſons and Times. He alſo purpoſely affected Obſcurity, that the*

Cic. Div. L. 2.

L. Cotta Quindecimvir.

De Div. l. 2.

the ſame Verſes might be accommodated ſometime to one thing, and ſometime to another. But that they proceeded not from Fury and Prophetick Rage, but rather from Art and Contrivance, doth no leſs appear otherwiſe, than from the Acroſtick in them. Wherefore let us ſhut up the Sibyl *and keep her cloſe, that according to the Decree of our Anceſtors, her Verſes may not be read without the expreſs command of the Senate.* And laſtly he addeth, *Cum Antiſtitibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quàm Regem proferant, quem* Romæ *poſthac nec Dii nec Homines eſſe patientur; Let us alſo deal with the* Quindecimviri, *and Interpreters of theſe Sibylline Books, that they would rather produce any thing out of them, than a King; whom neither Gods nor Men will hereafter ſuffer at* Rome. Where though *Cicero* were miſtaken, as to the Event of the Roman Government, and there were doubtleſs ſome Predictions in theſe Sibylline Books, of a New Kingdom or Monarchy, to be ſet up in the World; yet that the Roman Empire was not the thing intended in them, doth manifeſtly appear from that Diſcription in *Virgil*'s forementioned Eclogue; wherein there is accordingly another Completion of them expected, though flatteringly applied to *Saloninus*. Wherefore we conclude that the *Kingdom* and *Happy State* or *Golden Age*, predicted in the *Sibylline Oracles*, was no other than that of the *Meſſiah*, or our *Saviour Chriſt*, and the times of *Chriſtianity*. Laſtly, in that other Paſſage of *Cicero*'s, concerning the Sibylline Oracles, *Valeant ad deponendas potiùs quàm ad ſuſcipiendas Religiones; Let them be made uſe of rather for the extinguiſhing, than the begetting of Religions and Superſtitions*; there ſeems to be an Intimation, as if of themſelves they rather tended, *to the Leſſening than Encreaſing of the Pagan Superſtitions*; and therefore may probably be thought, to have predicted a Change of that Pagan Religion, by the Worſhip of one Sole Deity to be introduced. Neither ought it to ſeem a jot more ſtrange, that our Saviour Chriſt ſhould be foretold by the Pagan Sibyl, than that he was ſo clearly predicted, by *Balaam* the Aramitick Sorcerer. However thoſe things in the Sibylline Verſes, might have been derived ſome way or other, from the Scripture-prophecies; which there is indeed the more probability of, becauſe that Sibylline Prophet made uſe of thoſe very ſame Figures and Allegories, in deſcribing the Future Happy State, that are found in the Scriptnre; as for Example,

——*Nec magnos metuent Armenta Leones;*
Occidet & Serpens, &c.

Now as *Cicero* ſeems to complain, that in his time theſe Sibylline Oracles were too much expoſed to view, ſo is it very probable, that notwithſtanding they were to be kept under the Guard of the *Quindecimviri*, yet many of them might be copied out, and get abroad, and thereby an occaſion be offered, to the ignorantly zealous Chriſtians, who were for *Officious Lyes and Pious Frauds*, to add a great deal more of their own forging to them. Neither indeed is it imaginable, how any ſuch Cheat as this, ſhould either at firſt have been attempted, or afterwards have proved ſucceſsful, had there not been ſome Foundation of Truth, to ſupport

and countenance it. Beſides which, it is obſervable, that *Celſus* who would have had the Chriſtians rather to have made the *Sibyl* than our Saviour *Chriſt* a *God*; taking notice of their uſing of thoſe *Sibylline Teſtimonies* againſt the Pagans, did not tax them, for counterfeiting the whole buſineſs of theſe Sibylline Oracles, but only for inſerting many things of their own into them; ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶν Σίβυλλαν, ἤ τινες ὑμῶν, εἰκότως ἂν μᾶλλον προσήκατε, ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖδα, νῦν δὲ παρεγγράφειν μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης, πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα εἰκῇ δύνασθε· *You Chriſtians might much rather have acknowledged, even the* Sibyl *for the Off-ſpring of God; but now you can boldly inſert into her Verſes, Many, and thoſe Maledicent things of your own.* Where *Origen*, that he might vindicate as well as he could the honour of Chriſtians, pleads in their defence, that *Celſus* for all that, could not ſhew what they had foiſted into thoſe Sibylline Verſes, becauſe if he had been able to have produced more ancient and incorrupt Copies, in which ſuch things were not found, he would certainly have done it. Notwithſtanding which it is likely, that there were other ancient Copies then to be found, and that *Celſus* might have met with them too, and that from thence he took occaſion to write as he did. However, this would not juſtifie the preſent Sibylline Books, in which there are Forgeries, plainly diſcoverable, without Copies. Nevertheleſs it ſeems that all the ancient Chriſtians did not agree in making uſe of theſe Sibylline Teſtimonies, thus much being intimated by *Celſus* himſelf, in the forecited words, ἤ τινες ὑμῶν, *which ſome of you make uſe of*; as they did not all acknowledge the *Sibyl* to have been a Propheteſs neither, ſince upon *Celſus* mentioning a Sect of Chriſtians called Sibylliſts, *Origen* tells us, that theſe were ſuch as uſing the Sibylline Teſtimonies, were called ſo in way of diſgrace, by other Chriſtians, who *would not allow the* Sibyl *to have been a Propheteſs*; they perhaps conceiving it derogatory to the Scriptures. But though their may be ſome of the ancient Sibylline Verſes ſtill left, in that *Farrago* which we now have; yet it being impoſſible for us to prove which are ſuch; we ſhall not inſiſt upon any Teſtimonies at all from thence, to evince that the ancient Pagans acknowledged *One Supreme Deity*. Notwithſtanding which we ſhall not omit one Sibylline Paſſage, which we find recorded in *Pauſanias* (from whence by the way it appears alſo, that the Sibylline Verſes were not kept up ſo cloſe, but that ſome of them got abroad) he telling us, that the defeat of the Athenians at *Ægos Potamos*, was predicted by the *Sibyl* in theſe Words (amongſt others;)

Orig. c. Celſ. lib. 7. p. 368.

Καὶ τότ' Ἀθηναίοισι βαρύσονα πήδεα Διὸς
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὅσσ' ποσὶ θῆκε μέγιστον, &c.

Ac tum Cecropidis *luctum gemitúſque ciebit,*
Jupiter *Altitonans, rerum cui Summa Poteſtas, &c.*

Whereto might be added alſo, that of another ancient Peliadean Propheteſs, in the ſame Writer, wherein the Divine Eternity and Immutability, is plainly declared.

Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔστι, Ζεὺς ἔσται, ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ.

Jupiter

Jupiter *Eſt, Fuit, atque Erit : O bone* Jupiter *alme.*

Beſides theſe Sibylline Prophecies, there are alſo other Oracles of the Pagan Deities themſelves, in which there was a clear acknowledgment of *One Supreme* and *Greateſt God.* But as for ſuch of them, as are ſaid to have been delivered ſince the Times of Chriſtianity, when the Pagan Oracles began to fail, and ſuch as are now extant only in Chriſtian Writings, however divers of them are cited out of *Porphyrius* his Book of Oracles; becauſe they may be ſuſpected, we ſhall not here mention any of them. Nevertheleſs we ſhall take notice of One Oracle of the Clarian *Apollo*, that is recorded by *Macrobius*, in which One Supreme Deity is not only aſſerted ; but is alſo called by that Hebrew Name, (or *Tetragrammaton*) *Jao*,

Φράζεο τ πάντων ὕπατον Θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἰάω.

You *are to call* the *Higheſt and Supreme of all the Gods, Jao :* Though it be very true, that that *Clarian Devil* there, cunningly endeavoured to divert this to the Sun, as if that were the Only *Supreme Deity* and *True Jao.* To which might be added, another ancient Oracle (that now occurrs) of the Dodonean *Jupiter*, together with the Interpretation of *Themiſtocles*, to whom it was delivered; wherein he was commanded πρὸς τ ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θεῷ βαδίζειν, *to repair to him who was called by the ſame Name with God* ; which *Themiſtocles* apprehended to be the *King of Perſia*, μεγάλας γὰρ ἀμφοτέρας εἶναι τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας, *becauſe both he and God, were alike called* (though in different reſpects and degrees) *the Great King or Monarch.*

But as for thoſe Writings, commonly imputed to *Hermes Triſmegiſt*, that have been generally condemned by the Learned of this Latter Age, as wholly Counterfeit and Suppoſititious, and yet on the contrary are aſſerted by *Athanaſius Kircherus*, for ſincere and Genuine ; we ſhall have occaſion to declare our ſence, concerning them, more opportunely afterward.

The moſt Ancient Theologers, and moſt Eminent Aſſertors of *Polytheiſm* amongſt the Pagans, were *Zoroaſter* in the Eaſtern Parts, and *Orpheus* amongſt the Greeks. The former of which, was of ſo great Antiquity, that Writers cannot well agree about his Age. But that he was a *Polytheiſt* is acknowledged by all, ſome affirming it to be ſignified in his very Name, as given him after his death ; it being interpreted by them *A Worſhipper of the Stars.* Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Ster* or *Eſter* in the Perſian Language did ſignifie a *Star*, as it hath been obſerved alſo by Learned men, concerning ſundry other Words, now familiar in theſe European Languages, that they derived their Original from the Perſian. Notwithſtanding which, it may be ſuſpected that this was here but a *Greek Termination* : the Word being not only in the Oriental Languages, written *Zertooſt* and *Zaraduſt*, but alſo in *Agathias*, *Zarades.* However *Zoroaſter*'s *Polytheiſm* is intimated by *Plato* ;

where his *Magick* is defined, to have been nothing else, but θεῶν θεραπεία, *The Worship of the Gods*. Whence by the way we learn also, that the word μαγεία or *Magick*, was first taken in a good sence, which is confirmed by *Porphyrius* ἐν δὲ γε μὴν τοῖς Πέρσαις, οἱ περὶ τὸ θεῖον σοφοὶ καὶ τότε θεραπευτὴς, μάγοι μὲν προσαγορεύονται· *Amongst the Persians, those who were skilful in the knowledge of the Deity, and Religious Worshippers of the same, were called* Magi. And as *Magick* is commonly conceived to be founded in a certain *Vital Sympathy* that is in the Universe, so did these ancient Persian *Magi*, and Chaldeans (as *Psellus* tells us) suppose συμπαθῆ εἶναι τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω, *that there was a Sympathy, betwixt the Superiour and Inferiour Beings*; but it seems, the only way at first by them approved, of attracting the Influence and Assistance of those Superior Invisible Powers, was by *Piety*, *Devotion*, and *Religious Rites*: Nevertheless their Devotion was not carried out only to *One Omnipotent God*, but also to *Many Gods*; neither is it to be questioned but that this *Divine Magick* of *Zoroaster*, shortly after degenerated in many of his Followers, into the *Theurgical Magick*, and at length into γοητεία, *downright Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*; the only thing which is now vulgarly called *Magick*. But how many Gods soever this *Zoroaster* worshipped, that he acknowledged notwithstanding One Supreme Deity, appeareth from the Testimony of *Eubulus*, cited by *Porphyrius* in his *De Antro Nympharum*, πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Εὔβουλος, ζωρότερα αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος, ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερώσαντος, εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρα, εἰκόνα φέρεσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τὸν κόσμον, ὃν ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε· Zoroaster *first of all, as* Eubulus *testifieth, in the Mountains adjoyning to* Persis, *consecrated a Native Orbicular Cave, adorned with flowers and watered with fountains, to the honour of* Mithras, *the Maker and Father of all things; this Cave being an Image or Symbol to him, of the whole World, which was made by* Mithras. Which Testimony of *Eubulus*, is the more to be valued, because as *Porphyrius* elsewhere informeth us, he wrote *the History of* Mithras *at large, in many Books*, from whence it may be presumed, that he had thoroughly furnished himself with the knowledge of what belonged to the Persian Religion. Wherefore from the Authority of *Eubulus*, we may well conclude also, that notwithstanding the *Sun*, was generally worship'd by the Persians as a *God*, yet *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi*, who were best initiated in the *Mithraick Mysteries*, asserted * another Deity, Superior to the Sun, for the True *Mithras*, such as was πάντων ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ, *the Maker and Father of all things, or of the whole World*, whereof the Sun is a part. However these also look'd upon the Sun as the most lively Image of this Deity, in which it was worshipped by them, as they likewise worship'd the same Deity Symbolically in *Fire*, as *Maximus Tyrius* informeth us; agreeable to which, is that in the *Magick Oracles*,

De Abst. L. 4. p. 165.

P. 254.

* That *Mithras*, which was called, ὁ κρύφιος θεὸς, *The Hidden God*, was not the Visible Sun.

——πάντα πυρὸς ἔνος ἐκγεγαῶτα.

All things are the Off-spring of one Fire; that is, *of One Supreme Deity*. And *Julian* the Emperor was such a Devout Sun-worshipper as this, who acknowledged besides the Sun, another Incorporeal Deity, transcendent to it. Nevertheless we deny not, but that others amongst the

the Persians, who were not able to conceive of any thing Incorporeal, might, as well as *Heraclitus*, *Hippocrates*, and the Stoicks amongst the Greeks, look upon the Fiery Substance of the whole World (and especially the Sun) as *Animated* and *Intellectual*, to be the Supreme Deity, and the only *Mithras*, according to that Inscription, *Deo Soli Invicto* Mithræ. However, *Mithras*, whether supposed to be *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal*, was unquestionably taken by the Persians for the Supreme Deity, according to that of *Hesychius*, Μίθρας, ὁ πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις θεὸς, Mithras, *The First God among the Persians*; who was therefore called in the Inscription *Omnipotent*, *Omnipotenti Deo* Mithræ. Which *First*, *Supreme* and *Omnipotent God* was acknowledged by *Artabanus* the Persian, in his Conference with *Themistocles*, in these words, ἡμῖν ὃ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων, κάλλιστος ὅτός ἐστι, τὸ τιμᾶν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σῴζοντος· *Amongst those many excellent Laws of ours, the most excellent is this, that the King is to be honoured and worshipped religiously, as the Image of that God, which conserveth all things.* *Scaliger* with some others (though we know not upon what certain grounds) affirm, that *Mither* in the Persian Language signified *Great*, and *Mithra*, *Greater* or *Greatest*, according to which, *Mithras* would be all one, with *Deus Major* or *Maximus*, *The Greatest God*. Wherefore we conclude, that either *Herodotus* was mistaken, in making the Persian *Mithras* the same with *Mylitta* or *Venus*; (And perhaps such a mistake might be occasioned from hence, because the Word *Mader* or *Mether* in the Persian Language signified *Mother*, as *Mylitta* in the Syrian did;) or else rather, that this *Venus* of his, is to be understood of the Ἀφροδίτη οὐρανία, *the heavenly* Venus *or Love*; and thus indeed is she there called in *Herodotus*, *Urania*; by which though some would understand nothing else but the Moon, yet we conceive the *Supreme Deity*, *True Heavenly love* (the *Mother* and *Nurse of all things*) to have been primarily signified therein.

Plut. Themist.

مادر *Genitrix.*

But *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi* are said to have called the *Supreme God* also by another name, *viz. Oromasdes* or *Ormisdas*; however *Oromasdes*, according to *Plato*, seems to have been the Father of *Zoroaster*. Thus, besides *Plutarch* and others, *Porphyrius*, in the Life of *Pythagoras*, παρῄνει μάλιστα δ' ἀληθεύειν, τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον δυναμένους ἀνθρώπους ποιεῖν θεῷ ἐπαπλησίους, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μάγων ἐπυνθάνετο, ὃν Ὡρομάζην καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐοικέναι τὸ μὲν σῶμα φωτὶ· τῷ δὲ ψυχῷ ἀληθείᾳ· Which we would understand thus. Pythagoras *exhorted men chiefly to the Love of Truth, as being that alone which could make them resemble God, he having learn'd from the* Magi *that God, whom they call* Oromasdes, *was as to Corporeals most like to Light, and as to Incorporeals to Truth.* Though perhaps some would interpret these words otherwise, so as to signifie *Oromasdes* to have been really compounded of *Soul* and *Body*, and therefore nothing else but the *Animated Sun*, as *Mithras* is commonly supposed also to have been. But the contrary hereunto, is plainly implied in those *Zoroastrian Traditions* or *Fables*, concerning *Oromasdes*, recorded in *Plutarch*, ὅτι ἀπέστηκε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, *that* Oromasdes *was as far removed from the Sun, as the Sun was from the Earth.* Wherefore *Oromasdes* was according to the Persians, a Deity superior to the Sun;

P. 191.

God

God properly as the *Fountain of Light* and *Original of all Good*, and the same with *Plato*'s τἀγαθὸν or *First Good*. From whom the Persians, as *Scaliger* informs us, called the First Day of every Month *Ormasda*, probably because he was the Beginning of all things. And thus *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi*, acknowledged one and the same *Supreme Deity*, under the different names of *Mithras* and *Oromasdes*.

But it is here observable, that the Persian *Mithras* was commonly called Τριπλάσιος, *Three-fold or Treble*. Thus *Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite, ἣν ἐσέτι Μάγοι τὰ μνημόσυνα τῦ Τριπλασίε Μίθρε τελῦσιν· *The Persian* Magi *to this very day, celebrate a Festival Solemnity in honour of the Triplasian* (that is, the Three-fold or Triplicated) Mithras. And something very like to this, is recorded in *Plutarch*, concerning *Oromasdes* also, ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης τρὶς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας, Oromasdes *Thrice augmented or Triplicated himself*; from whence it further appears that *Mithras* and *Oromasdes* were really one and the same *Numen*. Now the Scholiasts upon *Dionysius* pretend to give a reason of this Denomination of the *Persian Mithras*, *Triplasios*, or *Threefold*, from the Miracle done in *Hezekiah*'s Time, when the Day was encreased, and almost Triplicated; as if the *Magi* then observing the same, had thereupon given the name of Τριπλάσιος, or *Threefold*, to their God *Mithras*, that is, the *Sun*, and appointed an Anniversary Solemnity for a Memorial thereof. But Learned men have already shewed the Foolery of this Conceit; and therefore it cannot well be otherwise concluded, but that here is a manifest Indication of a *Higher Mystery*, *viz.* a *Trinity* in the *Persian Theology*; which *Gerardus J. Vossius* would willingly understand, according to the Christian *Hypothesis*, of a *Divine Triunity*, or *Three Hypostases* in one and the same Deity, whose Distinctive Characters, are *Goodness*, *Wisdom*, and *Power*. But the *Magical* or *Zoroastrian Oracles*, seem to represent this Persian Trinity, more agreeably to that *Pythagorick* or *Platonick Hypothesis*, of *Three Distinct Substances Subordinate* one to another, the Two First whereof, are thus expressed in the following Verses,

Πάντα γὰρ ἐξετέλεσσε πατὴρ, ἃ νῷ παρέδωκε
Δευτέρῳ, ὃν πρῶτον κλείζεσι θνητὰ ἀνδρῶν.

To this Sence: *The Father or First Deity, perfected all things, and delivered them to the Second Mind, who is that, whom the Nations of men commonly take for the First.* Which Oracle *Psellus* thus glosseth upon; τὸν πᾶσαν κτίσιν δημιουργήσας ὁ τῆς τριάδος πρῶτος πατὴρ, παρέδωκε ταύτην τῷ νῷ· ὄντινα νῶν τὸ ξύμπαν γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν πατρικὸν ὑπερoχὴν, θεὸν πρῶτον καλοῦσι· *The First Father of the Trinity, having produced this whole Creation, delivered it to Mind or Intellect. Which Mind, the whole Generation of Mankind being ignorant of the Paternal Transcendency, commonly call the First God.* After which, *Psellus* takes notice of the difference here betwixt this *Magical* or *Chaldaick Theology*, and that of *Christians*: πλὴν τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν δόγμα εὐαντίως ἔχει, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος νοῦς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς, τὸν κτίσιν πᾶσαν ἐδημιούργησεν, &c. *But our Christian Doctrine is contrary hereunto, namely thus; That the First Mind or Intellect, being the Son of the Great Father, made the whole*

whole Creation. For the Father in the Mosaick Writings, speaks to his Son, the Idea of the Creation; but the Son is the immediate Opifex thereof. His meaning is, that according to this Persian or Chaldaick Theology, the First *Hypostasis* of the *Divine Triad*, was the δημιουργὸς or *Immediate Architect* of the World, whereas according to the Christian as well as Platonick Doctrine, he is the *Second*. For which cause, *Pletho* framed another Interpretation of that *Magick Oracle*, to render it more conformable both to the Christian and Platonick Doctrine, ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ἅπαντα ἐξετέλεσε, τὰ νοητὰ δηλαδὴ εἴδη (ταῦτα γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἐκτετελεσμένα τε καὶ τέλεια) καὶ τῷ μετ' ἐαυτὸν δευτέρῳ θεῷ παρέδωκεν, ἄρχειν δηλαδὴ καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, &c. *The Father perfected all things, that is the Intelligible Ideas (for these are those things which are complete and perfect) and delivered them to the Second God, to rule over them. Wherefore whatsoever is produced by this God, according to its own Exemplar and the Intelligible Essence, must needs owe its Original also to the Highest Father. Which Second God, the Generations of men, commonly take for the First, they looking up no higher, than to the Immediate Architect of the World.* According to which Interpretation of *Pletho's* (the more probable of the Two) the *Second Hypostasis* in the *Magick* (or *Persian*) *Trinity*, as well as in the *Platonick* and *Christian*, is the Immediate *Opifex* or *Architect* of the World; and this seems to be properly that which was called *Mithras* in *Eubulus*.

But besides these *Two Hypostases*, there is also a Third mentioned in a certain other Magick or Chaldaick Oracle, cited by *Proclus*, under the Name of *Psyche*, or the Mundane Soul;

——Μετὰ δ' πατρικὰς διανοίας,
Ψυχὴ ἐγὼ ναίω·

After (or next below) the Paternal Mind, I Psyche *dwell.* Now the Paternal Mind, as *Psellus* informs us, is the *Second Hypostasis* before-mentioned; ὁ πατρικὸς νοῦς, ὁ δευτερὸς δηλαδὴ θεὸς, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς προστατὴς δημιουργὸς, *The Paternal Mind is the Second God, and the Immediate* Demiurgus *or* Opifex *of the Soul.* Wherefore though both those Names *Oromasdes* and *Mithras*, were frequently used by the *Magi*, for the τὸ θεῖον, or whole Deity in General, yet this being *Triplastan* or *Threefold*, according to their Theology, as conteining *Three Hypostases* in it; the First of those Three, seems to have been that, which was most properly called *Oromasdes*, and the Second *Mithras*. And this is not only confirmed by *Pletho*, but also with this further Superaddition to it, that the *Third Hypostasis* of that Persian Trinity, was that which they called *Arimanius*; he gathering as much even from *Plutarch* himself; φασὶ δὲ Ζωροάστρην, ὡς τριχῇ τὰ ὄντα διέλοι· καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ αὐτῶν μοίρᾳ, Ὡρομάζην ἐφιστῶν· τοῦτον δ' εἶναι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων πατέρα καλοῦμεν· τῇδε ἐσχάτῃ Ἀρειμάνιον· Μίθρην δὲ τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ τοῦτον δ' ἂν εἶναι τὸν δεύτερον Νοῦν καλοῦμεν ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων· *They say that* Zoroaster *made a Threefold Distribution of Things, and that he assigned the First and Highest Rank of them, to* Oromasdes, *who in the Oracles, is called the Father; the lowest to* Arimanes; *and the Middle to* Mithras, *who in the same Oracles is likewise called the Second Mind.* Whereupon he observes, how

how great an Agreement there was, betwixt the *Zoroaſtrian* and the *Platonick Trinity*, they differing in a manner only in Words. And the Middle of theſe, namely the Eternal Intellect that conteins the *Ideas* of all things, being, according to the Platonick *Hypotheſis*, the Immediate δημιεργὸς and Architect of the World, this probably was that *Mithras*, as we have already intimated, who is called in *Eubulus*, *the* Demiurgus *of the World, and the Maker and Father of all things.* Now if that *Third Hypoſtaſis* of the *Magick or Chaldaick Oracles*, be the ſame with that, which the Perſians call *Arimanius*, then muſt it be upon ſuch an accompt as this, becauſe this Lower World (wherein are Souls Vitally united to Bodies, and Lapſable) is the Region where all manner of *Evils*, *Wickedneſs*, *Pains*, *Corruption* and *Mortality* reign. And herewith *Heſychius* ſeemeth to agree: Ἀρειμάνης (ſaith he) ὁ Ἅιδης παρὰ Πέρσαις, Arimanius *among the Perſians, is* Hades, that is, either *Orcus* or *Pluto*; wherein he did but follow *Theopompus*, who in *Plutarch* calls *Arimanius* likewiſe *Hades* or *Pluto*: which it ſeems was as well the Third in the Perſian, Trinity (or Triplaſian Deity) as it was in the Homerican. And this was that *Arimanius*, whom the Perſian King in *Plutarch*, upon *Themiſtocles* his flight, addreſſed his Devotion to, *In vit. Them.* κατηυξάμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀπ' ἑαυτῶν, *He prayed, that* Arimanius *would always give ſuch a mind to his Enemies, as thus to baniſh and drive away their beſt men from them.* And indeed from that which *Plutarch* affirms, διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσι, *That the Perſians from their God* Mithras, *called any Mediator*, or Middle betwixt two, *Mithras*; it may be more reaſonably concluded, that *Mithras*, according to the Perſian Theology, was properly the *Middle Hypoſtaſis* of that *Triplaſian* or *Triplicated Deity* of theirs, than that he ſhould be a *Middle Self-exiſtent God*, or *Mediator*, betwixt Two *Adverſary Gods Unmade*, one *Good*, and the other *Evil*, as *Plutarch* would ſuppoſe.

Notwithſtanding which, if that which the ſame *Plutarch* and others do ſo confidently affirm, ſhould be true, that *Zoroaſter* and the ancient Magi, made *Good* and *Evil*, *Light* and *Darkneſs*, the Two Subſtantial *Principles* of the Univerſe, that is, aſſerted an *Evil Dæmon Coeternal with God*, and *Independent on him*, in the very ſame manner that *Plutarch* himſelf and the Manicheans afterward did; yet however it is plain, that in this way alſo, *Zoroaſter* and the *Magi*, acknowledged *One only Fountain and Original of all Good*, and nothing to be independent upon that One Good Principle or God, but only that which is ſo contrary to his Nature and Perfection, as that it could not proceed from him, namely *Evil*. But we have already diſcovered a ſuſpicion, that the meaning of thoſe ancient *Magi*, might poſſibly be otherwiſe; they philoſophizing only concerning a certain *Mixture of Evil and Darkneſs*, together *with Good and Light*, that was in the Compoſition of this Lower World, and *Perſonating* the ſame; as alſo perhaps taking notice eſpecially therein of Evil *Dæmons* (who are acknowledged likewiſe in the *Magick Oracles*, and called θῆρες χθονὸς, *Beaſts of the Earth*, and χθόνιοι κύνες, *Terreſtrial Dogs*;) the Head of which might be ſometimes called alſo Emphatically ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων Περσῶν, *the Evil Demon of the Perſians*, as being the very ſame with the Devil.

Devil: all which was under the immediate Preſidency or Government of that God, called by them *Arimanius*, *Hades* or *Pluto*, the *Third Hypoſtaſis* in the *Triplaſian Deity* of the Perſians. Which ſuſpicion, may be yet further confirmed from hence, becauſe the Perſian Theologers, as appears by the Inſcriptions, expreſly acknowledged the *Divine Omnipotence*, which they could not poſſibly have done, had they admitted of a *Manichean Subſtantial Evil Principle*, *Coeternal* with *God*, and *Independent* on him. Beſides which it is obſervable, that whereas the Gnoſticks in *Plotinus* time, aſſerting this World to have been made, not ſo much from a *Principle Eſſentially* Evil and Eternal, as from a *Lapſed Soul*; to weigh down the Authority of *Plato* that was againſt them, did put *Zoroaſter* in the other Scale, producing a Book entituled, ἀποκαλύψεις ζωροάστρου, or the *Revelations of* Zoroaſter, *Porphyrius* tells us, that himſelf wrote purpoſely, to diſprove thoſe *Zoroaſtrian Revelations*, as New and Counterfeit, and forged by thoſe Gnoſticks themſelves; therein implying alſo the Doctrine of the ancient *Zoroaſter*, no way to have countenanced or favoured that *Gnoſtick Hereſie*. Moreover the Tenents of theſe ancient *Magi*, concerning that Duplicity of Principles, are by Writers repreſented with great Variety and Uncertainty. That Accompt which *Theodorus* in *Photius* (treating of the Perſian Magick) gives thereof, as alſo that other of *Eudemus* in *Damaſcius*, are both of them ſo Nonſenſical, that we ſhall not here trouble the Reader with them; however, neither of them ſuppoſe the Perſian *Arimanius* or *Satanas*, to be an Unmade Self-exiſting Demon. But the Arabians, writing of this *Altanawiah*, or *Perſian Duplicity of Good and Evil Principles*, affirm, That according to the moſt approved *Magi*, *Light*, was *Kadiman*, the *Moſt Ancient* and *Firſt God*, and that Darkneſs was but a *Created God*; they expreſly denying the Principle of *Evil* and *Darkneſs*, to be *Coeve* with God, or the *Principle* of *Good and Light*. And *Abulfeda* repreſents the Zoroaſtrian Doctrine (as the Doctrine of the *Magi* Reformed) after this manner; *That God was older than Darkneſs and Light, and the Creator of them, ſo that he was a Solitary Being, without Companion or Corrival; and that Good and Evil, Vertue and Vice did ariſe from a certain Commixture of Light and Darkneſs together, without which this lower World could never have been produced; which Mixture was ſtill to continue in it, till at length Light ſhould overcome Darkneſs: and then Light and Darkneſs ſhall each of them have their ſeparate and diſtinct Worlds, apart from one another.* *Pocock Spec. Hiſt. Ar. p. 146, 147, 148.*

If it were now needful, we might ſtill make it further evident that *Zoroaſter*, notwithſtanding the Multiplicity of Gods worſhip'd by him, was an Aſſerter of *One Supreme*, from his own Deſcription of God extant in *Euſebius*. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἄφθαρτος, ἀΐδιος, ἀγέννητος, ἀμερής, ἀνομοιότατος, ἡνίοχος παντὸς καλοῦ, ἀδωροδόκητος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμώτατος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ πατὴρ δύναμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδίδακτος, τέλειος, καὶ ἱερᾶς φυσικῆς μόνος εὑρετής. *God is the Firſt Incorruptible, Eternal, Unmade, Indiviſible, Moſt unlike to every thing, the Head or Leader of all Good, Unbribable, the Beſt of the Good, the Wiſeſt of the Wiſe; He is alſo the Father of Law and Juſtice, Self-taught, Perfect, and* *Prap. Ev. L. 1.*

the only Inventor of the Natural Holy. Which *Euſebius* tells us, that this Zoroaſtrian Deſcription of God, was conteined *verbatim*, in a Book entituled, *A Holy Collection of the Perſian Monuments*; as alſo that *Oſtanes* (himſelf a famous Magician, and admirer of *Zoroaſter*) had recorded the very ſame of him, in his *Octateuchon.*

Now we having, in this Diſcourſe concerning *Zoroaſter* and the *Magi*, cited the Oracles, called by ſome *Magical*, and imputed to *Zoroaſter*, but by others *Chaldaical*; we conceive it not improper to give ſome account of them here. And indeed if there could be any Aſſurance of the Antiquity and Sincerity of thoſe *Reputed Oracles*, there would then need no other Teſtimony to prove, that either *Zoroaſter* and the *Perſian Magi*, or elſe at leaſt the *Chaldeans*, aſſerted not only a *Divine Monarchy*, or One Supreme Deity the Original of all things; but alſo a *Trinity*, conſiſtently with the ſame.

And it is certain that thoſe Oracles are not ſuch *Novel Things* as ſome would ſuſpect, they being cited by *Syneſius*, as then Venerable and of great Authority, under the name of ἱερὸς λόγια, *Holy Oracles*, and there being of this Number, ſome produced by him that are not to be found in the Copies of *Pſellus* and *Pletho*; from whence it may be concluded, that we have only ſome Fragments of theſe Oracles now left. And that they were not forged by Chriſtians, as ſome of the Sibylline Oracles undoubtedly were, ſeems probable from hence, becauſe ſo many Pagan Philoſophers make uſe of their Teſtimonies, laying no ſmall ſtreſs upon them. As for Example *Damaſcius*, out of whom *Patritius* hath made a Conſiderable Collection of ſuch of theſe Oracles as are wanting in *Pſellus* and *Pletho*'s Copies. And we learn from *Photius*, that whereas *Hierocles* his Book of Fate and Providence, was divided into Seven Parts, the Drift of the Fourth of them was this, τὰ λεγόμενα λόγια, εἰς συμφωνίαν συνάγειν, οἷς Πλάτων ἐδογμάτισε, *to reconcile the Reputed Oracles, with* Plato's *Doctrines.* Where it is not to be doubted, but that thoſe *Reputed Oracles* of *Hierocles*, were the ſame with theſe Magick or Chaldaick Oracles; becauſe theſe are frequently cited by Philoſophers under that name of λόγια or *Oracles.* *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, ὑπό τε Πλάτωνος, καὶ Ὀρφέως, καὶ λογίων, ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ ὑμνεῖται τῶν παντὸς, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε· γενῶν μὲν τὰ πλήθη τῶν θεῶν, ψυχὰς δὲ πέμπων εἰς γενέσεις ἀνδρῶν· *The Maker of the Univerſe, is celebrated both by* Plato, *and* Orpheus, *and The Oracles, as the Father of Gods and Men; who both produceth Multitudes of Gods, and ſends down Souls for the Generations of Men.* And as there are other Fragments of theſe, cited by *Proclus* elſewhere under the name of λόγια or *Oracles*, ſo doth he ſometimes give them that higher Title of θεοπαράδοτος θεολογία, *and* μυσαγωγία, *The Theology that was of Divine Tradition or Revelation.* Which magnificent Encomium, was beſtowed in like manner upon *Pythagoras his Philoſophy*, by *Jamblichus*, that being thought to have been derived in great part from the Chaldeans and the *Magi*; ἐκ θεῶν αὐτῆς παραδοθείσης τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς· *This Philoſophy of* Pythagoras, *having been firſt Divinely delivered, or reveiled by the Gods, ought not to be handled by us without a Religious Invocation of them.* And that *Porphyrius* was not unacquainted with

P. 97.

theſe

these Oracles neither, may be concluded from that Book of his, entituled περὶ τῶν ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας, *concerning the Philosophy from Oracles*; which consisting of more Parts, one of them was called, τὰ τῶν χαλδαίων λόγια, *The Oracles of the Chaldeans*: which that they were the very same with those we now speak of, shall be further proved afterward. Now though *Psellus* affirm, that the Chaldean *Dogmata*, conteined in those Oracles, were some of them admitted both by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, yet does he not pretend, these very Greek Verses themselves to have been so ancient. But it seems probable from *Suidas*, that *Juliane* a Chaldean and *Theurgist*, the Son of *Juliane* a Philosopher, (who wrote concerning *Dæmons* and *Telestiurgicks*) was the First that turned those Chalday or Magick Oracles, into Greek Verse; Ἰουλιανὸς, ὅτι Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ βασιλέως, ἔγραψε θεουργικὰ, τελεστικὰ, λόγια δι' ἐπῶν· Juliane *in the time of* Marcus Antoninus *the Emperor, wrote the Theurgick and Telestick Oracles, in Verse.* For that there is something of the *Theurgical Magick* mixed together with *Mystical Theology* in these Oracles, is a thing so manifest, from that Operation about the Hecatine Circle, and other passages in them, that it cannot be denied; which renders it still more unlikely, that they should have been forged by Christians. Nevertheless they carry along with them (as hath been already observed) a clear acknowledgment of a *Divine Monarchy*, or *One Supreme Deity*, the Original of all things; which is called in them *The Father*, and the *Paternal Principle*, and that *Intelligible*, ὃ χρή σε νοεῖν νόῳ ἄνθει, *that cannot be apprehended otherwise than by the Flower of the Mind*; as also that *One Fire from whence all things spring*; *Psellus* thus glossing upon that Oracle, *All things were the Offspring of one Fire*, πάντα τὰ ὄντα τότε νοητὰ, ἢ αἰσθητὰ, ἀπὸ μόνου θεοῦ τιὼ ὑπόστασιν ἔλαβον, ἢ πρὸς μόνον θεὸν ἐπέστραπται, &c. ἄπαυστον ἔν τὸ λόγιον, ἢ πλῆρες τῶν ἡμετέρων δογμάτων· *All things whether Intelligible or Sensible receive their Essence from God alone, and return back again only to him; so that this Oracle is irreprehensible, and full of our Doctrine.* And it is very observable, that these very same *Oracles*, expressly determined also, that *Matter* was not ἀγένητον, *Unmade* or *Self-existent*, but derived in like manner, from the Deity. Which we learn from *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*; where when he had positively asserted, that there is ἓν πάντων αἴτιον, *One thing the Cause of all things*; and τἀγαθὸν πάντων αἴτιον ὄν, εἶναι ἢ ὕλης αἴτιον, *That the Supreme Good, being the Cause of all things, is also the Cause of Matter*, he confirms this Assertion of his, from the Authority of the *Oracles*, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἢ τ' τάξεως ἢ τὰ λόγια προάγει τιὼ πολυποίκιλον ὕλιω, Ἔνθεν ἄρδην θρώσκει γένεσις πολυποικίλου ὕλης· *From this Order also, do the Oracles deduce, the Generation of the Matter, in these words, From thence* (that is, from One Supreme Deity) *altogether proceeds the Genesis of the Multivarious Matter.* Which unquestionably was one of those very Magick or Chalday Oracles; and it may be further proved from hence, because it was by *Porphyrius* set down amongst them, as appears from *Æneas Gazeus* in his *Theophrastus*, ὁ γὰρ ἀγένητος καὶ ἀνάρχος ἡ ὕλη, τοῦτό σε ἢ χαλδαῖοι διδάσκουσι, ἢ ὁ πορφύριος· ὑπογράφει ὁ καθόλου τὸ βιβλίον ὃ εἰς μέζον προάγει, τῶν χαλδαίων τὰ λόγια, ἐν οἷς γεγονέναι τιὼ ὕλιω ἀχωρίζεται· *Neither was Matter void of Generation or Beginning, which the Chaldeans and* Porphyrius *teach thee; he making this the Title of a whole* P. 118.

Book publiſhed by him, The Oracles of the Chaldeans, in which it is confirmed, that Matter was Made.

Moreover that there was alſo in theſe *Magick* or *Chalday Oracles*, a clear Signification of a *Divine Triad*, hath been already declared. But we ſhall here produce *Proclus* his Teſtimony for it too, ὅτω ὁ μὲν ἡ θεοπαραδοθεῖσα θεολογία, φησὶ συμπεπληρῶσθαι τὸν κόσμον, ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τριῶν λέγει γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος τὸ πᾶν· *Thus the Divinely Delivered* (or Inſpired) *Theology, affirmeth the whole World to have been completed from theſe Three*; Pſyche *or the* Mundane *Soul, therein ſpeaking concerning that* Zeus *or* Jupiter, *who was above the Maker of the World, in this manner*, &c. For we have already declared, that *Proclus* his θεοπαράδοθος θεολογία, *his Theology of Divine Tradition* or *Revelation*, is one and the ſame thing with the λόγια, or *Oracles*. To which Teſtimony of *Proclus*, we might alſo ſuperadd, that Oracle cited out of *Damaſcius*, by *Patritius*,

παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριὰς ἧς μόνας ἄρχει·

In the whole World ſhineth forth a Triad or Trinity, the Head whereof, is a Monad or Perfect Unity; Than which nothing can be plainer.

XVII. And now we paſs out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, from *Zoroaſter* to *Orpheus*. It is the Opinion of ſome Eminent Philologers of Latter times, That there never was any ſuch Man as *Orpheus*, but only in *Fairy-land*, and that the whole *Hiſtory* of *Orpheus*, was nothing but a mere *Romantick Allegory*, utterly devoid of all Truth and Reality. But there is nothing alledged for this Opinion from Antiquity, ſave only this one Paſſage of *Cicero*'s concerning *Ariſtotle*; Orpheum *Poetam docet* Ariſtoteles *nunquam fuiſſe*, Ariſtotle *teacheth that there never was any ſuch man as* Orpheus *the Poet*; in which notwithſtanding *Ariſtotle* ſeems to have meant no more than this, that there was no ſuch Poet as *Orpheus* Senior to *Homer*, or that the Verſes vulgarly called *Orphical*, were not written by *Orpheus*. However, if it ſhould be granted, that *Ariſtotle* had denied the Exiſtence of ſuch a man; there ſeems to be no reaſon at all, why his Single Teſtimony ſhould here preponderate, againſt that Univerſal Conſent of all Antiquity, which is for one *Orpheus* the Son of *Oeager*, by birth a Thracian, the Father or Chief Founder, of the *Mythical* and *Allegorical Theology* amongſt the Greeks, and of all their moſt Arcane *Religious Rites* and *Myſteries*; who is commonly ſuppoſed to have lived before the Trojan War, (that is, in the time of the *Iſraelitiſh Judges*) or at leaſt, to have been Senior both to *Heſiod* and *Homer*; and alſo to have died a Violent Death, moſt affirming him to have been torn in pieces by Women.

G.I. Voſſius D. Ar. Po. c. 13.

De Nat. D. L. 1. p. 211.

De Rep. L. 10. Lib. 4. p. 162.

For which cauſe in that Viſion of *Herus Pamphylius* in *Plato*, *Orpheus* his Soul being to come down again, into another Body, is ſaid to have choſen rather, that of a Swan (a reputed *Muſical Animal*) than to be born again of a *Woman*, by reaſon of that great hatred, which he had conceived of all *Woman-kind*, for his ſuffering ſuch a Violent Death from them. And the Hiſtorick Truth of *Orpheus*, was not only acknowledged by *Plato*, but alſo by *Iſocrates*, Seniour to *Ariſtotle* likewiſe (in

(in his Oration in the praiſe of *Buſiris*;) and confirmed by that ſober Hiſtoriographer *Diodorus Siculus*, he giving this Accompt of *Orpheus*, *That he was a man who diligently applied himſelf to Literature, and having learn'd* τὰ μυθολογέμενα, *or the Mythical Part of Theology, travelled into* Egypt, *where he attain'd to further knowledge, and became the greateſt of all the Greeks, in the Myſterious Rites of Religion, Theological Skill and Poetry.* To which *Pauſanias* addeth, that he gained great authority, οἷα πεισθέντα δύνασθαι ἔργων ἀνοσίων καθαρμὸς, νόσων τε ἰάματα, καὶ τερπὰς μηνιμάτων θείων· *As being believed to have found out Expiations for wicked Actions, Remedies for Diſeaſes, and Appeaſments of the Divine Diſpleaſure.* Neither was this Hiſtory of *Orpheus* contradicted by *Origen*, when *Celſus* gave him ſo fit an occaſion, and ſo ſtrong a Provocation to do it, by his Preferring *Orpheus*, before our Saviour Chriſt. To all which may be added in the laſt place, that it being commonly concluded from the Greek word θρησκεία, that the Greeks derived their *Teletæ* and *Myſteries of Religion*, from the Thracians, it is not ſo reaſonable to think with the Learned *Voſſius*, that *Xamolxis* was the Founder of them, (and not *Orpheus*) this *Xamolxis* being by moſt reported to have been *Pythagoras* his Servant, and conſequently too much a Juniour; and though *Herodotus* attribute more Antiquity to him, yet did he conceive him to have been no other than a *Dæmon*, who appearing to the Thracians, was worſhipped by them; whereas in the mean time, the General Tradition of the Greeks, derived the *Thracian Religious Rites* and *Myſteries*, from *Orpheus* and no other, according to this of *Suidas*; λέγεται ὡς Ὀρφεὺς Θρᾷξ, πρῶτος ἐτεχνολόγησε τὰ Ἑλλήνων μυστήρια, ἢ τὸ τιμᾶν θεὸν θρησκεύειν ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς θρησκείας ὄσης ἡ εὕρεσεως· *It is commonly ſaid, that* Orpheus *the Thracian, was the Firſt Inventor of the Religious Myſteries of the Greeks, and that Religion was from thence called* Threſcheia, *as being a Thracian Invention.* Wherefore though it may well be granted, that by reaſon of *Orpheus* his great Antiquity, there have been many *Fabulous* and *Romantick* things intermingled with his *Hiſtory*; yet there appears no reaſon at all, why we ſhould diſbelieve the Exiſtence of ſuch a Man.

Lib. 9. p. 586.

But though there were ſuch a man as *Orpheus*, yet may it very well be queſtion'd for all that, Whether any of thoſe Poems, commonly entitled to him, and called *Orphical*, were ſo ancient, and indeed written by him. And this the rather, becauſe *Herodotus* declares it as his own Opinion, that *Heſiod* and *Homer*, were the ancienteſt of all the Greek Poets, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον ἐγένοντο, *and that thoſe other Poets, ſaid to have been before them, were indeed Juniors to them*; meaning hereby in all probability, *Orpheus*, *Muſæus* and *Linus*. As alſo becauſe *Ariſtotle* ſeems plainly to have followed *Herodotus* in this, he mentioning the Orphick Poems (in his Book *Of the Soul*) after this manner, τὰ Ὀρφικὰ καλούμενα ἔπη, *The Verſes that are called Orphical.* Beſides which *Cicero* tells us that ſome imputed all the Orphick Poems to *Cercops* a Pythagorean, and it is well known, that many have attributed the ſame to another of that School, *Onomacritus*, who lived in the times of the *Piſiſtratidæ*: Wherefore we read more than once in *Sextus Empiricus* of Ὀνομάκριτος ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς;

L. 2. p. 53.

L. 1. c. 7. §. 7.

Ὀρφικοῖς, Onomacritus *in the Orphicks.* *Suidas* alſo reports, that ſome of the *Orphick Poems* were anciently aſcribed to *Theognetus*, others to *Timocles*, others to *Zopyrus*, *&c.* From all which *Grotius* ſeems to have made up this Concluſion; *That the Pythagoricks entitled their own Books to* Orpheus *and* Linus, *juſt in the ſame manner, as Ancient Chriſtians entitled theirs, ſome to the* Sibyls, *and others to* Hermes Triſmegiſt. Implying therein, that both the *Orphick Poems* and *Doctrine*, owed there very Being and Firſt Original, only to the *Pythagoreans.* But on the other ſide, *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirmeth that *Heraclitus* the Philoſopher borrowed many things from the *Orphick Poems.* And it is certain, that *Plato* does not only very much commend the *Orphick Hymns*, for their Suavity and Deliciouſneſs, but alſo produce ſome Verſes out of them, without making any Scruple concerning their Author. *Cicero* himſelf, notwithſtanding what he cites out of *Ariſtotle* to the contrary, ſeems to acknowledge *Orpheus* for the moſt ancient Poet, he writing thus of *Cleanthes*, *In Secundo Libro De Natura Deorum, vult* Orphei, Muſæi, Heſiodi, Homerique *Fabellas accommodare ad ea quæ ipſe de Diis Immortalibus ſcripſerat, ut etiam Veterrimi Poetæ qui hæc ne ſuſpicati quidem ſint, Stoici fuiſſe videantur*; Cleanthes *in his Second Book of the Nature of the Gods, endeavours to accommodate the Fables of* Orpheus, Muſæus, Heſiod *and* Homer, *to thoſe very things which himſelf had written concerning them; ſo that the moſt ancient Poets, who never dream'd of any ſuch matter, are made by him to have been Stoicks.* *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth *Orpheus* to have been the Author of a moſt excellent Poem. And *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Athenagoras*, and others, take it for granted, that *Homer* borrowed many Paſſages of his Poems from the *Orphick Verſes*, and particularly that very Beginning of his Iliads,

Proleg. in Flor. Stob.

De N. De. L. 1. p. 201. Lamb.

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ.———

Laſtly, *Jamblichus* teſtifieth, that by Moſt Writers, *Orpheus* was repreſented as the *ancienteſt* of all the Poets, adding moreover, what *Dialect* he wrote in, αἱ πλείσας τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀποφαίνεσι, κεχρῆσθαι τῇ Δωρικῇ διαλέκτῳ τὸν τε Ὀρφέα, πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῶν ποιητῶν· *Moſt of the Hiſtoriographers declare, that* Orpheus, *who was the ancienteſt of all the Poets, wrote in the Dorick Dialect.* Which if it be true, then thoſe Orphick Fragments, that now we have, (preſerved in the Writings of ſuch as did not Dorize) muſt have been transformed by them out of their Native Idiom. Now as concerning *Herodotus*, who ſuppoſing *Homer* and *Heſiod* to have been the ancienteſt of all the Greek Poets, ſeemed therefore to conclude the *Orphick Poems* to have been Pſeudepigraphous; himſelf intimates that this was but a Singular Opinion, and as it were, Paradox, of his own, the contrary thereunto being then generally received. However *Ariſtotle* probably, might therefore be the more inclinable to follow *Herodotus* in this, becauſe he had no great kindneſs for the *Pythagorick* or *Orphick Philoſophy.* But it is altogether Irrational and Abſurd to think, that the Pythagoricks would entitle their Books to *Orpheus*, as deſigning to gain credit and authority to them thereby; had there been no ſuch Doctrine before, either conteined in ſome ancient Monument of *Orpheus*,

De V. Pyth. c. 34.

or at leaſt tranſmitted down by Oral Tradition from him. Wherefore the Pythagoricks themſelves conſtantly maintain, that before *Pythagoras* his time, there was not only an *Orphick Cabala* Extant, but alſo *Orphick Poems*. The Former was declared in that ancient Book called Ἱερὸς λόγος, or *The Holy Oration*, if we may believe *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*. Πυθαγόρειος ὢν ὁ Τίμαιος, ἕπεται ταῖς Πυθαγορείων ἀρχαῖς· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν αἱ Ὀρφικαὶ παραδόσεις. Ἃ γὰρ Ὀρφεὺς δι' ἀπορρήτων λόγων μυστικῶς παρέδωκε, ταῦτα Πυθαγόρας ἐξέμαθεν ὀργιασθεὶς ἐν Λεβήθροις τοῖς Θρακίοις, Ἀγλαοφήμῳ τελέσας μεταδιδόντος. Ταῦτα γάρ φησιν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ λόγῳ· *Timæus being a Pythagorean, follows the Pythagorick Principles, and theſe are the Orphick Traditions; for what things* Orpheus *deliver'd Myſtically, (or in arcane Allegories) theſe* Pythagoras *learn'd when he was initiated by* Aglaophemus *in the Orphick Myſteries*, Pythagoras *himſelf affirming as much in his Book called, The Holy Oration.* Where *Proclus* without any doubt or ſcruple, entitles the Book inſcribed Ἱερὸς λόγος or *The Holy Oration*, to *Pythagoras* himſelf. Indeed ſeveral of the ancients have reſolved, *Pythagoras* to have written nothing at all, as *Fla. Joſephus*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian* and *Porphyrius*; and *Epigenes* in *Clemens Alex.* affirms that the Ἱερὸς λόγος or *Holy Oration*, was written by *Cercops* a Pythagorean. Nevertheleſs *Diogenes Laertius* thinks them not to be in good earneſt, who deny *Pythagoras* to have written any thing, and he tells us that *Heraclides* acknowledged this Ἱερὸς λόγος or *Holy Oration* for a genuine and indubitate *Fœtus* of *Pythagoras*. *Jamblichus* is alſo of the ſame opinion, as the moſt received; though confeſſing ſome to have attributed that Book, to *Telauges* *Pythagoras* his Son. But whoever was the Writer of this *Hieros Logos*, whether *Pythagoras* himſelf, or *Telauges*, or *Cercops*, it muſt needs be granted to be of great antiquity, according to the Teſtimony whereof, *Pythagoras* derived much of his *Theology*, from the *Orphick Traditions*. Moreover *Ion Chius* in his *Trigrammi* teſtified, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* informeth us, that *Pythagoras* himſelf referred ſome Poems to *Orpheus* as their Author; which is alſo the General ſence of Platoniſts as well as Pythagoreans. Wherefore upon all accounts, it ſeems moſt probable, That either, *Orpheus* himſelf wrote ſome Philoſophick or Theologick Poems, though certain other Poems might be alſo father'd on him, becauſe written in the ſame ſtrain, of *Myſtical* and *Allegorical Theology*, and as it were in the ſame Spirit, with which this *Thracian Prophet* was *inſpired:* Or elſe at leaſt, that the Orphick Doctrine, was firſt conveyed down by *Oral Cabala* or *Tradition* from him, and afterwards for its better Preſervation, expreſſed in Verſes, that were imputed to *Orpheus*, after the ſame manner, as the Golden Verſes written by *Lyſis*, were to *Pythagoras*. And *Philoponus* intimates this Latter to have been *Ariſtotle's* Opinion concerning the *Orphick Verſes*: He gloſſing thus upon thoſe words of *Ariſtotle* before cited, καλλιμμύοις εἶπε, ὅτι μὴ δοκεῖ Ὀρφέως τὰ ἔπη, ὡς ἐν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ φιλοσοφίας λέγει. Αὐτὸ γὰρ εἰσὶ τὰ δόγματα, ταῦτα δέ φασιν Ὀνομάκριτον ἐν ἔπεσι καταθεῖναι· Ariſtotle *calls them the Reputed Orphick Verſes, becauſe they ſeem not to have been written by* Orpheus *himſelf, as the ſame* Ariſtotle *affirmeth in his Book of Philoſophy. The Doctrine and Opinions of them indeed were his, but* Onomacritus *is ſaid to have put them into Verſe.* However, there can be

P. 291.

Strom. L. I. p. 333.

no

no doubt at all made, but that the *Orphick Verſes*, by whomſoever Written, were ſome of them of great antiquity (they being much older than either *Ariſtotle*, *Plato* or *Herodotus*) as they were alſo had in great eſteem amongſt the Pagans; and therefore we may very well make a judgment of the *Theology* of the ancient *Pagans*, from them.

Now that *Orpheus*, the *Orphick Doctrine*, and *Poems*, were Polytheiſtical, is a thing acknowledged by all. *Juſtin Martyr* affirms that *Orpheus* aſſerted *Three Hundred and Sixty Gods*; he alſo beſtows upon him, this Honourable Title (if it may be ſo accounted) of πολυθεότητος πατὴρ καὶ πρῶτος διδάσκαλος, *The Father and Firſt Teacher of Polytheiſm amongſt the Greeks*; he ſuppoſing that *Homer* derived his *Polytheiſm* from him; Ὅμηρος τὴν πολυθεότητος Ὀρφέως ζηλώσας δόξαν, μυθώδεις μὲν πλειόνων θεῶν μέμνηται, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ τὴν Ὀρφέως ἀποδύσθαι ποιήσεως· Homer *emulating* Orpheus *his Polytheiſm, did himſelf therefore fabulouſly write of many Gods, that he might not ſeem to diſſent from his Poems, whom he had ſo great a Veneration for.* With which alſo agreeth the Teſtimony of *Athenagoras*, Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα θεῶν πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν, καὶ τὰς γενέσεις διεξῆλθε, καὶ ὅσα ἑκάστοις πέπραγται εἶπε, ᾧ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ θεῶν μάλιστα ἕπεται· Orpheus *firſt invented the very names of the Gods, declaring their Generations, and what was done by each of them, and* Homer *for the moſt part follows him therein.* Indeed the whole *Mythical Theology*, or *Fables of the Gods* together with the *Religious Rites* amongſt the Greeks, are commonly ſuppoſed to have owed their Firſt Original to no other but *Orpheus*. In which *Orphick Fables*, not only the *Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World* were all *Theologized*, but alſo all manner of *Humane Paſſions*, *Imperfections*, and *Vices* (according to the Literal Sence) attributed to the *Gods*. Inſomuch that divers of the Pagans themſelves, took great offence at them, as for Example *Iſocrates*; who concludes that a Divine *Nemeſis* or Vengeance was inflicted upon *Orpheus* for this Impiety, Ὀρφεὺς ὁ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀψάμενος, διασπασθεὶς τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε, Orpheus *who was moſt of all guilty in this kind, died a violent death.* Alſo *Diog. Laertius* for this Cauſe made a queſtion, whether he ſhould reckon *Orpheus* amongſt the Philoſophers or no: and others have Concluded that *Plato* ought to have baniſh'd *Orpheus* likewiſe out of his Commonwealth, for the ſame reaſon that he did *Homer*, which is thus expreſſed, *For not Lying well concerning the Gods.* And here we may take notice of the Monſtroſity and Extravagancy of *Orpheus* his Phancy, from what *Diamaſcius* and others tell us, that he made one of his Principles to be δράκοντα κεφαλὰς ἔχοντα περιπεφυκυίας ταύρου καὶ λέοντος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοῦ πρόσωπον, καὶ ὤμων πτέρυγας, *A Dragon, having the Heads both of a Bull and a Lion, and in the midſt the Face of a God, with Golden Wings upon his ſhoulders*; which forſooth muſt be an *Incorporeal Deity* and *Hercules*, with which *Nature* (called *Ananche* and *Adraſtea*) was aſſociated. Nevertheleſs the Generality of the Greekiſh Pagans, looking upon this *Orpheus*, not as a meer Fanciful Poet and Fabulator, but as a Serious and Profound Philoſopher, or Myſtical Theologer; a Perſon tranſcendently Holy and Wiſe; they ſuppoſed all his *Fables of the Gods*, to be deep *Myſteries* and

In Lau. Buſir.

Allegories

Allegories which had ſome *Arcane* and *Recondite* Sence under them, and therefore had a high Veneration for him, as one who did ἀληθέστερον θεολογεῖν (as *Athenagoras* writes) *More truly Theologize than the reſt*, and was indeed *Divinely Inſpired*. Inſomuch that *Celſus* would rather have had the Chriſtians to have taken *Orpheus* for a *God*, than our *Saviour Chriſt*, ἄνδρα ὁμολογουμένως θείῳ πνεύματι κεχρημένον καὶ τὸν βιαίως ἀποθανόντα, *as being a man unqueſtionably endewed with a holy Spirit, and one who alſo* (as well as the Chriſtians Jeſus) *died a violent death*. C. Celſ. L. 7. p. 367.

But that *Orpheus*, notwithſtanding all his *Polytheiſm* or *Multiplicity of Gods*, acknowledged *One Supreme Unmade Deity*, as the Original of all things, may be Firſt Preſumed from hence, becauſe thoſe Two Moſt Religious Philoſophick Sects, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*, not only had *Orpheus* in great eſteem, he being commonly called by them ὁ θεολόγος, *The Theologer*, but were alſo thought, in great meaſure to have owed their Theology and Philoſophy to him, as deriving the ſame from his *Principles* and *Traditions*. This hath been already intimated and might be further proved. *Pythagoras*, as we are informed by *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus*, learn'd ſomething from all theſe Four, from the *Egyptians*, from the *Perſian Magi*, from the *Chaldeans*, and from *Orpheus* or his *Followers*. Accordingly *Syrianus* makes Ὀρφικαὶ καὶ Πυθαγορικαὶ ἀρχαὶ, *The Orphick and Pythagorick Principles to be one and the ſame*. And as we underſtand from *Suidas*, the ſame *Syrianus* wrote a Book entituled, Συμφωνία Ὀρφέως, Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος, *The Harmony of* Orpheus, Pythagoras *and* Plato. *Proclus*, beſides the place before cited, frequently inſiſts upon this elſewhere, in his Commentary upon the *Timæus*, as *p.* 289. Πυθαγόρειον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ταῖς Ὀρφικαῖς ἕπεσθαι γλυκαλογίαις. Ἄνωθεν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀρφικῆς παραδόσεως διὰ Πυθαγόρου καὶ εἰς Ἕλληνας ἡ περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμη περῆλθεν· *It is Pythagorical to follow the Orphick Genealogies. For from the Orphick Tradition downward by* Pythagoras, *was the knowledge of the Gods derived to the Greeks*. And that the *Orphick Philoſophy* did really agree and ſymbolize with that which afterward was called *Pythagorick* and *Platonick*, and was of the ſame ſtrain with it,, may be gathered from that of *Plato* in his *Cratylus*, where he ſpeaks concerning the Etymology of the Greek Word σῶμα· δοκοῦσί μοί τινες μάλιστα θέσθαι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀρφέα τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς δίκην διδόσης τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σωλῆνα ἔχειν ἵνα σώζηται, δεσμωτηρίῳ εἰκόνα· εἶναι οὖν τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἕως ἂν ἐκτίσῃ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τὸ σῶμα· Orpheus *and his followers ſeem to me to have given the beſt Etymology of this word* σῶμα (*from* σώζεσθαι) *That the Soul is here in a ſtate of Puniſhment, its Body being a Priſon to it, wherein it is kept in cuſtody, till its Debts or Faults be expiated, and is therefore called* σῶμα. Now theſe Three Philoſophies, the *Platonick*, *Pythagorick*, and *Orphick*, ſymbolizing ſo much together, it is probable that as the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick*, ſo the *Orphick* likewiſe, derived all their *Gods* from *One Self-exiſtent Deity*. P. 400. Steph. MS. Coll. Caj. Cant. p. 14.

Which may be further manifeſted, from that *Epitome* of the *Orphick Doctrine*, made long ſince by *Timotheus the Chronographer* in his *Coſmopæia*, ſtill extant in *Cedrenus* and *Euſebii Chronica*, and imperfectly ſet

down by *Suidas* (upon the Word *Orpheus*) as his own, or without mentioning the Authors Name:——Ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνεδείχθη τῷ κόσμῳ ὁ αἰθὴρ, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δημιουργηθείς· *First of all the* Æther *was made by God, and after the* Æther *a* Chaos; *a Dark and dreadful Night, then covering all under the whole* Æther. Σημαίνων τὴν νύκτα πρότερον οὖσαν, Orpheus *hereby signifying* (saith *Timotheus*) *that Night was Seniour to day*, or that the World had a Beginning; Εἰρηκὼς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκθέσει, ἀκατάληπτόν τινα καὶ πάντων ὑπέρτατον εἶναι, προγενέστερόν τε καὶ δημιουργὸν ἁπάντων, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἰθέρος, καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν αἰθέρα· *He having declared also in his Explication, that there was a certain Incomprehensible Being, which was the Highest and Oldest of all things, and the Maker of every thing, even of the* Æther *it self, and all things under the* Æther. *But the Earth being then invisible by reason of the Darkness, a Light breaking out through the* Æther, *illuminated the whole Creation: This Light being said by him, to be that Highest of all Beings (before mentioned) which is called also Counsel and Life.* Ταῦτα τὰ τρία ὀνόματα (to use *Suidas* his words here) μίαν δύναμιν ἀπεφήναντο, καὶ ἓν κράτος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ πάντων Θεοῦ, τοῦ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παραγαγόντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι· *These Three Names in* Orpheus (Light, Counsel and Life) *declaring one and the same Force and Power of that God, who is the Maker of all, and who produceth all out of Nothing into Being, whether Visible or Invisible.* To conclude with *Timotheus*: Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς, ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ βίβλῳ συνέταξεν, ὅτι διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τριῶν ὀνομάτων μιᾶς θεότητος, τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ Αὐτός ἐστι τὰ πάντα· *And the same* Orpheus *in his Book declared, that all things were made by one Godhead in Three Names, and that this God is all things.*

But that *Orpheus* asserted *One Supreme Deity*, as the Original of all things, is unquestionably evident from the *Orphick Verses* themselves; of which notwithstanding, before we mention any, in way of Proof, we shall premise this Observation, or rather Suspicion of our own; That there seem to be some *Orphick Verses* suppositious, as well as there were *Sibylline*; they being counterfeited either by Christians or Jews. For we must freely profess, for our own part, that we cannot believe all that to be genuine, which is produced by ancient Fathers as *Orphical*; that is, either to have been written by *Orpheus* himself, or else by *Onomacritus*, or any other Pagan of that Antiquity, according to the *Orphick Cabala* or *Tradition*.

As for example, this concerning *Moses*,

Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑδρογενὴς διέταξεν,
Ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμαισι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν·

Ut habet sermo antiquorum, ut Ex-aqua-ortus descripsit,
Acceptâ divinitùs Lege quæ Duplicia Præcepta continet.

And this that is commonly understood of *Abraham*,

οὐ γὰρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν, μεροπῶν περιναιετάων,
εἰ μὴ μονογενὴς τις ἀπὸ ῥίζης φύλα ἄνωθεν
χαλδαίων, ἵδρις γὰρ ἔην ἀσφαλέος πορείης.

Non

Non enim quiſpiam mortalium videre poſſet eum qui hominibus imperat,
Niſi Unigenitus quidam profectus ab antiqua origine Gentis Chaldæorum; Sciebat enim aſtri curſum.

The manifeſt Forgery of which, might make one ſuſpect alſo ſome other Paſſages, ſuch as this concerning the *Divine Logos*;

Εἰς ὃ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τότῳ προσέδραμε,
Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος.

Wherefore it being not ingenuous, to lay ſtreſs upon that for the Proof of any thing, which our ſelves believe not to be ſincere and genuine; we ſhall here cite no *Orphick Verſes*, for the acknowledgment of *One Supreme Deity*, but only ſuch as we find atteſted in Pagan Writings. As firſt of all that Copy produced by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*: P. 95.

Τὼνεκα σὺν παντὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη,
Αἰθέρος ὑψείης ἠδ' εὐρέος ἄγλαον ὕψος,
Πόντος τ' ἀτρυγέτης, καίης τ' εὐκυδέος οὖρος·
Ὠκεανός τε μέγας, ἠΰ νείατα πείρατα καίης,
Καὶ ποταμὸς, ἠΰ πόντος ἀπείρεσος, ἄλλά τε πάντα,
Πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ, ἠδὲ θέαιναι,
Ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα, ἠΰ ὕστερον ὀπτὸς ἔμελλεν
Ἔρχεσθ'· ζηνὸς δ' ἐν γαστέρι σύρεα πεφύκει.

To this Sence: *Wherefore, together with the Univerſe, were made within* Jupiter, *the Heighth of the Ethereal Heaven, the Breadth of the Earth and Sea, the great Ocean, the Profound* Tartara, *the Rivers and Fountains, and all the other things; all the Immortal Gods, and Goddeſſes. Whatſoever hath been, or ſhall be, was ot once conteined in the Womb of* Jupiter.

Proclus underſtands this of the *Idea's* of all things, being in God, before the World was produced, that is, in order of Nature only, he ſuppoſing them in time Coeve. However it is plain, that all things are ſaid to be conteined in *the Womb and Fecundity* of One *Self-originated Deity*; not only all the other Gods and Goddeſſes, but every thing elſe whatſoever.

Again *Proclus* in the ſame place, uſhers in another Copy of *Orphick Verſes* (which are alſo found in the Writer *de Mundo*) after this manner: πρὸ ὧν Ἰδεῶν πλήρης ὤν, διὰ τούτων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ὅλα περιέλαβε, ὡς ἡ τοῦτο ἐνθεαστικὸς ὁ λόγος ἐπήγαγε· *The* Demiurgus *or Maker of the World, being full of Ideas, did by theſe comprehend all things within himſelf, as that Theologer alſo declareth in theſe following Verſes:*

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος·
Ζεὺς κεφαλὴ, Ζεὺς μέσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
Ζεὺς πνοιὴ παντὸς, Ζεὺς ὁρμὴ ἀκαμάτοιο·

ΖΕΥΣ πνοιη πάντων· ΖΕΥΣ ἀχαμάτη πυρὸς ὁρμή·
ΖΕΥΣ πόντος ῥίζα· ΖΕΥΣ ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·
ΖΕΥΣ βασιλεὺς· ΖΕΥΣ αὐτὸς ἁπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος·
Ἓν κράτος, ἐξ Διὸς γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων.

Which likewise in plain Prose is this: *The high-thundering* Jove *is both the First and the Last*; Jove *is both the Head and Middle of all things*; *All things were made out of* Jupiter; Jove *is both a Man and an Immortal Maid*; Jove *is the Profundity of the Earth and Starry Heaven*; Jove *is the Breath of all things*; Jove *is the Force of the untameable Fire*; Jove *the Bottom of the Sea*; Jove *is Sun, Moon and Stars*; Jove *is both the Original, and King of all things: There is one Power, and One God, and one great Ruler over all.*

Where though there be many strange Expressions, yet this seems to be the strangest of them all, that *Jupiter* should be said to be, both *a Man, and an Immortal Maid.* But this is nothing but a *Poetick Description* of ἀρρενόθηλυς, *Male and Female together.* And it was a thing very familar with all the Mystical Theologers amongst the Pagans, to call God ἀρρενόθηλυν, *Male and Female together*; they signifying thereby Emphatically, *The Divine Fecundity*, or *the Generative and Creative Power of the Deity*; that God was able from himself alone, to produce all things. Thus *Damascius* the Philosopher, writing of this very *Orphick Theology*, expounds it, ἀρσενόθηλυν αὐτὴν ὑπεστήσατο, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πάντων γονιμωτάτης οὐσίας· *The Orphick Theology calls the First Principle, Hermaphroditick, or Male and Female together; thereby denoting that Essence, that is Generative or Productive of all things.* And that Learned and Pious Christian Bishop, *Synesius*, it seems thought the Expression so harmless, that he scrupled not himself to make use of it. in those elegant and devout Hymns of his to God Almighty.

Σὺ πατὴρ, Σὺ δ' ἐσσὶ μάτηρ,
Σὺ δ' ἄρρην, Σὺ δὲ θῆλυς.

Tu Pater, Tu es Mater,
Tu Mas, Tu Fœmina.

Besides these, there are also certain other *Orphick Verses*, scatter'd up and down in *Proclus*, but cited altogether in *Eusebius* out of *Porphyrius*, in which the whole *World* is represented, as One *Great Animal*, *God* being the *Soul* thereof.

Ἓν δὲ δέμας βασιλῆον ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
Πῦρ ἠδ' ὕδωρ, ἠδὲ γαῖα, ἠδ' αἰθὴρ, νὺξ τε ἠδ' ἦμαρ·
Καὶ Μῆτις, πρῶτος γενέτωρ, ἠδ' Ἔρως πολυτερπής·
Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ ζώνης τάδε σώματι κεῖται·
Τῆς δ' ἤτοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν, ἠδὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα,
Οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις ὃν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
Ἀστέρων μαρμαρέων περιχαλλέες ἠερέθονται, &c.

Omnia

Omnia Regali sunt hæc in corpore clausa,
Ignis & Unda, & Terra, Æther cum Nocte Dieque:
(Consilium, Primus Genitor, cum Numine Amoris:)
Juppiter immenso sub Corpore cuncta coercet:
En hujus Caput Eximium, Vultúsque decoros
Undique resplendens Cœlum, cui pendula circum
Aurea Cæsaries Astrorum lumina fundit:
Sunt oculi Phœbus, Phœboque adversa recurrens
Cynthia, &c.

Where probably that one Verse,

Καὶ Μῆτις, πρῶτ' γενέτωρ, ἠῦ Ἔρως πολυτερπής·

though truly *Orphical*, and indeed *Divine* (it signifying that *Mind* and *Love* were the First Begetters and Original of all things) was notwithstanding, clap'd in uuduly out of some other place. But from all these Citations, it plainly appears, that according to the *Orphick Theology*, though there were many *Gods* and *Goddesses* too, admitted, yet there was *One Original and King of them all*, *One Supreme Deity* acknowledged. We are not ignorant, that some of the ancient and learned Fathers, conceiving it contradictious, for *Orpheus* at the same time, to assert both *Many Gods*, and *One God*, apprehended this to be a convenient *Salvo* for this Difficulty, to suppose that *Orpheus* had by *Fits* and *Turns*, been of different Humours and Perswasions; First a *Rank Polytheist*, asserting *Three Hundred Gods*, and more; and then afterwards a Converted *Monotheist*; they being the rather led into this Opinion, by reason of certain Counterfeit Orphick Verses in *Aristobulus*, made probably by some ignorant Jew; wherein *Orpheus* is made to sing a *Palinodia* or Recantation, for his former Error and *Polytheism*. But we must crave lieve with all due respect, to dissent from Reverend Antiquity in this, it plainly appearing from that First Orphick Exception in *Proclus*, that *Orpheus* at the same time acknowledged, both *One Unmade Deity* (the Original of all things) and *Many Generated Gods* and *Goddesses*, that were all conteined in it. *See Just. Mart. and Clem. Al. Prot.*

Having now made it sufficiently evident from such *Orphick Fragments*, as have been acknowledged by Pagan Writers and by them cited out of *Orpheus* his *Hymns* and *Rapsodies*; that the *Opinion of Monarchy* or *One Self-existent Deity*, the Original of all things, was an Essential Part of the *Orphick Theology* or *Cabala*; we shall here further observe, that besides this *Opinion of Monarchy* (but consistently with the same) a *Trinity* also of *Divine Hypostases* Subordinate, was another part of this *Orphick Cabala*. *Proclus* upon *Plato*'s *Timæus*, making an Enquiry P. 93. into *Plato*'s *Demiurgus* or *Opifex* of the World, gives us an accompt amongst other Platonists, of the Doctrine of *Amelius* (who was contemporary with *Plotinus*, and who is said to have taken notice of what St. *John* the Evangelist had written concerning the *Logos*, as agreeing with the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick Hypothesis*) after this manner: Ἀμέλιος τρίτον ποιεῖ, τὸν Δημιουργὸν, ἢ Νοῦς τρεῖς, Βασιλεῖς τρεῖς, τὴν Οὐσίαν, τὴν Ἐχουσίαν, τὴν Ὁρῶντα· διαφέρεσθαι δ' ὅτι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Νοῦς, ὄντως

ὄντως

τως ὄζιν ὃ ἔξιν· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, ἔξι μὲν τὸ ἐν αὑτῷ νοητόν, ἔχει δὲ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετέχει πάντως ἐκείνου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεύτερος· ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ἔξι μὲν τὸ ἐν αὑτῷ, καὶ ὅτος νοητόν· (πᾶς γὰρ νοῦς τῷ συζυγοῦντι νοητῷ ὁ αὐτός ὄζιν) ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ· καὶ ὁρᾷ τὸ πρῶτον· ὅζῳ γὰρ πλείω ἡ ἀπόστασις, τοσοῦτῳ τὸ ἔχον ἀμυδρότερον. This Paſſage being very remarkable, we thought fit to ſet it down at large, and ſhall here tranſlate it. Amelius *makes a Threefold* Demiurgus *or* Opifex *of the World, Three Minds and Three Kings: Him that Is, Him that Hath, and Him that Beholds. Which Three Minds differ thus, in that the Firſt is Eſſentially that which he is (or all Perfection:) The Second Is its own Intelligible; but Hath the Firſt (as ſomething diſtinct from it) and indeed partakes thereof, and therefore is Second. The Third, Is alſo that Intelligible of its own, (for every Mind is the ſame thing with its correſpondent Intelligible) but Hath that which is in the Second, and Beholds the Firſt. For how much ſoever every Being departs from the Firſt, ſo much the Obſcurer is it.* After which *Proclus* immediately ſubjoyns, τότους ἓν τοὺς τρεῖς νόας καὶ δημιουργοὺς ὑποτίθεται, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῷ Πλάτωνι, τρεῖς βασιλέας, καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ὀρφεῖ τρεῖς, Φάνητα, καὶ Οὐρανὸν, καὶ Κρόνον· καὶ ὁ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῷ δημιουργὸς ὁ Φάνης ὄζιν· Amelius *therefore ſuppoſeth Theſe three Minds and Demiurgick Principles of his, to be both the ſame with* Plato's *Three Kings, and with* Orpheus *his Trinity, of* Phanes, Uranus, *and* Chronus; *but* Phanes *is ſuppoſed by him to be principally the* Demiurgus. Where though *Proclus* (who had ſome Peculiar Phanſies and Whimſeys of his own, and was indeed a Confounder of the Platonick Theology, and a Mingler of much Unintelligible Stuff with it) does himſelf aſſert a *Monad* or *Unity*, Superior to this Whole *Trinity*, yet does he ſeem nevertheleſs, rightly to contend againſt *Amelius*, that it was not the *Firſt Hypoſtaſis* neither in the *Platonick* nor *Orphick Trinity*, that was chiefly and properly the *Demiurgus* or *Opifex* of the World, but the *Second*. And thus *Proclus* his Maſter *Syrianus* had before determined, that in the *Orphick Theology*, the Title of *Opifex*, did properly belong to *Orpheus* his πρωτόγονος θεὸς, *or Firſt-begotten God*, which was the ſame with *Plato*'s Νοῦς or *Divine Intellect*. Agreeably whereunto *Proclus* his Concluſion is, τίς μὲν ὢν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὄζι καὶ ὅτι Νοῦς θεῖος τῆς ὅλης ποιήσεως αἴτιος, εἰρήσθω διὰ τούτων· καὶ ὅπως ὑπό τε Ὀρφέως καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνυμνεῖται δημιουργὸς Ζεύς, ἀπὸ τούτων ὑπεμνήσθω· *Thus much may ſuffice to have declared, who is the* Demiurgus *of the World, namely, that it is the Divine Intellect, which is the proper and immediate Cauſe of the whole Creation, and that it is one and the ſame Demiurgical* Jupiter, *that is praiſed both by* Orpheus *and* Plato. Now beſides this, it is obſervable that *Damaſcius* in his Book περὶ ἀρχῶν, or *Concerning the Principles* (not yet publiſhed) giving an account of the *Orphick Theology*, tells us amongſt other things, that *Orpheus* introduced, τρίμορφον θεὸν, *a Triform Deity*. To all which may be added, what was before cited out of *Timotheus* the Chronographer, That God had Three Names, *Light*, *Counſel*, and *Life*, and that all things were made by one Deity under theſe Three ſeveral Names. Where *Cedrenus*, the Preſerver of that excellent Fragment of Antiquity, concludes in this manner; ταῦτα Τιμόθεος συνεγράψατο ὁ χρονογράφος, λέγων τὴν Ὀρφέα περὶ τοσούτων χρόνων εἰπόντα, τριάδα ὁμοούσιον δημιουργῆσαι τὰ πάντα *Theſe things* Timotheus *the Chronographer wrote, affirming* Orpheus *ſo long*

long ago, to have declared, That All things were made by a Coessential or Consubstantial Trinity. Which though otherwise it might be looked upon suspiciously, because that *Timotheus was a Christian* (especially in regard of that word ὁμοούσιον) yet by comparing it with what we have before alledged, out of Pagan Writers, it appears, that so far as concerns an *Orphick Trinity*, it was not altogether vainly Written, or without Ground by him.

But we have not yet done with *Orpheus* and the *Orphick Theology*, before we have made one further Reflection upon it, so as to take notice of that *strong* and *rank Haut-gout*, which was in it, of making *God to be All.* As for example, if we may repeat the forecited Passages, and put in the Name *of God*, instead of ζεὺς or *Jupiter*; Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη, *This Universe, and all things belonging to it, were made within God.* ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύμφορα πεφύκει, *All things were contained together in the Womb of God:* ζεὺς κεφαλὴ ζεὺς μέσσα, *God is the Head and Middle of all things:* ζεὺς πύθμην γαίης, &c. *God is the Basis of the Earth and Heaven; God is the Depth of the Sea; God is the Breath of all* (or the Air that we breath;) *God is the Force of the Untameable Fire; God is Sun, Moon and Stars.* Ἔν τε δέμας βασιλήϊον, *There is One Kingly* (*or Divine*) *Body*; and

πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ ζωὸς τάδε σώματι κεῖται,

For All these things lie in the Great Body of God. And thus was the Orphick Theology before represented also by *Timotheus* the Chronographer, διὰ τ' Θεότητος πάντα ἐγγύητο, ἣν αὐτὸς ἔστι πάντα, *All things were made by God, and Himself is All Things.*

But further to prove that the ancient Greekish Pagans, were indeed of such a Religious Humour as this, to resolve *All Things into God*, and to make *God All*, we shall here cite a Remarkable Testimony of *Plutarch's*, out of his Defect of Oracles; δύο πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίας ἔχοσης, οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταὶ, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ μόνον τὸ νῦν προσέχειν εἴλοντο, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι πᾶσι προφάσεσι, P. 436.

Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·

ταῖς δ' ἀναγκαίαις καὶ φυσικαῖς, οὐκ ἔτι προσῆκαν αἰτίαις· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τούτων καὶ φυσικοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι, τοὐναντίον ἐκείνοις, τῆς καλῆς καὶ θείας ἀποπλανηθέντες ἀρχῆς, ἐν σώμασι καὶ πάθεσι σωμάτων, πληγαῖς τε καὶ μεταβολαῖς καὶ κράσεσι τίθενται τὸ σύμπαν· *Whereas there are Two Causes of all Generation* (*the Divine and the Natural*) *the most ancient Theologers and Poets, attended only to the more excellent of these Two* (*the Divine Cause*) *resolving all things into God, and pronouncing this of them universally, That God was both the Beginning, and Middle, and that all things were out of God. Insomuch that these had no regard at all to the other Natural and Necessary Causes of things. But on the contrary their Juniours, who were called* Physici (*or Naturalists*) *straying from this most excellent and Divine Principle, placed all in Bodies, their Passions, Collisions, Mutations and Commixtures together.* Where by the most ancient Theolo-

Theologers and Poets, *Plutarch* plainly meant *Orpheus* and his Followers, it being an *Orphick Verſe*, that is here cited by him, whereby he gives alſo an acknowledgment of their Antiquity. But by their Juniors, who are called *Phyſici*, he could underſtand no other, than thoſe Firſt Ionick Philoſophers, *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, *Hippo*, and the reſt, whom thoſe Degenerate Italicks afterward followed, Atomizing Atheiſtically, *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. So that here we have another Confirmation alſo, of what was before aſſerted by us, that the Ionick Philoſophers after *Thales*, and before *Anaxagoras*, were generally *Atheiſtical*. And indeed from them the word φυσικοὶ or *Naturaliſts*, came to be often uſed as Synonymous with ἄθεοι or *Atheiſts*. Now theſe Two are here condemned by *Plutarch*, for Two Contrary Extremes; the One who reſolved all into *Natural and Neceſſary* Cauſes, that is, into *Matter*, *Motion*, and *Qualities* of Bodies, leaving out the *Divine Cauſe*, as guilty of *Atheiſm*; the other, who altogether neglecting the *Natural* and *Neceſſary Cauſes* of things, reſolved all into the *Divine Cauſe*, as it were ſwallowing up all into God, as guilty of a kind of *Fanaticiſm*. And thus we ſee plainly, that this was one Grand *Arcanum* of the *Orphick Cabala*, and the ancient *Greekiſh Theology*, *That God is All things*.

Some Fanaticks of Latter Times, have made *God to be All*, in a Groſs Sence, ſo as to take away all *Real Diſtinction* betwixt God and the Creature, and indeed to allow no other Being beſides God; they ſuppoſing the Subſtance of every thing, and even of all Inanimate Bodies, to be the very Subſtance of God himſelf, and all the variety of things that is in the World, to be nothing but God under ſeveral *Forms*, *Appearances* and *Diſguizes*. The Stoicks anciently made God to be All, and All to be God, in ſomewhat a different way; they conceiving God properly to be the *Active Principle* of the whole Corporeal Univerſe, which yet (becauſe they admitted of no Incorporeal Subſtance) they ſuppoſed, together with the *Paſſive* or the *Matter*, to make up but one and the ſame complete *Subſtance*. And others who acknowledged God to be an *Incorporeal Subſtance* diſtinct from the Matter, have notwithſtanding made *All to be God* alſo, in a certain ſence; they ſuppoſing God to be nothing but a *Soul of the World*, which together with the Matter, made up all into One *entire Divine Animal*. Now the *Orphick Theologers* cannot be charged with *making God all*, in that Firſt and *Groſly-Fanatick Sence*; as if they took away all Real Diſtinction betwixt God and the Creature, they ſo aſſerting *God to be all*, as that notwithſtanding, they allowed other things to have Diſtinct Beings of their own. Thus much appearing from that Riddle, which in the *Orphick Verſes* was propoſed by the *Maker of the World*, to *Night*.

Proclus in Tim.

πῶς δ᾽ἔμοι ἓν τι τὰ παντ᾽ ἔσαι, ἢ χῶρις ἕκαστον;

How can All things be One, and yet Every thing have a diſtinct Being of its own? Where Ἓν τι τὰ πάντα, *All things One.* or *One all things*, ſeems to be the *Supreme Deity*, or *Divine Intellect*, as *Proclus* alſo interprets it, τὰ ὅλα περιέχων ὁ Ζεὺς ἢ πάντα μοναδικῶς ἢ νοερῶς, κατὰ

τότος

τότας χρήζμας, μετὰ δ' νυκτὸς ὑφίσησι, ἰδ πάντα τὰ ἐσπόζμια θεῶν, ἰδ τὰς μοίρας τᾶ παντὸς· Jupiter *who conteineth the Universe, and All things within himself, Unitively and Intellectually, according to these Orphick Oracles, gives a Particular Subsistence of their own also, to all the Mundane Gods, and other parts of the Universe.* And this is χῶρις ἕκαστον, in that fore-cited *Orphick Verse, Every thing apart by it self*, the whole Produced or Created Universe, with all its Variety of things in it; which yet are *Orphically* said to be *God* also, in a certain other sence, that shall be declared afterward. Nor can the *Orphick Theologers* be charged with making *God All*, in the *Second* Stoical Sence, as if they denied all *Incorporeal Substance*, they plainly asserting as *Damascius* and others particularly note, θεὸν ἀσώματον, *an Incorporeal Deity.* But as for the *Third* way it is very true, that the *Orphick Theologers*, did frequently call the World, *The Body of God*, and its Several Parts, *His Members*, making the Whole Universe to be *One Divine Animal*; Notwithstanding which they supposed not, this Animated World to be the *First and Highest God*, but either δεύτερον θεὸν, as the Hermaick or Trismegistick Writers call it, *The Second God*; or else as *Numenius* and others of the Platonists speak, τρίτον θεὸν, *The Third God*: the Soul thereof being as well in the *Orphick*, as it was in the *Pythagorick* and *Platonick* Trinity, but the *Third Hypostasis*; they supposing Two other Divine *Hypostases* Superiour thereunto, which were perfectly Secrete from Matter. Wherefore, as to the Supreme Deity, these *Orphick Theologers*, made Him to be *All things*, chiefly upon the Two following Accompts. First because All things coming from God, they inferred, that therefore they were all conteined in Him, and consequently were in a certain sence Himself; thus much being declared in those Orphick Verses cited by *Proclus* and others,

Πάντα τάδε κρύψας, αὖθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθές·
Μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν, πολυήκεα ῥέζων.

Which *Apuleius* thus renders,

Namque Sinu Occultans, dulces in luminis oras
Cuncta tulit, sacro versans sub pectore curas.

The Sence whereof is plainly this; *That God at first Hiding or Occultly conteining all things within himself, did from thence display them, and bring them forth into light, or distinct Beings of their own, and so make the World.* The Second is, Because the World, produced by God, and really existing without him, is not therefore quite cut off from him, nor subsists alone by it self as a Dead Thing, but is still Livingly united to him, essentially Dependent on him, always Supported and Upheld, Quickned and Enlivened, Acted and Pervaded by him; according to that Orphick Passage, Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς φοιτᾶσι—— *God passes through and intimately pervades All things.*

Now it is very true, that some Christian Theologers also have made *God* to be *All*, according to these Latter sences; as when they affirm the

whole World to be nothing else but *Deum Explicatum, God Expanded or Unfolded*, and when they call the Creatures, as St. *Jerom* and others often do, *Radios Deitatis, the Rays of the Deity.* Nay the Scripture it self may seem, to give some countenance also hereunto, when it tells us, That *Of Him, and Through Him, and To Him, are All things*, which in the Orphick Theology was thus expressed, *God is the Beginning,*
Col. 1. 16. *and Middle, and End of All things*; That ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, *All things were made in him*, as in the Orphick Verses, —Διὸς ἐντὸς
Col. 1. 17. ἐτεύχθη; That τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε, *All things consist in him:* That, *In Him we Live and Move, and have our Being*; That God doth
1 Tim. 6. 13. ζωοποιεῖν πάντα, *Quicken all things*, and that he ought to be made, πάντα
1 Cor. 15. 28. ἐν πᾶσιν, *All in All*; which supposeth him in some sence to be so. Notwithstanding which, this is a very Ticklish Point, and easily lyable to Mistake and Abuse: and, as we conceive, it was the mistake and abuse of this One Thing, which was the Chief Ground and Original of the both *Seeming* and *Real Polytheism*, not only of the Greekish and European, but also of the Egyptian and other Pagans; as will be more particularly declared afterwards: They concluding that because *God was All things*, and consequently *All things God*, that therefore God ought to be Worshipped in *All things*, that is, in all the several *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*; but especially in those Animated Intellectual Beings, which are Superiour to Men. Consentaneously whereunto, they did both Θεολογεῖν ἅπαντα, *Theologize or Deifie all things*, looking upon every thing as having ὑπερφύσιόν τι, *something Supernatural*, or a kind of *Divinity* in it; and also bestow Several Names upon God, according to all the several *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, calling him in the Starry Heaven and *Æther*, *Jupiter*; in the Air, *Juno*; in the Winds, *Æolus*; in the Sea, *Neptune*; in the Earth and Subterraneous Parts *Pluto*; in Learning, Knowledge and Invention, *Minerva* and the *Muses*; in War, *Mars*; in Pleasure, *Venus*; in Corn, *Ceres*; in Wine, *Bacchus*, and the like.

However it is unquestionably Evident from hence, that *Orpheus* with his Followers, that is, the Generality of the Greekish Pagans, acknowledged *One Universal* and *All-comprehending Deity*, *One* that was *All*; and consequently could not admit of Many Self-existent and Independent Deities.

XVIII. Having treated largely concerning the Two most Eminent Polytheists amongst the ancient Pagans, *Zoroaster* and *Orpheus*. and clearly proved that they asserted One Supreme Deity; we shall in the next place observe, that the Egyptians themselves also, notwithstanding their Multifarious *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, had an acknowledgment, amongst them, of One *Supreme*, and *Universal Numen*.

There hath been some Controversie amongst Learned Men, Whether *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* had their first rise from the *Egyptians* or the *Chaldeans*, because the Pagan Writers for the most part give the Precedency here to the Egyptians: *Lucian* himself, who was by Birth
Dea Syria p. 1059. a Syrian, and a diligent enquirer into the Antiquities of his own Country,

Country, affirming that the Syrians and Assyrians received their *Religion* and *Gods* first from the Egyptians : and before *Lucian*, *Herodotus* the Father of History, reporting likewise that the Egyptians were the First, that erected Temples and Statues to the Gods. But whether the Egyptians or Chaldeans were the First *Polytheists* and *Idolaters*, there is is no question to be made, but that the Greeks, and Europeans generally derived their *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* from the Egyptians. *Herodotus* affirms in one place, that the Greeks received their *Twelve Gods* from thence, and in another, that πρέσβυτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα; *Almost all the Names of the Gods, came first out of* Egypt *into* Greece. In what sence this might be true of ζεὺς it self, though the word be Originally Greekish, shall be declared afterwards : But it is probable that *Herodotus* had here a further meaning, that the very Names of many of the Greekish Gods, were originally Egyptian. In order to the confirmation of which, we shall here propound a Conjecture concerning One of them, *viz.* Ἀθηνᾶ, called otherwise by the Greeks *Pallas*, and by the Latins *Minerva*. For first, the Greek Etymologies of this word, seem to be all of them either Trifling and Frivolous, or Violent and Forced. *Plato* in his *Cratylus* having observed, that according to the ancient Allegorical Interpreters of *Homer*, Ἀθηνᾶ, was nothing else but νοῦς or διάνοια, *Mind or Understanding* Personated and Deified, conceived that the first imposers of that Name, intending to signifie thereby Divine Wisdom called it Ἀθηνᾶ, as θεοῦ νόησιν, *The Understanding of God*, or *the Knowledge of Divine things*; as if the Word had been at first Θεονόη, and thence afterward transformed into Ἀθηνᾶ. But being not fully satisfied himself with this Etymology, he afterwards attempts another, deriving the Word from νόησις ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσι, *Knowledge concerning Manners* or *Practical Knowledge*; as if it had been at first Ἠθονόη, and from thence changed into Ἀθηνᾶ. Others of the Greeks have deduced this Word, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθροῖν, because it is the Property of Wisdom, *to collect all into One*, supposing that it was at first Ἀθροινᾶ. Others would fetch it from θῆλυς and *Alpha* Privative, because *Minerva* or Wisdom, though she be a Goddess, yet hath nothing of Feminine Imperfection in her. Others again would etymologize it, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ πεφυκέναι θήνεσθαι ἢ ὑποτάττεσθαι τῷ ἀρετῷ, *because Vertue or Wisdom, is of such a Noble and Generous temper, as that it scorns to subject it self to any base and unworthy servitude.* Lastly, others would derive it, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθρεῖν, affirming it to have been at first Αἰθρηνέα. From all which uncertainty of the Greeks concerning the *Etymon* of this Word, Ἀθηνᾶ, and from the Frivolousness or Forcedness of these Conjectures, we may rather conclude, that it was not originally Greekish but Exotical, and probably, according to *Herodotus*, Egyptian. Wherefore let us try whether or no, we can find any Egyptian Word from whence this Ἀθηνᾶ might be derived. *Plato* in his *Timæus*, making mention of *Sais* a City in *Egypt*, where *Solon* sometime sojourned, tells us, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως θεὸς ἀρχηγὸς ἦν, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τὄνομα Νῖτὶθ, Ἑλλῆνες δέ, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ, *That the President or Tutelar God of that City was called in the Egyptian Language* Neith, *but in the Greek, as the same Egyptians affirm,* Ἀθηνᾶ. Now why might not this very Egyptian word *Neith*, by an easie inversion

have been at firſt turned into *Thien* or Θὴν, (men commonly pronouncing Exotick words ill-favouredly) and then by additional *Alpha's* at the beginning and end, transformed into Ἀθηνᾶ? This ſeems much more probable, than either *Plato's* Θεονόη, or Ἡθονόη, or any other of thoſe Greek Etymologies before-mentioned. And as the Greeks thus derived the Names of many of their Gods from the Egyptians, ſo do the Latins ſeem to have done the like, from this one Inſtance of the word *Neptune*; which though *Varro* would deduce *à nubendo*, as if it had been *Nuptunus*, becauſe the Sea covers and hides the Land, and *Scaliger* with others, ἀπὸ τὸ νίπτειν, *from Waſhing*, this being the chief uſe of Water, yet as the learned *Bochart* hath obſerved, it may with greater probability be derived from the Egyptian word *Nephthus*, *Plutarch* telling us, ὅτι Νέφθυν καλοῦσι τὰ γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ παράλια καὶ φαύλα τῆς θαλάσσης, *That the Egyptians called the Maritime parts of Land, or ſuch as border upon the Sea*, Nephthus. Which Conjecture may be further confirmed from what the ſame *Plutarch* elſewhere writes, that as *Iſis* was the Wife of *Oſiris*, ſo the Wife of *Typhon* was called *Nephthus*. From whence one might collect, that as *Iſis* was taken ſometimes for the Earth, or the Goddeſs preſiding over it, ſo *Nephthus* was the Goddeſs of the Sea. To which may be further added out of the ſame Writer, that *Nephthus* was ſometimes called by the Egyptians Ἀφροδίτη or *Venus*, probably becauſe *Venus* is ſaid to have riſen out of the Sea. But whatever may be thought of theſe Etymological conjectures, certain it is, that no Nation in the world was ever accompted by the Pagans, more Devout, Religious and Superſtitious, than the Egyptians, and conſequently none was more *Polytheiſtical* and *Idolatrous*. *Iſocrates* in his Praiſe of *Buſiris*, gives them a high *Encomium* for their Sanctity; and *Herodotus* affirmeth of them, that they were Δεισιδαίμονες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, *Exceedingly more Religious and more Devout Worſhippers of the Deity, than all other Mortals.* Wherefore they were highly celebrated by *Apollo's* Oracle (recorded by *Porphyrius*) and preferred before all other Nations for teaching rightly, αἰπεῖαν ὁδὸν μαχάρων, *that hard and difficult way that leadeth to God and Happineſs*. But in the Scripture, *Ægypt* is famous for her *Idols* and for her Spiritual *Whoredoms* and *Fornications*; to denote the uncleanneſs whereof, ſhe is ſometimes joyned with *Sodom*. For the Egyptians, beſides all thoſe other Gods that were worſhipped by the Greeks and other Barbarians; beſides the Stars, Demons and Heroes; and thoſe Artificial Gods, which they boaſted ſo much of their power of making, *viz. Animated Statues*; had this peculiar Intoxication of their own, which render'd them infamous and ridiculous even amongſt all the other Pagans, that they worſhipped Brute Animals alſo, in one ſence or other,

Euſeb. Pr. Ev. l. 9. c. 10.

Juv. Sat. 15.

Quis neſcit, Voluſi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa pavet ſaturam ſerpentibus Ibin.

Lib. 3. p. 121. Concerning which *Origen* againſt *Celſus* thus writeth; παρ' οἷς προσόντι μὲν ἔξωθι λαμπρὰ τεμένη, καὶ ἄλση, καὶ προπυλαίων μεγέθη τε καὶ κάλλη καὶ νεὼ θαυμάσιοι, καὶ σηκοὶ περιέξ ἐφήφανοι, καὶ θρησκεῖαι μάλα δεισιδαίμονες καὶ μυσελώπιδες.

σηρεώπιδες· ἤδη ὁ εἰσιόντι, ἐν ἐνδοτέρῳ χωρμένῳ, θεωρεῖται προσκυνούμενον ἄλσος ἢ πίθηκος, ἢ κροκόδειλος, ἢ τράγος, ἢ κύων· *To him that cometh to be a Spectator of the Egyptian Worship, there first offer themselves to his view, most splendid and stately Temples, sumptuously adorned, together with solemn Groves, and many pompous Rites and mystical Ceremonies; but as soon as he enters in, he perceives that it was either a Cat or an Ape, a Crocodile or a Goat, or a Dog, that was the Object of this Religious Worship.*

But notwithstanding this multifarious Polytheism and Idolatry of these Egyptians, that they did nevertheless acknowledge, *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, may first be probably collected, from that great Fame which they had anciently over the whole World for their Wisdom. The Egyptians are called by the *Elei* in *Herodotus*, σοφώτατοι ἀνθρώπων, *The wisest of Men*, and it is a commendation that is given to one in the same Writer, *That he excelled the Egyptians, in wisdom, who excelled all other Mortals.* Thus is it set down in the Scripture, for *Moses* his Encomium, that *he was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians*; and the Transcendency of *Solomon*'s Wisdom is likewise thus expressed, by the Writer of the Book of *Kings*, that it excelled *the Wisdom of all the Children of the East-country, and all the Wisdom of Egypt.* Where by the Children of the East, are chiefly meant the Persian *Magi*, and the Chaldeans; and there seems to be a *Climax* here, that *Solomon*'s Wisdom did not only excel the Wisdom of the *Magi* and of the Chaldeans, but also that of the *Egyptians* themselves. From whence it appears, that in *Solomon*'s time *Egypt* was the chief School of Literature in the whole World, and that the Greeks were then but little or not at all taken notice of, nor had any considerable fame for Learning. For which cause, we can by no means give credit to that of *Philo* in the Life of *Moses*, that besides the Egyptian Priests, Learned men were sent for by *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, out of *Greece* to instruct *Moses.* Whereas it is manifest from the Greekish Monuments themselves, that for many Ages after *Solomon*'s time, the most famous of the Greeks, travell'd into *Egypt* to receive Culture and Literature, as *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Thales* and many others, amongst whom were *Pythagoras* and *Plato.* Concerning the former of which *Isocrates* writes, that coming into *Egypt*, and being there instructed by the Priests, he was the first that brought Philosophy into *Greece:* and the latter of them is perstringed by *Xenophon*, because Αἰγύπτου ἠρᾶτο μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Πυθαγόρου περιττῆς σοφίας, not contented with that simple Philosophy of *Socrates* (which was little else besides Morality) *he was in love with* Egypt, *and that monstrous Wisdom of* Pythagoras. Now as it is not probable that the Egyptians, who were so famous for Wisdom and Learning, should be ignorant of *One Supreme Deity*, so is it no small Argument to the contrary, that they were had in so great esteem by those Two Divine Philosophers, *Pythagoras* and *Plato.* We grant indeed, that after the Greeks began to flourish in all manner of Literature, the Fame of the Egyptians was not only much eclipsed, (so that we hear no more of Greeks travelling into *Egypt* upon the former accompt) but also that their ardour towards the liberal Sciences, did by degrees languish and abate; so that *Strabo* in his time could

could find little more in *Egypt*, besides the empty Houses and Pallaces in which Priests formerly famous for Astronomy and Philosophy had dwelt. Nevertheless their *Arcane Theology* remained more or less amongst them unextinct to the last, as appears from what *Origen*, *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus* have written concerning them.

The Learning of the Egyptians was either *Historical*, or *Philosophical*, or *Theological*. First the Egyptians were famous for their *Historick Learning* and Knowledge of *Antiquity*, they being confessed in *Plato* to have had so much ancienter Records of Time than the Greeks, that the Greeks were but Children or Infants compared with them. They pretended to a continued and uninterrupted series of History, from the Beginning of the World downward, and therefore seem to have had the cleerest and strongest Perswasions of the *Cosmogonia*. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that this Tradition of the World's Beginning, was at first in a manner Universal among all Nations. For concerning the Greeks and Persians we have already manifested the same, and as *Sanchuniathon* testifieth the like concerning the Phenicians, so
L. 15. 715. does *Strabo* likewise of the Indian *Brachmans*, affirming that they did agree with the Greeks in many things and Particularly in this, ὅτι γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος καὶ φθαρτὸς, *That the World was both Made, and should be Destroyed.* And though *Diodorus* affirm the contrary of the Chaldeans,
Euseb. Chron. p. 6. yet we ought in reason to assent rather to *Berosus*, in respect of his greater Antiquity, who represents the sence of the Ancient Chaldeans after this manner, γενέσθαι χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδας—τὸν δὲ Βῆλον, ὃν δία μεθερμηνεύουσι, μέσον τεμόντα τὸ σκότος, χωρίσαι γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ διαστάσαι τὸν κόσμον—ἀποτελέσαι δὲ τὸν Βῆλον καὶ ἄστρα καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς πέντε πλανήτας· *That there was a time when all was Darkness and Water, but* Bell (*who is interpreted* Jupiter) *cutting the Darkness in the middle, separated the Earth and Heaven from one another and so framed the World; this* Bell *also producing the Stars, the Sun and the Moon and the five Planets.* From which Testimony of *Berosus*, according to the Version of *Alexander Polyhistor*, by the way it appears also, that the Ancient Chaldeans acknowledged One Supreme Deity, the Maker of the whole World, as they are also celebrated for this in that Oracle of *Apollo*, which is cited out of *Porphyry* by *Eusebius*,

Eu. P. l. 9. c. 10.

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίῃ λάχον, ἠδ' ἀρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
Αὐτογενέθλιον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἁγνᾶς.

Where the Chaldeans are joyned with the Hebrews, as worshipping likewise in a holy manner, *One Self-existent Deity.* Wherefore if *Diodorus* were not altogether mistaken, it must be concluded, that in the latter times, the Chaldeans (then perhaps receiving the Doctrine of *Aristotle*) did desert and abandon the Tradition of their Ancestors concerning the *Cosmogonia.* But the Egyptians, however they attributed more Antiquity to the World than they ought, yet seem to have had a constant Perswasion of the Beginning of it, and the Firmest of all other Nations: they (as *Kircher* tells us) therefore picturing *Horus* or *the World*, as a *Young man Beardless*, not only to signifie its constant youthful and flourishing Vigour, but also the Youngness and Newness of

of its Duration. Neither ought it to be suspected, that though the Egyptians held the World to have had a Beginning, yet they conceived it to be made by Chance without a God, as *Anaximander*, *Democritus* and *Epicurus* afterwards did; the contrary thereunto being so Confessed a Thing, that *Simplicius* a zealous Contender for the Worlds Eternity, affirms the *Mosaick History* of its Creation by God, to have been nothing else but μύθοι Αἰγυπτίοι, *Egyptian Fables*. The Place is so considerable, that I shall here set it down in the Authors own Language, Εἰ ὁ τὴν παρ' Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτην ἐνθεάζουσαν λέγοντα, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος· καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. εἶτα ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ φῶς, καὶ διαχωρίσαντος ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους, ἐπήγαγε, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος νύκτα· καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωὶ ἡμέρα μία· εἰ δὲν ταύτην τὴν χρόνου νομίζει γένεσιν τὴν ἀπὸ χρόνου, ἐννοείτω ὅτι μυθική τίς ἐστιν ἡ παράδοσις, καὶ ἀπὸ μύθων Αἰγυπτίων ἐλκυσμένη. *If* Grammaticus *here mean the Lawgiver of the Jews, writing thus,* [In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth, and the Earth was invisible and unadorned, and Darkness was upon the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Water:] *and then afterward when he had made Light, and separated the Light from the Darkness, adding* [And God called the Light Day, and the Darkness Night, and the Evening and the Morning were the First Day] *I say, if* Grammaticus *think this to have been the First Generation and Beginning of Time; I would have him to know, that all this is but a Fabulous Tradition, and wholly drawn from Egyptian Fables.* *Simpl. in Aristot. Phys. l. 8. fol. 268. col. 1.*

As for the Philosophy of the Egyptians, That besides their Physiology, and the Pure and Mix'd Mathematicks (Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy) they had another higher kind of Philosophy also, concerning *Incorporeal Substances*, appears from hence, because they were the first Asserters of the *Immortality of Souls*, their *Preexistence* and *Transmigration*, from whence their *Incorporeity* is necessarily inferred. Thus *Herodotus*; πρῶτοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι· τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθινόντος, ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον ἀεὶ γινόμενον εἰσδύεται, &c. *The Egyptians were the first Asserters of the Souls Immortality, and of its Transmigration after the Death and Corruption of this Body, into the Bodies of other Animals successively,* viz. *until it have run round through the whole Circuit of Terrestrial, Marine and Volatile Animals, after which (they say) it is to return again into a Humane Body; they supposing this Revolution or* Apocatastasis *of Souls, to be made in no less space than that of Three Thousand years.* But whether *Herodotus* were rightly Catechized and instructed in the Egyptian Doctrine as to this particular or no, may very well be questioned; because the Pythagoreans whom he there tacitly reprehends for arrogating the first Invention of this to themselves, when they had borrowed it from the Egyptians, did represent it otherwise; namely, That the Descent of Humane Souls into these Earthy Bodies, was first in way of Punishment, and that their sinking lower afterwards into the Bodies of Brutes, was only to some, a further Punishment for their further Degeneracy; but the Vertuous and Pious Souls should after this Life enjoy a state of Happiness, in *Celestial* or *Spiritual Bodies*. *Euterp.* 123.

And

And the Egyptian Doctrine is repreſented after the ſame manner by *Porphyrius* in *Stobæus*, as alſo in the *Hermetick* or *Triſtmegiſtick* Writings. Moreover *Chalcidius* reports, that *Hermes Triſmegiſt*, when he was about to die, made an Oration to this purpoſe, *That he had here lived in this Earthly Body, but an Exile and Stranger, and was now returning home to his own Country, ſo that his Death ought not to be lamented, this Life being rather to be accompted Death.* Which Perſwaſion the Indian *Brachmans* alſo were embued withal, whether they received it from the Egyptians (as they did ſome other things) or no; ἢ μὲν ἐνθάδε βίον, ὡς ἂν ἀκμὴν νυμφῶν ἔναι, τὸ δὲ θάνατον γένεσιν εἰς τὸ ὄντως εἶον, *That this Life here is but the Life of Embryo's, and that Death* [*to good men*] *is a Generation or Birth into true life.* And this may the better be believed to have been the Egyptian Doctrine, becauſe *Diodorus* himſelf, hath ſome Paſſages ſounding that way; as that the Egyptians lamented not the Death of Good men, but applauded their Happineſs, ὡς τὸν αἰῶνα διατελέειν μέλλοντες καθ' ἅδου μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν, *as being to live ever in the other World with the pious.* However it being certain from this Egyptian Doctrine of *Preexiſtence* and *Tranſmigration*, that the Egyptians did aſſert the Souls *Incorporeity*, it cannot reaſonably be doubted, but that they acknowledged alſo, an *Incorporeal Deity*. The Objection againſt which, from what *Porphyrius* writeth concerning *Chæremon*, will be anſwered afterwards.

Strabo L. 15. p. 715.

Domicilia Viventium, Diverſoria appellant, Diod.

We come in the laſt place to the Theology of the Egyptians. Now it is certain, that the Egyptians beſides their Vulgar and Fabulous Theology (which is for the moſt part that which *Diodorus S.* deſcribes) had another ἀπόῤῥητος Θεολογία, *Arcane and Recondite Theology*, that was concealed from the Vulgar and communicated only to the Kings, and ſuch Prieſts and others as were thought capable thereof; Theſe Two Theologies of theirs differing, as *Ariſtotle's Exotericks* and *Acroamaticks*. Thus much is plainly declared by *Origen*, whoſe very name was Egyptian, it being interpreted *Horo-genitus*, (which *Horus* was an Egyptian God) upon occaſion of *Celſus* his boaſting, that he thoroughly underſtood all that belonged to Chriſtianity; *Celſus* (ſaith he) *ſeemeth here to me, to do juſt as if a man travelling into* Egypt, *where the Wiſe men of the Egyptians, according to their Country-Learning Philoſophize much, about thoſe things that are accounted by them Divine, whilſt the Idiots in the mean time, hearing only certain Fables which they know not the meaning of, are very much pleaſed therewith:* Celſus, *I ſay, doth as if ſuch a Sojourner in* Egypt, *who had converſed only with thoſe Idiots, and not been at all inſtructed by any of the Prieſts, in their Arcane and Recondite Myſteries, ſhould boaſt that he knew all that belonged to the Egyptian Theologie.* Where the ſame *Origen* alſo adds, that this was not a thing proper neither to the Egyptians only, to have ſuch an *Arcane and True Theology*, diſtinct from their *Vulgar and Fabulous one*, but common with them to the Perſians, Syrians, and other Barbarian Pagans; ἃ δ' ἔπον καὶ περὶ Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ Περσῶν, &c. *What we have now affirmed* (ſaith he) *concerning the difference betwixt the Wiſe men and the Idiots amongſt the Egyptians, the ſame may be ſaid alſo of the Perſians, amongſt whom the Religious Rites are performed Rationally by thoſe that are ingenious,*

L. 1. p. 11.

genious, whilest the superficial Vulgar look no further in the observation of them, than the external Symbol or Ceremony. And the same is true likewise concerning the Syrians and Indians, and all those other Nations, who have besides their Religious Fables, a Learning and Doctrine. Neither can it be dissembled, that *Origen* in this place plainly intimates the same also concerning Christianity it self; namely that besides the Outside and exteriour *Cortex* of it (in which notwithstanding there is nothing Fabulous) communicated to all, there was a more Arcane and Recondite Doctrine belonging thereunto, which all were not alike capable of; he elsewhere observing this to be that *Wisdom* that St. *Paul* spake *amongst the Perfect*. From whence he concludes that *Celsus* vainly boasted, πάντα γὰρ οἶδα; *For I know all things belonging to Christianity*, when he was acquainted only with the exteriour Surface of it. But concerning the Egyptians this was a thing most notorious and observed by sundry other Writers, as for Example *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, a man also well acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*; Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι τὰ θεῖα σοφίαν ἀνεῖθεντο μυστήρια, οὐδὲ μὴν βεβήλοις τῶν θείων εἴδησιν ἐξέφερον, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνοις γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν διὰ τῶν βασιλείαν προιέναι, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κρίθεῖσιν εἶναι δοκιμωτάτοις, ἀπό τε τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ τῆς παιδείας, καὶ τοῦ γένους· *The Egyptians do not reveal their Religious Mysteries promiscuously to all, nor communicate the knowledge of Divine things to the Profane, but only to those who are to succeed in the Kingdom, and to such of the Priests as are judged most fitly qualified for the same, upon account both of their Birth and Education.* With which agreeth also the Testimony of *Plutarch*, he adding a further Confirmation thereof from the Egyptian *Sphinges*, ὁ ἐκ μαχίμων ἀποδεδειγμένος [βασιλεὺς] εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ μετεῖχε τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὑπαινεττομένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις, ἀμυδρὰς ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσιν· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς ἀδηλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ὑπαινικῶς ἱστάντες, ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἐχούσης· *When amongst the Egyptians there is any King chosen out of the Military Order, he is forthwith brought to the Priests, and by them instructed in that Arcane Theology, which conceals Mysterious Truths under obscure Fables and Allegories. Wherefore they place Sphinges before their Temples, to signifie that their Theology contained a certain Arcane and Enigmatical Wisdom in it.* And this meaning of the *Sphinges* in the Egyptian Temples, is confirmed likewise by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, διὰ τοῦτό τοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἱδρύουται, ὡς αἰνιγματώδους τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἀσαφοῦς ὄντος· *Therefore do the Egyptians place* Sphinges *before their Temples, to declare thereby, that the Doctrine concerning God is Enigmatical and Obscure.* Notwithstanding which, we acknowledge that the same *Clemens* gives another interpretation also of these *Sphinges*, or Conjecture concerning them, which may not be unworthy to be here read, τάχα δ' καὶ ὅτι φιλεῖν τε δεῖ καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον· ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ὡς πρόσουν καὶ ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς ὁσίοις, δεδιέναι δ' ὡς ἀπαραιτήτως δίκαιον τοῖς ἀνοσίοις· διμορφὸν γὰρ ὅμως καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἡ σφὶγξ αἰνίσσεται τῶν εἰκόνα· *But perhaps the meaning of those Egyptian* Sphinges *might be also to signifie, that the Deity ought both to be Loved and Feared; to be Loved as benigne and propitious to the Holy, but to be Feared as inexorably just to the Impious, the* Sphinx *being made up of the Image both of a Man and a Lion.* Moreover besides these *Sphinges*, the Egyptians had

Strom. l. 5. p. 508.

De Is. & Os. 354.

alſo *Harpocrates* and *Sigalions* in their Temples, which are thus deſcribed by the Poet,

Quique premunt vocem, digitóque ſilentia ſuadent.

They being the Statues of Young men preſſing their Lips with their Finger. The meaning of which *Harpocrates* is thus expreſſed by *Plutarch*, *De Iſ. & Oſir.* ὁ δ' Ἁρποκράτην, ὃ θεὸν ἀτελῆ καὶ νήπιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις λόγου νεαρὸν καὶ ἀτελὲς καὶ ἀδιαρθρώτου προσάτην καὶ σωφρονίσιον, διὸ τῷ στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει προσκείμενον, ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς σύμβολον· *The* Harpocrates *of the Egyptians is not to be taken for an Imperfect and Infant God, but for the Preſident of mens Speech concerning the Gods, that is but imperfect, balbutient and inarticulate, and the Regulator or Corrector of the ſame; his Finger upon his Mouth being a Symbol of Silence and Taciturnity.* It is very true that ſome Chriſtians have made another Interpretation of this Egyptian *Harpocrates*, as if the meaning of it had been this; That the Gods of the Egyptians had been all of them really nothing elſe but Mortal Men, but that this was a Secret that was to be concealed from the Vulgar. Which Conceit, however it be witty, yet is it devoid of Truth; and doubtleſs the meaning of thoſe Egyptian *Harpocrates* was no other than this, That either the Supreme and Incomprehenſible Deity was to be adored with Silence, or not ſpoken of without much caution and circumſpection; or elſe that the Arcane Myſteries of Theology were not to be promiſcuouſly communicated, but concealed from the profane Vulgar. Which ſame thing ſeems to have been alſo ſignified, by that yearly Feaſt kept by the Egyptians in honour of *Thoth* or *Hermes*, when the Prieſts eating Honey and Figs, pronounced thoſe words, γλυκὺ ἡ ἀλήθεια, *Truth is ſweet.* As alſo by that Amulet which *Iſis* was fabled to have worn about her, the interpretation whereof, was φώνη ἀληθὴς, *True ſpeech.*

This ἀπόῤῥητος θεολογία, this *Arcane and Recondite Theology* of the Egyptians, was concealed from the Vulgar Two manner of ways, by Fables or Allegories, and by Symbols or Hieroglyphicks. *Euſebius* informs us, that *Porphyrius* wrote a Book περὶ τῆς ἀλληγορουμένης Ἑλλήνων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων θεολογίας, *Concerning the Allegorical Theology both of the Greeks and Egyptians.* And here by the way we may obſerve, that this buſineſs of Allegorizing in matters of Religion, had not its firſt and only Riſe amongſt the Chriſtians, but was a thing very much in uſe among the Pagan Theologers alſo: and therefore *Celſus* in *Origen*, commends ſome of the Chriſtians for this, that they could Allegorize ingeniouſly and handſomly. It is well known how both *Plutarch* and *Syneſius* Allegorized thoſe Egyptian Fables of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, the one to a Philoſophical, the other to a Political ſence. And the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks, which were Figures not anſwering to Sounds or Words, but immediately repreſenting the Objects and Conceptions of the Mind, were chiefly made uſe of by them to this purpoſe, to expreſs the Myſteries of their Religion and Theology, ſo as that they might be concealed from the prophane Vulgar. For which cauſe the *Hieroglyphick Learning* of the Egyptians, is commonly taken for one and the ſame thing with their *Arcane Theology* or *Metaphyſicks*. And this

this the Author of the Queſtions and Anſwers *ad Orthodoxos*, tells us was anciently had in much greater eſteem amongſt the Egyptians, than all their other Learning, and that therefore *Moſes* was as well inſtructed in this Hieroglyphick Learning and Metaphyſical Theology of theirs, as in their Mathematicks. And for our parts we doubt not but that the *Menſa Iſiaca* lately publiſhed, containing ſo many ſtrange and uncouth Hieroglyphicks in it, was ſomething of this ἀπόῤῥητ@ θεολογία, this *Arcane Theology* of the Egyptians, and not meer Hiſtory, as ſome imagine: Though the late confident *Oedipus*, ſeem to arrogate too much to himſelf, in pretending to ſuch a certain and exact Interpretation of it. Now as it is reaſonable to think, that in all thoſe Pagan Nations where there was another Theology beſides the Vulgar, the principal part thereof, was the Doctrine of *One Supreme and Univerſal Deity the Maker of the whole World*, ſo can it not well be conceived, what this ἄῤῥητ@ and ἀπόῤῥητ@ and αἰνιγματώδης θεολογία, this *Arcane* and *Myſterious* and *Enigmatick Theology* of the Egyptians, ſo much talked of, ſhould be other than a kind of *Metaphyſicks* concerning God, as *One Perfect Incorporeal Being, the Original of all things.* Q. 25.

We know nothing of any Moment, that can be objected againſt this, ſave only that which *Porphyrius*, in his Epiſtle to *Anebo* an Egyptian Prieſt, writeth concerning *Chæremon*, χαιρήμων μὲν γὲ, ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῆς ὁρωμένων κόσμων ὑγδύται ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγων τιθέμενοι τὸς Αἰγυπτίων, οὐδ' ἄλλας θεὸς πλὴ τῆς πλανητῆς λεγομένων, ἢ τῆς συμπληρδντων τ ζοδιακόν, &c. Chæremon *and others acknowledge nothing before this Viſible and Corporeal World, alledging for the countenance of their Opinion, ſuch of the Egyptians as talk of no other Gods, but the Planets and thoſe Stars that fill up the Zodiack, or riſe together with them, their Decans, and Horoſcopes, and Robuſt Princes, as they call them; whoſe names are alſo inſerted into their Almanacks or Ephemerides, together with the times of their Riſings and Settings, and the Prognoſticks or ſignifications of future Events from them. For he obſerved that thoſe Egyptians who made the Sun the* Demiurgus *or Architect of the World, interpreted the Stories of* Iſis *and* Oſiris, *and all thoſe other Religious Fables, into nothing but Stars and Planets and the River* Nile, ἢ ὅλως πάντα εἰς τὰ φυζικὰ ἢ ὐδὲν εἰς ἀσωμάτους ἢ ζᾶσας ὐζίας ἐρμηνδύειν; *and referred all things univerſally into Natural or Inanimate, nothing into Incorporeal and Living Subſtances.* Which Paſſage of *Porphyrius* concerning *Chæremon*, we confeſs *Euſebius* lays great ſtreſs upon, endeavouring to make advantage of it, firſt againſt the Egyptians, and then againſt the Greeks and other Pagans, as deriving their Religion and Theology from them; *It is manifeſt from hence*, ſaith he, *that the very Arcane Theology of the Egyptians, Deified nothing but Stars and Planets, and acknowledged no Incorporeal Principle or Demiurgick Reaſon as the Cauſe of this Univerſe, but only the Viſible Sun:* And then he concludes in this manner, *See now what is become of this Arcane Theology of the Egyptians, that deifies nothing but ſenſleſs Matter or Dead Inanimate Bodies.* But it is well known that *Euſebius* took all advantages poſſible, to repreſent the Pagans to the worſt, and render their Theology ridiculous and abſurd; nevertheleſs what he here urgeth againſt the Egyptians, is *Pr. Ev. Lib.* 3. c. 4.

the leſs valuable, becauſe himſelf plainly contradicts it elſewhere, declaring that the Egyptians acknowledged a *Demiurgick Reaſon* and *Intellectual Architect* of the World, which conſequently was the Maker of the Sun; and confeſſing the ſame of the other Pagans alſo. Now to affirm that the Egyptians acknowledged no other Deity than Inanimate Matter and the Senſleſs Corporeal World, is not only to deny that they had any ἀπόῤῥητος θεολογία, any *Arcane Theology* at all, (which yet hath been ſufficiently proved) but alſo to render them *abſolute Atheiſts*. For if this be not Atheiſm to acknowledge no other Deity beſides Dead and Senſleſs Matter, then the word hath no ſignification. *Chæremon* indeed ſeems to impute this Opinion (not to all the Egyptians) but to ſome of them; and it is very poſſible that there might be ſome Atheiſts amongſt the Egyptians alſo, as well as amongſt the Greeks and their Philoſophers. And doubtleſs this *Chæremon* himſelf was a kind of *Aſtrological Atheiſt*; for which cauſe we conclude, that it was not *Chæremon* the Stoick, from whom notwithſtanding *Porphyrius* in his Book of Abſtinence citeth certain other things concerning the Egyptians, but either that *Chæremon* whom *Strabo* made uſe of in *Egypt*, or elſe ſome other of that name. But that there ever was or can be any ſuch *Religious Atheiſts*, as *Euſebius* with ſome others imagine, who though acknowledging no Deity, beſides Dead and Senſleſs Matter, notwithſtanding devoutly court and worſhip the ſame, conſtantly invoking it and imploring its aſſiſtance, as expecting great Benefit to themſelves thereby; This we confeſs is ſuch a thing, as that we have not Faith enough to believe, it being a ſottiſhneſs and contradictious Non-ſence, that is not incident to humane Nature. Neither can we doubt, but that all the devout Pagans, acknowledged *ſome Living and Underſtanding Deities* or other; nor eaſily believe that they ever Worſhipped any Inanimate or Senſleſs Bodies otherwiſe, than as ſome way referring to the ſame, or as Images and Symbols of them. But as for that Paſſage in *Porphyrius* his Epiſtle concerning *Chæremon*, where he only propounds doubts to *Anebo* the Egyptian Prieſt, as deſiring further Information from him concerning them, *Jamblichus* hath given us a full anſwer to it, under the perſon of *Abammo* another Egyptian Prieſt, which notwithſtanding hath not hitherto been at all taken notice of, becauſe *Ficinus* and *Scutellius* not underſtanding the word *Chæremon* to be a Proper name, ridiculouſly turn'd it in their Tranſlations, *Optarem* and *Gauderem*, thereby alſo perverting the whole ſence. The words in the Greek MS. (now in the hands of my Learned Friend Mr. *Gale*) run thus, χαιρήμων δ᾽ οἱ οἵπινες ἄλλοι, τὴν περὶ τὸν κόσμον ἄπτονται πρώτων αἰτίων, τὰς τελευταίας ἀρχὰς ἐξηγοῦνται, ὅσοι τε τὰς πλανήτας, καὶ τὸν ζοδιακὸν, τὰς δ᾽ δεκανὰς, καὶ ὡροσκόπους, καὶ τὰς λεγομένας περαταίας ἡγεμόνας παραδίδουσι, τὰς μεριστὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν διανομὰς ἀναφαίνουσι· τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀλεξανδρικοῖς μέρος τι βραχύτατον περιέχει τῆς ἑρμαϊκῶν διατάξεων, καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστέρων ἢ φάσεων, ἢ νεύσεων, ἢ σελήνης αὐξήσεων, ἢ μιάσεων ἐν τοῖς ἑξάτοις εἶχε τιὼ ἐν αἰγυπτίοις αἰτιολογίαν· φυσικά τε ἀ λέγουσιν εἶναι πάντα αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιὼ τῆ ψυχῆς ζωὴ, καὶ τιὼ νοερῶν ἀπὸ τῆ φύσεως διαιρέσιν· ὃν ἔστι τοῦ παντὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν, νῦν τε καὶ λόγον προσποιοῦνται καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας, ὅτως δημιουργεῖσθαι φασὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα. *But* Chæremon *and thoſe others who pretend to write of the firſt Cauſes of the World, declare only the Laſt and Loweſt Principles, as likewiſe they who*

who treat of the Planets, the Zodiack, the Decans, the Horoſcopes and the Robuſt Princes. And thoſe things that are in the Egyptian Almanacks (or Ephemerides) contain the leaſt part of the Hermaical Inſtitutions, namely the Phaſes and Occultations of the Stars, the Increaſe and Decreaſe of the Moon and the like Aſtrological Matters; which things have the loweſt place in the Egyptian Ætiology. Nor do the Egyptians reſolve all things into (Senſles) Nature, but they diſtinguiſh both the Life of the Soul, and the Intellectual Life, from that of Nature, and that not only in our ſelves, but alſo in the Univerſe; they determining Mind and Reaſon, firſt to have exiſted of themſelves, and ſo this whole World to have been made. Wherefore they acknowledge before the Heaven and in the Heaven a Living Power, and place pure Mind above the World, as the Demiurgus *and Architect thereof.* From which Teſtimony of *Jamblichus*, who was but little Juniour to *Porphyrius*, and Contemporary with *Euſebius*, and who had made it his buſineſs to inform himſelf thoroughly concerning the Theology of the Egyptians, it plainly appears that the Egyptians did not generally ſuppoſe (as *Chæremon* pretended concerning ſome of them) a Senſleſs Inanimate Nature to be the firſt Original of all things, but that as well in the World as in our ſelves, they acknowledged Soul ſuperiour to Nature, and Mind or Intellect ſuperiour to Soul, this being the *Demiurgus* of the World. But we ſhall have afterwards occaſion more opportunely to cite other Paſſages out of this *Jamblichus* his Egyptian Myſteries, to the ſame purpoſe.

Wherefore there is no pretenſe at all to ſuſpect, that the Egyptians were univerſally *Atheiſts* and *Anarchiſts*, ſuch as ſuppoſed no Living Underſtanding Deity, but reſolved all into Senſleſs Matter as the firſt and higheſt Principle; But all the queſtion is whether they were not *Polyarchiſts*, ſuch as aſſerted a Multitude of Underſtanding Deities Self-exiſtent or Unmade. Now that *Monarchy* was an eſſential part of the Arcane and True Theology of the Egyptians *A. Steuchus Eugubinus*, and many other learned men, have thought to be unqueſtionably evident, from the *Hermetick* or *Triſmegiſtick Writings*, they taking it for granted, that theſe are all genuine and ſincere. Whereas there is too much cauſe to ſuſpect that there have been ſome *Pious Frauds* practiſed upon theſe *Triſmegiſtick Writings*, as well as there were upon the *Sibylline*; and that either whole Books of them have been counterfeited by pretended Chriſtians, or at leaſt ſeveral ſpurious and ſuppoſititious Paſſages here and there inſerted into ſome of them. *Iſaac Caſaubon* who was the firſt Diſcoverer, has taken notice of many ſuch, in that firſt Hermetick Book entituled *Pæmander*, ſome alſo in the Fourth Book inſcribed *Crater*, and ſome in the Thirteenth call'd the *Sermon in the Mount, concerning Regeneration*; which may juſtly render thoſe Three whole Books, or at leaſt the Firſt and Laſt of them to be ſuſpected. We ſhal here repeat none of *Caſaubon*'s condemned Paſſages, but add one more to them out of the Thirteenth Book, or *Sermon in the Mount*, which, however omitted by him, ſeems to be more rankly Chriſtian than any other, λέγε μοί τοῦτο, τίς ὁδὸς γενεσιουργὸς τῆς παλιγγενεσίας; ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς, ἄνθρωπος εἷς, θελήματι θεοῦ· *Tell me this alſo, Who is the Cauſe or Worker of Regeneration? The Son of God, One*

One Man, by the will of God. Wherefore though *Ath. Kircherus* contend with much zeal for the sincerity of all these Trismegistick Books; yet we must needs pronounce of the Three forementioned, at least the *Pœmander* properly so called, and *the Sermon in the Mount*, that they were either wholly forged and counterfeited by some pretended Christians, or else had many spurious Passages inserted into them. Wherefore it cannot be solidly proved, from the Trismegistick Books, after this manner, as supposed to be all alike Genuine and sincere, that the Egyptian Pagans acknowledged *One Supreme and Universal Numen.* Much less can the same be evinced from that pretended Aristotelick Book, *De secretiore parte Divinæ Sapientiæ secundùm Ægyptios*, greedily swallowed down also by *Kircherus*, but unquestionably pseudepigraphous.

Notwithstanding which, we conceive that though all the *Trismegistick Books* that now are or have been formerly extant, had been forged by some pretended Christians, as that Book of the *Arcane Egyptian Wisdom*, was by some Philosopher and imputed to *Aristotle*; yet would they for all that upon another accompt, afford no inconsiderable Argument to prove that the Egyptian Pagans asserted One Supreme Deity; *viz.* Because every Cheat and Imposture must needs have some *Basis or Foundation of Truth* to stand upon; there must have been something truly Egyptian, in such counterfeit Egyptian Writings, (and therefore this at least of *One Supreme Deity*) or else they could never have obtained credit at first, or afterwards have maintain'd the same. The rather because these Trismegistick Books were dispersed in those ancient times before the Egyptian Paganism and their Succession of Priests were yet extinct; and therefore had that which is so much insisted upon in them, been dissonant from the Egyptian Theology, they must needs have been presently exploded as meer Lyes and Forgeries. Wherefore we say again, that if all the *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Books* that are now extant, and those to boot, which being mentioned in ancient Fathers have been lost, as the τὰ ῥωικὰ, and the τὰ διεξοδικὰ, and the like, had been nothing but the *Pious Frauds* and *Cheats* of Christians, yet must there needs have been some Truth at the bottom to give subsistence to them; This at least, that *Hermes Trismegist* or the Egyptian Priests, in their *Arcane and True Theology*, really acknowledged *One Supreme and Universal Numen.*

But it does not at all follow that because some of these Hermaick or Trismegistick Books now extant, were counterfeit or supposititious, that therefore all of them must needs be such, and not only so, but those also that are mentioned in the Writings of ancient Fathers which are now lost. Wherefore the Learned *Casaubon* seems not to have reckoned or concluded well, when from the detection of Forgery in Two or Three of those Trismegistick Books at most, he pronounces of them all universally, that they were nothing but *Christian Cheats and Impostures.* And probably he was lead into this mistake, by reason of his too securely following that vulgar Errour (which yet had been confuted by *Patricius*) that all that was published by *Ficinus* under the

the name of *Hermes Trismegist*, was but one and the same Book *Pœmander*, consisting of *several Chapters*, whereas they are all indeed so many Distinct and Independent Books, whereof *Pœmander* is only placed First. However there was no shadow of reason, why the *Asclepius* should have fallen under the same condemnation, nor several other Books superadded by *Patricius*, they being unquestionably distinct from the *Pœmander*, and no signs of Spuriousness or Bastardy discovered in them. Much less ought those *Trismegistick Books*, cited by the Fathers and now lost, have been condemned also Unseen. Wherefore notwithstanding all that *Casaubon* has written, there may very well be some *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Books* Genuine, though all of them be not such; that is, according to our after-declaration, there may be such Books, as were really Egyptian, and not counterfeited by any Christian, though perhaps not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, nor in the Egyptian Language. And as it cannot well be conceived how there should have beeen any counterfeit Egyptian Books, had there been none at all Real, so that there were some Real, and Genuine, will perhaps be rendered probable by these following Considerations.

That there was anciently amongst the Egyptians, such a man as *Thoth*, *Thenth* or *Taut*, who together with Letters, was the First Inventor of Arts and Sciences, as Arithmetick, Geometry, Astronomy, and of the Hieroglyphick Learning, (therefore called by the Greeks *Hermes*, and by the Latins *Mercurius*) cannot reasonably be denied; it being a thing confirmed by general Fame in all Ages, and by the Testimonies not only of *Sanchuniathon* a Phenician Historiographer, who lived about the times of the Trojan War, and wrote a Book concerning the *Theology of the Egyptians*, and *Manethos Sebennyta* an Egyptian Priest, contemporary with *Ptol. Philadelphus*; but also of that grave Philosopher *Plato*, who is said to have sojourned Thirteen years in *Egypt*, that in his *Philebus* speaks of him as the First Inventor of Letters (who distinguished betwixt Vowels and Consonants determining their several Numbers) there calling him either *a God* or *Divine Man*; but in his *Phædrus* attributeth to him also, the Invention of Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy, together with some ludicrous Recreations, making him either a God or Demon, ἤκουσα μὲν Ναύκρατιν τιὼ Αἰγύπτιον, γενέσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖ παλαιῶν τινα θεῶν, ᾧ δὴ τὸ ὄρνεον τὸ ἱερὸν ὃ δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἶβιν, αὐτῷ δ' ὄνομα τῷ δαίμονι εἶναι Θεύθ· *I have heard* (saith he) *that about* Naucratis *in* Egypt, *there was one of the ancient Egyptian Gods, to whom the Bird* Ibis *was sacred, as his Symbol or Hieroglyphick; the name of which Demon was* Theuth. In which place, the Philosopher subjoyns also an Ingenious Dispute, betwixt this *Theuth*, and *Thamus* then King of *Egypt*, concerning the Convenience and Inconvenience of *Letters*; the Former boasting of that Invention ὡς μνήμης δὴ σοφίας φάρμακον, *as a Remedy for Memory and great Help to Wisdom*, but the Latter contending, that it would rather beget *Oblivion*, by the neglect of *Memory*, and therefore was not so properly μνήμης as ὑπομνήσεως φάρμακον, *a Remedy for Memory, as Reminiscence, or the Recovery of things forgotten*: adding, that it would also weaken and enervate Mens Natural Faculties, by slugging them, and rather beget δόξαν σοφίας, than ἀλήθειαν, *a Puffy Conceit and Opinion*

Opinion of Knowledge, by a Multifarious Rabble of Indigested Notions, than *the Truth thereof*. Moreover since it is certain, that the Egyptians were famous for *Literature* before the Greeks, they must of necessity have some One or More Founders of Learning amongst them, as the Greeks had; and *Thoth* is the Only or First Person celebrated amongst them upon this accompt, in remembrance of whom the First Moneth of the Year was called by that Name. Which *Thoth* is generally supposed to have lived in the times of the Patriarchs, or considerably before *Moses*; *Moses himself* being said to have been instructed in that Learning, which owed its Original to him.

Again, besides this *Thoth* or *Theuth*, who was called the *First Hermes*, the Egyptians had also afterwards, another eminent Advancer or Restorer of Learning, who was called Δεύτερος Ἑρμῆς, *The Second Hermes*; They perhaps supposing the Soul of *Thoth* or the First *Hermes* to have come into him by Transmigration; but his proper Egyptian Name was *Siphoas*, as *Syncellus* out of *Manetho* informs us; Σιφωὰς, ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, υἱὸς Ἡφαίστου, Siphoas (*who is also* Hermes) *the Son of* Vulcan. This is he, who is said to have been the Father of *Tat*, and to have been Surnamed Τρισμέγιστος, *Ter Maximus*, (he being so styled by *Manetho*, *Jamblichus* and others.) And he is placed by *Eusebius* in the Fiftieth year after the Israelitish *Exitus*, though probably somewhat too Early. The Former of these Two *Hermes*, was the Inventor of Arts and Sciences, the Latter, the Restorer and Advancer of them: the First wrote in *Hieroglyphicks* upon Pillars, ἐν τῇ Συριακῇ γῇ, (as the learned *Valesius* conjectures it should be read, instead of Σειριαδικῇ.) Which *Syringes* what they were, *Am. Marcellinus* will instruct us; The Second Interpreted and Translated those *Hieroglyphicks*, composing many Books in several Arts and Sciences; the Number whereof set down by *Jamblichus*, must needs be Fabulous, unless it be understood of Paragraphs, or Verses. Which *Trismegistick* or *Hermetick* Books, were said to be carefully preserved by the Priests, in the Interiour Recesses of their Temples.

But besides the Hieroglyphicks written by the First *Hermes*, and the Books composed by the Second (who was called also Trismegist) it cannot be doubted, but that there were Many other Books written by the Egyptian Priests successively in several Ages. And *Jamblichus* informs us, in the beginning of his Mysteries, *That Hermes the God of Eloquence, and President or Patron of all true Knowledge concerning the Gods, was formerly accounted Common to all the Priests, insomuch, that* τὰ αὐτοῦ τῆς σοφίας εὑρήματα αὐτῷ ἀνετίθεσαν, Ἑρμῇ πάντα τὰ οἰκεῖα συγγράμματα ἐπονομάζοντες, *they dedicated the Inventions of their Wisdom to him, entitling their own Books to* Hermes Trismegist. Now though One Reason hereof, might probably have been thought to have been this, because those Books were supposed to have been written, according to the Tenour of the *Old Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Doctrine*; yet *Jamblichus* here acquaints us with the chief Ground of it, namely this, that though *Hermes* was once a Mortal Man, yet he was afterward Deified by the Egygtians (which is testified also by *Plato*)

Plato) and made to be the Tutelar God, and Fautor of all Arts and Sciences, but especially Theology; by whose Inspiration therefore, all such Books were conceived to have been written. Nay further we may observe, that in some of the *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick* Books, now extant, *Hermes* is sometimes put for the *Divine Wisdom* or *Understanding* it self. And now we see the true Reason, Why there have been many Books, called *Hermetical* and *Trismegistical*; Some of which notwithstanding, cannot possibly be conceived to have been of such great Antiquity, nor written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, *viz.* because it was customary with the Egyptian Priests, to entitle their own Philosophick and Theologick Books, to *Hermes*. Moreover it is very probable, that several of the Books of the Egyptian Priests of Latter times, were not Originally written in the Egyptian Language, but the Greek; because at least from the Ptolemaick Kings downward, Greek was become very familiar to all the learned Egyptians, and in a manner vulgarly spoken; as may appear from those very Words, *Hermes*, *Trismegist*, and the like, so commonly used by them, together with the Proper Names of Places, and because the Coptick Language to this very day, hath more of Greek than Egyptian Words in it; nay *Plutarch* ventures to etymologize those Old Egyptian Names, *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Horus* and *Typhon* from the Greek, as if the Egyptians had been anciently well acquainted with that Language.

Now that some of those ancient Hermaick Books, written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, or believed to be such by the Egyptians, and kept in the custody of their Priests, were still in being and extant amongst them, after the times of Christianity, seems to be unquestionable, from the testimony of that Pious and Learned Father *Clemens Alexandrinus*, he giving this particular Accompt of them, after the mentioning of their Opinion concerning the Transmigration of Souls. *Strom. 6. p. 633.*

The Egyptians follow a certain peculiar Philosophy of their own, which may be best declared by setting down the Order of their Religious Processions. First, therefore goes the Precentor, *carrying Two of* Hermes *his Books along with him, the One of which conteins the Hymns of the Gods, the Other Directions for the Kingly Office. After him follows the* Horoscopus, *who is particularly instructed in* Hermes *his Astrological Books, which are Four. Then succeeds the* Hierogrammateus *or Sacred Scribe, with Feathers upon his head, and a Book and Rule in his hands, to whom it belongeth to be thoroughly acquainted with the Hieroglyphicks, as also with Cosmography, Geography, the Order of the Sun and Moon and Five Planets, the Chorography of* Egypt, *and Description of* Nile. *In the next place cometh the* Stolistes, *who is to be thoroughly instructed in those Ten Books, which treat concerning the honour of the Gods, the Egyptian Worship, Sacrifices, First-fruits, Prayers, Pomps, and Festivals. And last of all marcheth the Prophet, who is President of the Temple and Sacred things, and ought to be thoroughly versed in those other Ten Books, called Sacerdotal, concerning Laws, the Gods, and the whole Discipline of the Priests. Wherefore amongst the Books of* Hermes *there are Forty Two accounted most necessary, of which Thirty Six, conteining all the Egyptian Philosophy, were to be learned by those Particular Orders*

before-mentioned; *but the other Six, treating of Medicinal things, by the* Paſtophori. From which place we underſtand, that at leaſt *Forty Two* Books of the ancient *Hermes Triſmegiſt*, or ſuch reputed by the Egyptians, were ſtill extant in the time of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; about Two Hundred years after the Chriſtian *Epocha*.

Furthermore, that there were certain Books really Egyptian, and called *Hermaical* or *Triſmegiſtical* (whether written by the ancient *Hermes Triſmegiſt* himſelf, or by other Egyptian Prieſts of latter times according to the Tenour of his Doctrine, and only entitled to him) which after the times of Chriſtianity began to be taken notice of by other Nations, the Greeks and Latins; ſeems probable from hence, becauſe ſuch Books are not only mentioned and acknowledged by Chriſtian Writers and Fathers, but alſo by Pagans and Philoſophers. In *Plutarch*'s Diſcourſe de *Iſide & Oſiride* we read thus of them, P. 374. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἑρμαϊκαῖς βίβλοις, ἱστόρηται γεγράφθαι, περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι τιὼ μὲν ὅλου τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένην δύναμιν, Ὧρον, Ἕλληνες δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι, τιὼ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος, οἱ μὲν Ὄσιριν, οἱ δὲ Σάραπιν, οἱ δὲ Σωθὶν Αἰγυπτίως· *In the Books called* Hermes's *or Hermaical, it is reported to have been written concerning Sacred Names; that the Power appointed to preſide over the Motion of the Sun, is called by the Egyptians* Horus (*as by the Greeks* Apollo) *and that which preſides over the Air and Wind, is called by ſome* Oſiris, *by others* Sarapis, *and by others* Sothi, *in the Egyptian Language.* Now theſe *Sacred Names* in *Plutarch*, ſeem to be, *Several Names of God*, and therefore whether theſe Hermaick Books of his, were the ſame with thoſe in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ſuch as were ſuppoſed by the Egyptians to have been written by *Hermes Triſmegiſt* himſelf, or other Books written by Egyptian Prieſts according to the Tenour of this Doctrine; We may by the way obſerve, that according to the Hermaical or Triſmegiſtick Doctrine, One and the ſame Deity, was worſhipped under Several *Names* and *Notions*, according to its Several *Powers* and *Vertues*, manifeſted in the World; which is a thing afterwards more to be inſiſted on. Moreover it hath been generally believed, that *L. Apuleius Madaurenſis* an eminent Platonick Philoſopher, and zealous Aſſerter of Paganiſm, was the Tranſlator of the *Aſclepian Dialogue* of *Hermes Triſmegiſt*, out of Greek into Latin; which therefore hath been accordingly publiſhed with *Apuleius* his Works. And *Barthius* affirms that St. *Auſtin* does ſomewhere expreſly impute this Verſion to *Apuleius*, but we confeſs we have not yet met with the place. However there ſeems to be no ſufficient reaſon, why *Colvius* ſhould call this into Queſtion, from the Stile and Latin. Again it is certain, that *Jamblichus* doth not only mention theſe *Hermaick Books*, under the name of τὰ φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμοῦ, *the Books that are carried up and down as* Hermes's *or vulgarly imputed to him*; but alſo vindicate them from the imputation of Impoſture. Not as if there were any ſuſpicion at all of that which *Caſaubon* is ſo confident of, that theſe Hermaick Books were all forged by Chriſtians, but becauſe ſome might then poſſibly imagine them to have been counterfeited by Philoſophers. Wherefore it will be convenient here to ſet down the whole Paſſage of *Jamblichus* concerning it, as it is in the Greek MS. Διὰ δὲ ἐνηθέντων ἐν τούτων ἔτι, καὶ τῶν

ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν οἷς λέγει ἐπιτυγχάνειν, σαφὴς ἔξιν ἡ διάλυσις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ φερόμενα, ὡς Ἑρμῆ, ἑρμαϊκὰς ἀληθεῖς δόξας, εἰ καὶ τῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων γλώττῃ πολλάκις χρῆται· μεταγέγραπται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰγυπτίας γλώττης ὑπ ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπείρως ἐχόντων. Χαιρήμων δὲ, &c. *These things being thus discussed and determined, the Solution of that difficulty, from those Books which* Porphyrius *saith he met withal, (namely the Hermaicks, and those Writings of* Chæremon) *will be clear and easie. For the Books vulgarly imputed to* Hermes, *do really contain the Hermaick Opinions and Doctrines in them, although they often speak the language of Philosophers, the reason whereof is, because they were translated out of the Egyptian tongue, by men not unacquainted with Philosophy. But* Chæremon *and those others*, &c. Where it is First observable, that *Jamblichus* doth not affirm, these Hermaick Books to have been written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, he calling them only τὰ φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμῆ, *the Books that were carried about as* Hermes's. But that which he affirmeth of them is this, *That they did really contain the Hermaical Opinions, and derive their Original from* Egypt. Again whereas some might then possibly suspect, that these Hermaick Books had been counterfeited by Greek Philosophers, and contained nothing but the Greek Learning in them, because they speak so much the Philosophick Language; *Jamblichus* gives an accompt of this also, that the reason hereof was, *because they were translated out of the Egyptian Language, by men skilled in the Greek Philosophy*, who therefore added something of their own Phrase and Notion to them. It is true indeed, that most of these *Hermaick Books* which now we have, seem to have been written originally in Greek, notwithstanding which, others of them and particularly those that are now lost, as the Τὰ γενικὰ, and the like, might as *Jamblichus* here affirmeth, have been translated out of the Egyptian Tongue, but by their Translators disguised with Philosophick Language and other Grecanick things intermixed with them. Moreover from the forecited Passage of *Jamblichus*, we may clearly collect, that *Porphyrius* in his Epistle to *Anebo* the Egyptian Priest (of which Epistle there are only some small fragments left) did also make mention of these *Hermaick Writings*; and whereas he found the Writings of *Chæremon* to be contradictious to them, therefore desired to be resolved by that Egyptian Priest, whether the Doctrine of those *Hermaick Books*, were genuine and truly Egyptian, or no. Now *Jamblichus* in his answer here affirmeth, that the Doctrine of the ancient *Hermes*, or the Egyptian Theology, was as to the Substance truly represented in those Books, (vulgarly imputed to *Hermes*,) but not so by *Chæremon*. Lastly, St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* informs us, that there was an Edition of these *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Books* (compiled together) formerly made at *Athens*, under this Title, Ἑρμαϊκὰ πενταικαίδεκα βιβλία, *Fifteen Hermaick Books*. Which Hermaicks, *Casaubon*, conceiving them to have been published before *Jamblichus* his time, took them for those *Salaminiaca*, which he found in the Latin Translations of *Jamblichus* made by *Ficinus* and *Scutellius*. Whereas indeed he was here abused by those Translators, there being no such thing to be found in the Greek Copy. But the word ἀλμωνιακὰ, (not understood by them) being turned into *Salaminiaca*; *Casaubon* there-

C. Jul. L. 1.

therefore conjectur'd them to have been those *Hermaick Books* published at *Athens*, because *Salamin* was not far distant from thence. Now it cannot be doubted, but that this Edition of Hermaick Books at *Athens*, was made by some Philosopher or Pagans and not by Christians, this appearing also from the words of St. *Cyril* himself, where having spoken of *Moses* and the agreement of *Hermes* with him, he adds, πεποίηται ὃ ἡμῖν τότε μνήμιον, ἐν ἰδίαις συγγραφαῖς, ὁ συντιθεικὼς Ἀθιβγι, τὰ ὄπιλλω Ἑρμαϊκὰ πεντεκαιδεκα βιβλία· *Of which* Moses *he also who compiled and published the Fifteen Hermaick Books at* Athens, *makes mention in his own discourse* (annexed thereunto.) For thus we conceive that place is to be understood, that the Pagan Publisher of the Hermaick Books himself, took notice of some agreement that was betwixt *Moses* and *Hermes*. But here it is to be noted that because *Hermes* and the Hermaick Books were in such great credit not only amongst the Christians, but also the Greek and Latin Pagans, therefore were there some counterfeit Writings obtruded also under that specious Title; such as that Ancient Botanick Book mentioned by *Galen*, and those Christian Forgeries of later times the *Pæmander* and *Sermon on the Mount*. Which being not cited by any ancient Father or Writer, were both of them doubtless Later than *Jamblichus*, who discovers no suspicion of any Christian Forgeries in this kind.

But *Casaubon*, who contends that all the Theologick Books imputed to *Hermes Trismegist*, were counterfeited by Christians, affirms, all the Philosophy, Doctrine and Learning of them (excepting what only is Christian in them) to be merely *Platonical* and *Grecanical* but not at all *Egyptian*; thence concluding, that these Books were forged by such Christians, as were skilled in the Platonick or Grecanick Learning. But First, it is here considerable, that since Pythagorism, Platonism and the Greek Learning in general, was in great part derived from the Egyptians, it cannot be concluded, that whatsoever is Platonical or Grecanical, therefore was not Egyptian. The only Instance that *Casaubon* insists upon, is this *Dogma* in the Trismegistick Books, *That Nothing in the World perisheth, and that Death is not the Destruction, but Change and Translation of Things only:* Which because he finds amongst some of the Greek Philosophers, he resolves to be peculiar to them only, and not common with the Egyptians. But since the chief design and tendency of that *Dogma*, was plainly to maintain the *Immortality, preexistence and Transmigration of Souls* which Doctrine was unquestionably derived from the Egyptians, there is little reason to doubt but that this *Dogma* was it self Egyptian also. And *Pythagoras*, who was the chief Propagator of this Doctrine amongst the Greeks, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲ φθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, *That no real Entity* (in Generations and Corruptions) *was Made or destroyed*, according to those Ovidian Verses before cited,

> *Nec perit in toto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo,*
> *Sed variat faciemque novat. Nascique vocatur*
> *Incipere esse Aliud*, &c.

did in all probability, derive it together with its superstructure,

cture, (the *Preexistence* and *Transmigration* of Souls,) at once from the Egyptians. But it is observable, that the Egyptians had also a peculiar ground of their own, for this *Dogma* (which we do not find insisted upon by the Greek Philosophers) and it is thus expressed in the Eighth of *Ficinus* his Hermetick Books or Chapters; εἰ ὁ δὲ κόσμος θεὸς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ζῶον ἀθάνατον, ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τῶν ἀθανάτων ζώων μέρος τι ἀποθανεῖν· πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, μέρη ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον· *If the World be a Second God and an Immortal Animal, then is it impossible that any part of this Immortal Animal should perish or come to nothing; but all things in the World are Parts of this great Mundane Animal, and chiefly Man, who is a Rational Animal.* Which same Notion we find also insisted on in the Asclepian Dialogue; *Secundum Deum hunc crede, ô* Asclepi, *omnia gubernantem, omniaque mundana illustrantem animalia. Si enim Animal, Mundus, vivens, semper & fuit & est & erit, nihil in mundo mortale est: viventis enim uniuscujusque Partis, quæ in ipso mundo, sicut in uno eodemque Animale semper vivente, nullus est mortalitatis locus.* Where though the Latin be a little imperfect, yet the sence is this; *You are to believe the World, ô* Asclepius, *to be a Second God, governing all things, and illustrating all Mundane Animals. Now if the World be a Living Animal, and Immortal; then there is nothing Mortal in it, there being no place for mortality as to any Living Part or Member, of that Mundane Animal, that always Liveth.* Notwithstanding which we deny not, but that though *Pythagoras* First derived this Notion from the Egyptians, yet he and his Followers might probably improve the same farther (as *Plato* tells us, that the Greeks generally did, what they received from the Barbarians) namely to the taking away the *Qualites and Forms of Bodies*, and resolving all Corporeal Things, into *Magnitude, Figure and Motion.* But that there is indeed some of the old Egyptian Learning, contained in these *Trismegistick Books* now extant, shall be clearly proved afterwards, when we come to speak of that *Grand Mystery* of the *Egyptian Theology* (derived by *Orpheus* from them) *That God is All.* To conclude, *Jamblichus* his judgment in this case, ought without controversie, to be far preferred before *Casaubon*'s, both by reason of his great Antiquity, and his being much better skilled, not only in the Greek, but also the Egyptian Learning; That the Books imputed to *Hermes Trismegist* did Ἑρμαϊκὰς ἐμφέρειν δόξας, *really contain the Hermaick Opinions*, though they spake sometimes the Language of the Greek Philosophers.

Wherefore upon all these Considerations, we conceive it reasonable to conclude, that though there have been some *Hermaick Books* counterfeited by Christians, since *Jamblichus* his time, as namely the *Pæmander* and *The Sermon in the Mount, concerning Regeneration*; neither of which are found cited by any ancient Father; yet there were other *Hermaick Books* which though not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, nor all of them in the Egyptian Language, but some of them in Greek, were truly *Egyptian*, and did for the substance of them, contain the *Hermaick Doctrine.* Such probably were those mentioned by the Ancient Fathers, but since lost, as the τὰ γενικὰ, which seems to have been a discourse concerning the *Cosmogonia*, and the

the τὰ διεξοδικὰ, and the like. And such also may some of these *Hermaick Books* be, that are still extant, as to instance particularly, the *Asclepian Dialogue*, entituled in the Greek ὁ τέλειος λόγος, *the Perfect Oration*, and in all probability translated into Latin by *Apuleius*. For it can hardly be imagined, that he who was so devout a Pagan, so learned a Philosopher, and so Witty a man, should be so far imposed upon, by a counterfeit *Trismegistick Book*, and mere *Christian Cheat*, as to bestow Translating upon it, and recommend it to the World, as that which was genuinely Pagan. But however, whether *Apuleius* were the Translator of this Asclepian Dialogue or no, it is evident that the Spirit of it is not at all Christian, but rankly Pagan; one Instance whereof we have, in its glorying of a power that men have of *Making Gods*, upon which accompt St. *Austin* thought fit to concern himself in the confutation of it. Moreover it being extant and vulgarly known before *Jamblichus* his time, it must needs be included in his τὰ φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμοῦ, and consequently receive this attestation from him, that it did contain not merely the *Greekish*, but the *Hermaical and Egyptian Doctrine*.

There are indeed some Objections made against this, as first from
Pag. 607. Col. what we read in this Dialogue, concerning the *Purgation of the World* partly by *Water*, and partly by *Fire*; *Tunc ille Dominus & Pater Deus, Primipotens, & Unus Gubernator mundi, intuens in mores factaque hominum, voluntate sua (quæ est Dei Benignitas) vitiis resistens, & corruptelæ errorem revocans, malignitatem omnem vel Alluvione diluens, vel igne consumens, ad antiquam faciem mundum revocabit: When the World becomes thus Degenerate, then that Lord and Father, the Supreme God, and the only Governour of the World, beholding the manners and deeds of men, by his Will (which is his Benignity) always resisting vice, and restoring things from their Degeneracy, will either wash away the Malignity of the World by Water, or else consume it by Fire, and restore it to its ancient form again.* But since we find in *Julius Firmicus*, that there was a *Tradition* amongst the Egyptians, concerning the *Apocatastasis* of the World, *partim per* κατακλυσμὸν, *partim per* ἐκπύρωσιν, *partly by Inundation and partly by Conflagration*, this Objection can signifie nothing. Wherefore there is another Objection, that hath some more plausibility, from that Prophecy which we find in this *Asclepius*, concerning the overthrow of the Egyptian Paganism (ushered in with much Lamentation) in these words, *Tunc Terra ista, sanctissima sedes Delubrorum, Sepulchrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima; Then this Land of* Egypt, *formerly the most holy seat of the Religious Temples of the Gods, shall be every where full of the Sepulchers of Dead men.*
Civ. D. L. 8. c. 26. The sence whereof is thus expressed by St. *Austin*, *Hoc videtur dolere, quod Memoriæ Martyrum nostrorum, Templis eorum Delubrisque succederent; ut viz. qui hæc legunt, animo à nobis averso atque perverso, putent à Paganis Deos cultos fuisse in Templis, à nobis autem colli Mortuos in Sepulchris: He seems to lament this, that the Memorials of our Martyrs should succeed in the place of their Temples, that so they who read this with a perverse mind, might think that by the Pagans the Gods were worshipped in Temples, but by us* (Christians) *Dead men in Sepulchers.* Notwithstanding which, this very thing seems to have had its accom-

compliſhment too ſoon after, as may be gather'd from theſe Paſſages of *Theadoret*, ἐκ γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν καλουμένων θεῶν, τὴν μνήμην ; ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξήλειψαν (οἱ μάρτυρες) διανοίας. *Now the Martyrs have utterly abo-* De Cur. G. A; L 8: *liſhed and blotted out of the minds of men, the memory of thoſe who were formerly called Gods.* And again, τὸς γὰρ οἰκείους νεκρὸς ὁ δεσπότης ; ἀντέζηξε τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς, καὶ τὸς μὲν φέρετρος ἀπέφηνε τούτοις ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκείνων ἀπένειμε γέρας, &c. *Our Lord hath now brought his Dead* (that is his Martyrs) *into the room and place* (that is the Temples) *of the Gods ; whom he hath ſent away empty, and beſtowed their honour upon theſe his Martyrs. For now in ſtead of the Feſtivals of* Jupiter and Bacchus, *are celebrated thoſe of* Peter *and* Paul, Thomas *and* Sergius, *and other holy Martyrs.* Wherefore this being ſo ſhrewd and plain a Deſcription in the Aſclepian Dialogue, of what really happened in the Chriſtian World, it may ſeem ſuſpicious, that it was rather a Hiſtory, written after the Event, than a Prophecy before it, as it pretends to be. It very much reſembling that complaint of *Eunapius Sardianus* in the Life of *Ædeſius*, when the Chriſtians had demoliſhed the Temple of *Serapis* in *Egypt*, ſeizing upon its Riches and Treaſure, *That inſtead of the Gods, the Monks then gave Divine honour to certain vile and flagitious perſons deceaſed, called by the name of Martyrs.* Now if this be granted, this Book muſt needs be Counterfeit and ſuppoſititious. Nevertheleſs St. *Auſtin* entertained no ſuch Suſpicion, concerning this *Aſclepian Paſſage*, as if it had been a Hiſtory written after the Fact, that is, after the *Sepulchers* and *Memorials* of the Martyrs came to be ſo frequented ; he ſuppoſing this Book to be unqueſtionably, of greater Antiquity. Wherefore he concludes it to be a Prophecy or Prediction made, *inſtinctu fallacis Spiritûs, by the Inſtinct or Suggeſtion of ſome Evil Spirit* ; they ſadly then preſaging the ruine of their own Empire. Neither was this *Aſclepian Dialogue* only ancienter than St. *Auſtin*, but it is cited by *Lactantius Firmianus* alſo, under the name of ὁ τέλειος λόγος, *the Perfect Oration*, as was ſaid before, and that as a thing then reputed of great Antiquity. Wherefore in all probability this *Aſclepian Paſſage*, was written before that deſcribed Event had its accompliſhment. And indeed if *Antoninus* the Philoſopher (as the forementioned *Eunapius* writes) did predict the very ſame thing, that after his deceaſe, that magnificent Temple of *Serapis* in *Ægypt*, together with the reſt, ſhould be demoliſhed, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τάφους γενήσεσθαι, *and the Temples of the Gods turned into Sepulchres* ; why might not this *Egyptian or Triſmegiſtick Writer*, receive the like Inſpiration or Tradition? Or at leaſt make the ſame Conjucture.

But there is yet another Objection made againſt the Sincerity of this *Aſclepian Dialogue*, from *Lactantius* his citing a Paſſage out of it, for the *Second Perſon* in the *Trinity*, *the Son of God* ; Hermes *in eo Libro* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *qui* ὁ τέλειος λόγος *inſcribitur*, *his uſus eſt verbis*, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ πάντων ποιητὴς, ὃν θεὸν καλεῖν νενομίκαμεν, ἐπεὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἐποίησε θεὸν, ὁρατὸν καὶ αἰσθητὸν (αἰσθητὸν δὲ φημι ὃ διὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι αὐτῷ, περὶ γὰρ τούτου ἐστὶ πότερον αὐτὸς αἰσθητὸς, ἀλλ' ὅτι εἰς αἴσθησιν ὑποπέμπει καὶ ἐς νοῦν) ἐπεὶ τοῦτον ἐποίησε, πρῶτον, καὶ μόνον, καὶ ἕνα, καλὸς ἦ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ, καὶ πληρήσαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἠγάσθη τε καὶ πάνυ ἐφίλησεν ὡς ἴδιον τόκον. *Lib. 4. cap. 6.*

Which

Which we find in *Apuleius* his Latin Tranſlation thus rendered, *Dominus & omnium Conformator, quem rectè Deum dicimus, à ſe Secundum Deum fecit, qui videri & ſentiri poſſit; quem Secundum* [*Deum*] *ſenſibilem ita dixerim, non ideo quod ipſe ſentiat (de hoc enim an ipſe ſentiat annon alio dicemus tempore) ſed eo quod videntium ſenſus incurrit:) Quoniam ergo hunc fecit ex ſe Primum, & à ſe Secundum, viſuſque eſt ei pulcher, utpote qui eſt omnium bonitate pleniſſimus, amavit eum ut Divinitatis ſuæ Prolem* (for ſo it ought to be read, and not *Patrem*, it being τόκον in the Greek:) *The Lord and Maker of all, whom we rightly call God, when he had made a Second God, Viſible and Senſible (I ſay, ſenſible, not actively, becauſe himſelf hath Senſe, for concerning this, whether he have Senſe or no, we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere, but paſſively, becauſe he incurrs into our Senſes) this being his Firſt and Only Production, ſeemed both beautiful to him, and moſt full of all good, and therefore he loved him dearly as his own Offspring.* Which *Lactantius*, and after him St. *Auſtin*, underſtanding of the Perfect Word of God or Eternal λόγος, made uſe of it as a Teſtimony againſt the Pagans, for the Confirmation of Chriſtianity, they taking it for granted that this Hermaick Book was genuinely Egyptian and did repreſent the Doctrine of the ancient *Hermes Triſmegiſt*. But *Dionyſius Petavius* and other later Writers, underſtanding this place in the ſame ſence with *Lactantius* and St. *Auſtin*, have made a quite different uſe of it, namely, to inferr from thence, that this Book was Spurious and Counterfeited by ſome Chriſtian. To which we reply, Firſt, that if this Hermaick Writer had acknowledged, an Eternal λόγος or *Word of God* and called it *a Second God* and *the Son of God*, he had done no more in this, than *Philo* the Jew did, who ſpeaking of this ſame λόγος expreſly calls it δεύτερον θεὸν and πρωτόγονον υἱὸν θεοῦ, *the Second God* and *the Firſt Begotten Son of God*. Notwithſtanding which, thoſe Writings of *Philo*'s are not at all ſuſpected. And *Origen* affirms that ſome of the Ancient Philoſophers did the like, *Multi Philoſophorum Veterum, Unum eſſe Deum qui cuncta crearit, dixerunt; atque in hoc conſentiunt Legi. Aliquanti autem hoc adjiciunt, quod Deus cuncta per Verbum ſuum fecerit & regat, & Verbum Dei ſit, quo cuncta moderentur; in hoc non ſolùm Legi, ſed & Evangelio quoque conſona ſcribunt. Many of the old Philoſophers* (that is all beſides a few Atheiſtick ones) *have ſaid, that there is One God who created all things, and theſe agree with the Law: but ſome add further, that God made all things by his Word, and that it is the Word of God, by which all things are governed, and theſe write conſonantly not only to the Law but alſo to the Goſpel.* But whether *Philo* derived this Doctrine from the Greek Philoſophers, or from the Egyptians and *Hermes Triſmegiſt*, he being an Alexandrian, may well be a Queſtion. For St. *Cyril* doth indeed cite ſeveral Paſſages out of Hermaick Writings then extant, to this very purpoſe. We ſhall only ſet down one of them here; ὁ κόσμος ἔχει ἄρχοντα ἐπιμελούμενον δημιουργὸν λόγον τοῦ πάντων δεσπότου, ὃς μετ' ἐκεῖνον πρώτη δύναμις, ἀγήρατος, ἀπέραντος, ἐξ ἐκείνου προκύψασα, καὶ ἐπιβλέπουσα, καὶ ἀρχὴ τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ δημιουργηθεῖσιν· ἔστι δὲ τοῦ παντελείου πρόγονος καὶ τέλειος καὶ γόνιμος γνήσιος υἱός· *The World hath a Governour ſet over it, that Word of the Lord of all, which was the Maker of it; this is the firſt Power after himſelf, Uncreated, Infinite, looking out from him, and ruling*

Colv. p. 588.

In Gen. Hom. 14.

Con Jul. lib. 1. p. 33.

ruling over all things that were made by him; this is the Perfect and genuine Son of the first Omniperfect Being. Nevertheless the Author of the τέλειος λόγος or Asclepian Dialogue, in that forecited Passage of his, by his Second God, the Son of the First, meant no such thing at all, as the *Christian Logos*, or *Second Person of the Trinity*, but only the *Visible World*. Which is so plain from the words themselves, that it is a wonder how *Lactantius* and St. *Austin* could interpret them otherwise, he making therein a Question whether this Second God were [actively] Sensible or no. But the same is farther manifest from other places of that Dialogue, as this for example, *Æternitatis Dominus Deus Primus est, Secundus est Mundus*; *The Lord of Eternity is the First God, but the Second God is the World.* And again, *Summus qui dicitur Deus Rector Gubernatorque Sensibilis Dei, ejus qui in se complectitur omnem locum, omnemque rerum substantiam*; *The Supreme God is the Governour of that Sensible God, which contains in it all place and all the Substance of things.* And that this was indeed a part of the Hermaick or Egyptian Theology, that the Visible World Animated, was a *Second God*, and *the Son of the First God*, appears also from those Hermaick Books published by *Ficinus*, and vulgarly called *Pœmander*, though that be only the First of them. There hath been one Passage already cited out of the Eighth Book, δεύτερος θεὸς ὁ κόσμος, *The World is a Second God.* After which followeth more to the same purpose, πρῶτος γὰρ πάντων ὄντως, ἀίδιος καὶ ἀγένητος, καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων θεός· δεύτερος δὲ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεχόμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος καὶ ἀθανατιζόμενος, ὡς ὑπ' ἰδίου πατρός· *The First God is that Eternal Unmade Maker of all things; the Second is he that is made according to the Image of the First, which is contained, cherished or nourished and immortalized by him, as by his own Parent, by whom it is made an Immortal Animal.* So again in the Ninth Book, πατὴρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ὁ μὲν κόσμος υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; *God is the Father of the World, and the World is the Son of God.* And in the Twelfth, ὁ δὲ σύμπας κόσμος ἔστος ὁ μέγας θεὸς καὶ τοῦ μείζονος εἰκών, *This whole World is a Great God and the Image of a Greater.*

As for the other *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Books*, published partly by *Ficinus*, and partly by *Patricius*, we cannot confidently comdemn any of them for *Christian Cheats* or *Impostures*, save only the *Pœmander*, and *the Sermon in the Mount concerning Regeneration*, the *First* and *Thirteenth* of *Ficinus* his Chapters or Books. Neither of which Books are cited by any of the Ancient Fathers, and therefore may be presumed not to have been extant in *Jamblichus* his time, but more lately forged; and that probably by one and the self same hand, since the Writer of the *Latter* (*the Sermon in the Mount*) makes mention of the *Former* (that is, the *Pœmander*) in the close of it. For that which *Casaubon* objects against the *Fourth* of *Ficinus* his Books or Chapters (entituled the *Crater*) seems not very considerable, it being questionable, whether by the *Crater*, any such thing were there meant, as the Christian *Baptisterion*. Wherefore as for all the rest of those *Hermaick Books*, especially such of them as being cited by ancient Fathers, may be presumed to have been extant be-

fore *Jamblichus* his time; we know no reaſon why we ſhould not concurr with that learned Philoſopher in his Judgment concerning them, That though they often ſpeak the *Language of Philoſophers*, and were not written by *Hermes Triſmegiſt* himſelf, yet they do really contain δόξας Ἑρμαϊκὰς, *Hermaical Opinions*, or *the Egyptian Doctrine*. The Ninth of *Ficinus* his Books mentions the *Aſclepian Dialogue*, under the Greek Title of ὁ τέλειος λόγος, pretending to have been written by the ſame hand; χθὲς ὦ Ἀσκλήπιε, ἢ Τέλφον ἀποδέδωκα λόγον, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι ἀπόλογον ἐκείνῳ, περὶ τῆς περὶ αἰσθήσεως λόγον διεξελθεῖν. The meaning of which place (not underſtood by the Tranſlator) is this; *I lately publiſhed* (O Aſclepius) *the Book entituled* ὁ Τέλφος λόγος (or the Perfect Oration) *and now I judge it neceſſary, in purſuit of the ſame, to diſcourſ concerning Senſe.* Which Book, as well as the Perfect Oration, is cited by *Lactantius*. As is alſo the Tenth of *Ficinus*, called the *Clavis*, which does not only pretend to be of kin to the Ninth and conſequently to the *Aſclepius* likewiſe, but alſo to contain in it an Epitome of that Hermaick Book called τὰ γενικὰ, mentioned in *Euſebius* his *Chronicon*, ἢ χθὲς λόγον, ὦ Ἀσκλήπιέ, σοι ἀνέθηκα, ἢ ὁ σύμμετρον δίκαιόν ἐστι τῷ Τατ ἀναθεῖναι ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷδε γενικῶν λόγων, τῷδε πρὸς αὐτὸν λελαλημένων, ἐξὸν ἐπιτομή. *My former Diſcourſe was dedicated to thee* (O Aſclepius) *but this to* Tatius, *it being an Epitome of thoſe* Genica *that were delivered to him.* Which γενικὰ are thus again afterwards mentioned in the ſame Book, οὐκ ἤκουσας ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς, ὅτι ἀπὸ μιᾶς ψυχῆς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσιν; *Have you not heard in the* Genica, *that all Souls are derived from one Soul of the Univerſe?* Neither of which two places were underſtood by *Ficinus*. But doubtleſs this latter *Hermaick Book*, had ſomething foiſted into it, becauſe there is a manifeſt contradiction found therein; foraſmuch as that *Tranſmigration of Humane Souls into Brutes*, which in the former part thereof is aſſerted after the Egyptian way, ὡς καταδίκη ψυχῆς κακῆς, *as the juſt puniſhment of the wicked*, is afterwards cried down and condemned in it, as the greateſt Error. And the Eleventh and Twelfth following Books, ſeem to us to be as *Egyptian*, as any of the reſt; as alſo does that long Book entituled, κόρη κόσμου, *the Thirteenth* in *Patricius*. Nay it is obſervable, that even thoſe very Books themſelves, that are ſo juſtly ſuſpected and condemned for *Chriſtian Forgeries*, have ſomething of *the Hermaical or Egyptian Philoſophy*, here and there interſperſed in them. As for example, when in the *Pœmander* God is twice called ἀρρενόθηλυς, *Male and Female together*, this ſeems to have been Egyptian (and derived from thence by *Orpheus*) according to that elegant Paſſage in the Aſclepian Dialogue concerning God; *Hic ergo qui Solus eſt Omnia, utriuſque Sexûs fœcunditate pleniſſimus, ſemper Voluntatis ſuæ pregnans, parit ſemper quicquid voluerit procreare; He therefore who alone is All Things, and moſt full of the Fecundity of both Sexes, being always pregnant of his own Will, always produceth whatſoever he pleaſeth.* Again when Death is thus deſcribed in it, παραδίδοναι τὸ σῶμα εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ὃ ἔχεις, εἰς ἀφανὲς γίνεσθαι, *to be nothing elſe but the Change of the Body, and the Form or Life paſſing into the Inviſible:* This agreeth with that in the Eleventh Book or Chapter, τῷ μεταβολὴν θάνατον εἶναι, διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα διαλύεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ζωὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς χωρεῖν, *That Death is nothing but a Change, it being*

being only the diſſolution of the Body, and the Life or Soul's paſſing into the Inviſible or Inconſpicuous. In which Book it is alſo affirmed of the World, γίνεσθαι μέρος αὐτῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εἰς τὸ ἀφανές; *That every day ſome part or other of it, goes into the Inviſible, or into* Hades, that is, does not utterly periſh, but only diſappears to our ſight, it being either tranſlated into ſome other Place, or changed into another Form. And accordingly it is ſaid of Animals, in the Twelfth Book, διαλύεται, οὐχ ἵνα ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἵνα νέα γένηται, *That they are diſſolved by Death, not that they might be deſtroyed, but made again anew.* As it is alſo there affirmed of the World, that it doth πάντα ποιεῖν ἢ εἰς ἑαυτὸ ἀποποιεῖν, *make all things out of it ſelf, and again unmake them into it ſelf,* ἢ διαλύων πάντα ἀνανεοῖ, *and that diſſolving all things it doth perpetually renew them.* For that nothing in the whole World utterly periſheth, as it is often declared elſewhere in theſe *Triſmegiſtick Writings*, ſo particularly in this Twelfth Book of *Ficinus*, σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἀμεταβλητος, τὰ δὲ μέρη αὐτῦ πάντα μεταβλητά, οὐδὲν δὲ φθαρτὸν ἢ ἀπολλύμενον· *The whole World is unchangeable, only the parts of it being alterable; and this ſo, as that none of theſe neither utterly periſheth, or is abſolutely deſtroyed;* πῶς μέρος τι δύναται φθαρῆναι τῦ ἀφθάρτου, ἢ ἀπολέσαι τι τῦ Θεῦ; *For how can any part of that be Corrupted, which is Incorruptible, or any thing of God periſh or go to nothing?* All which, by *Caſaubon*'s lieve, we take to have been originally *Egyptian Doctrine*, and thence in part afterwards tranſplanted into *Greece.* Moreover when in the *Pœmander*, God is ſtyled more than once, φῶς καὶ ζωὴ, *Light and Life*, this ſeems to have been *Egyptian* alſo, becauſe it was *Orphical.* In like manner the Appendix to the Sermon in the Mount, called ὑμνῳδία κρυπτὴ, or the *Occult Cantion*, hath ſome ſtrains of the Egyptian Theology in it, which will be afterwards mentioned.

The reſult of our preſent Diſcourſe is this, that though ſome of the *Triſmegiſtick Books*, were either wholly counterfeited, or elſe had certain ſuppoſititious Paſſages inſerted into them by ſome Chriſtian hand, yet there being others of them originally *Egyptian*, or which as to the ſubſtance of them, do contain *Hermaical* or *Egyptian Doctrines* (in all which *One Supreme Deity* is every where aſſerted) we may well conclude from hence, that the Egyptians had an acknowledgment amongſt them of *One Supreme Deity.* And herein ſeveral of the Ancient Fathers have gone before us; as firſt of all *Juſtin Martyr*, Ἄμμων πάγκρυφον τὸν Θεὸν ὀνομάζει, Ἑρμῆς δὲ σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς λέγει, θεὸν νοῆσαι μὲν δεῖ χαλεπὸν φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον· Ammon *in his Books, calleth God Moſt Hidden, and* Hermes *plainly declareth, That it is hard to conceive God, but impoſſible to expreſs him.* Neither doth it follow that this latter Paſſage is counterfeit, as *Caſaubon* concludes, becauſe there is ſomething like it in *Plato*'s *Timæus*, there being doubtleſs a very great agreement betwixt Platoniſm and the Ancient Egyptian Doctrine. Thus again St. *Cyprian*; Hermes *quoque* Triſmegiſtus *Unum Deum loquitur, eumque ineffabilem & inæſtimabilem confitetur*, Hermes Triſmegiſt *alſo acknowledgeth One God, confeſſing him to be ineffable and ineſtimable*; which Paſſage is alſo cited by St. *Auſtin*. *Lactantius* likewiſe; Thoth *antiquiſſimus & inſtructiſſimus omni* ge-

De Idol. van.

Lib. 1. pag. 30.

nere Doctrinæ, adeò ut ei multarum rerum & artium scientia Trismegisti *cognomen imponeret; Hic scripsit Libros & quidem multos, ad cognitionem Divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majestatem Summi & Singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem. Ac nè quis nomen ejus requireret* ἀνώνυμον *esse dixit.* Thoth (that is *Hermes*) *the most ancient and most instructed in all kind of Learning* (*for which he was called* Trismegist) *wrote Books and those many, belonging to the Knowledge of Divine things, wherein he asserts the Majesty of One Supreme Deity, calling him by the same names that we do, God and Father; but* (*lest any one should require a Proper name of him*) *affirming him to be Anonymous.* Lastly, St. *Cyril* hath much more to the same purpose also: And we must confess that we have the rather here insisted so much upon these *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Writings*, that in this particular we might vindicate these Ancient Fathers, from the Imputation either of Fraud and Imposture, or of Simplicity and Folly.

But that the Egyptians acknowledged, besides their *Many Gods*, *One Supreme and All-comprehending Deity*, needs not be proved from these Trismegistick Writings (concerning which we leave others to judge as they find Cause) it otherwise appearing, not only because *Orpheus* (who was an undoubted Asserter of *Monarchy*, or One First Principle of All things) is generally affirmed to have derived his Doctrine from the Egyptians; but also from plain and express Testimonies. For besides *Apollonius Tyanæus* his Affirmation concerning
Pag. 269. both Indians and Egyptians, before cited, *Plutarch* throughout his whole Book *De Iside & Osiride*, supposes the Egyptians thus to have asserted One Supreme Deity, they commonly calling him ὁ πρῶτον θεὸν, *the First God.* Thus in the beginning of that Book he tells us, that the End of all the Religious Rites and Mysteries, of that Egyptian Goddess *Isis*, was, ἡ τοῦ πρώτου, καὶ μονοειδοῦς, καὶ νοητοῦ γνῶσις, ὃν ἡ θεὸς παρακαλεῖ ζητεῖν παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ὄντα καὶ συνόντα, *the Knowledge of that First God, who is the Lord of all things, and only intelligible by the Mind, whom this Goddess exhorteth men to seek, in her Communion.* After which he declareth, that this *First God* of the Egyptians was accounted by them an *Obscure and Hidden Deity*, and accordingly he gives the reason why they made the Crocodile to be a Symbol of him,
Pag. 381. μόνον δὲ φασὶν ὑγρῷ διαστρωννύμενον, τὰς ὄψεις ὑμένι λεπτῷ καὶ διαφανεῖ παρακαλύπτειν, ὑπὸ τοῦ μετώπου καταφερόμενον, ὥστε βλέπειν μὴ βλεπόμενον. ὃ ταῖς πρώτῳ θεῷ συμβέβηκεν· *Because they say the Crocodile is the only Animal, which living in the water, hath his Eyes covered by a thin transparent membrane, falling down over them, by reason whereof it sees and is not seen, which is a thing that belongs to the First God, To see all things, himself being not seen.* Though *Plutarch* in that place gives also another reason why the Egyptians made the Crocodile a Symbol of the Deity; ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁ περιφερὴς αἰτίας πιθάνης ἀμοιρεῖσαν ἔχοντες τιμῶσι, ἀλλὰ μίμημα θεοῦ λέγεται γεγονέναι μόνον μὴ ἄγλωσσον, ὢν, φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεὴς ἐστι, καὶ δι' ἀφώνου βαίνων κελεύθου καὶ δίκης τὰ θνητὰ ἄγει καὶ δίκαν· *Neither were the Egyptians without a plausible reason, for worshipping God Symbolically in the Crocodile, that being said to be an Imitation of God, in that it is the only Animal without a Tongue. For the Divine*

vine λόγ☉ *or Reason, standing not in need of Speech, and going on through a silent path of Justice in the World, does without noise righteously govern and dispense all humane affairs.* In like manner *Horus-Apollo* in his Hieroglyphicks, tells us, that the Egyptians acknowledging a παντοκράτωρ and κοσμοκράτωρ, *an Omnipotent Being that was the Governour of the whole World*, did Symbolically represent him by a Serpent, ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῦ οἶκον μέγαν σημαίνοντες ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οἶκος αὐτῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, *they picturing also a great House or Palace within its circumference, because the World is the Royal palace of the Deity.* Which Writer also gives us another reason, why the Serpent was made to be the Hieroglyphick of the Deity; τὸ ὡς τροφῇ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἑαυτῦ σώματι, σημαίνει, τὸ πάντα ὅσα ἐκ τῆς θείας προνοίας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γίνεται, ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν. *Because the Serpent feeding as it were upon its own Body, doth aptly signifie, that all things generated in the World by Divine Providence, are again resolved into him.* And *Philo Byblius* from *Sanchuniathon*, gives the same reason why the Serpent was Deified by *Taut* or the Egyptian Hermes, ὅτι ἀθάνατον καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλύεται, *because it is immortal and resolved into it self.* Though sometimes the Egyptians added to the Serpent also a Hawk, thus complicating the *Hieroglypick of the Deity*; according to that of a famous Egyptian Priest in *Eusebius*, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ θειότατον, ὅφις ἔστι ἱέρακος ἔχων μορφὴν, *that the First and Divinest Being of all, is Symbolically represented, by a Serpent having the head of an Hawk.* And that a Hawk was also sometimes used alone, for a *Hieroglyphick of the Deity*, appeareth from that of *Plutarch*, That in the Porch of an Egyptian Temple at *Sais*, were ingraven these Three Hieroglyphicks, a *Young man*, an *Old man*, and an *Hawk*; to make up this Sentence, *That both the Beginning and End of humane Life dependeth upon God, or Providence.* But we have Two more remarkable Passages in the forementioned *Horus Apollo*, concerning the Egyptian Theology, which must not be pretermitted; the first this, παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παντὸς κόσμου τὸ διῆκον ἔστι πνεῦμα, *That according to them, there is a Spirit passing through the Whole World, to wit, God.* And again δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς μίαν θεὸν μηδὲν ὅλως συνεστάναι, *It seemeth to the Egyptians, that nothing at all consists without God.* In the next place, *Jamblichus* was a person who had made it his business, to inform himself thoroughly, concerning the Theology of the Egyptians, and who undertakes to give an account thereof, in his Answer to *Porphyrius* his Epistle to *Anebo* an Egyptian Priest; whose Testimony therefore may well seem to deserve credit. And he first gives us a Summary account of their Theology after this manner, χωριστὸς, ἀξηρημένος, μετέωρος, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπερπλωμένος τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ δυνάμεων τε καὶ στοιχείων, ὁ τῶν γενέσεως καὶ φύσεως ὅλης, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς στοιχείοις δυνάμεων πασῶν, αἴτιος θεός· ἅτε δὲ ὑπερέχων τούτων, ἄϋλος, καὶ ἀσώματος, καὶ ὑπερφυὴς, ἀγένητός τε καὶ ἀμέριστος, ὅλος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀναφανείς, προηγεῖται πάντων τούτων, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ὅλα περιέχει, καὶ διότι μὲν συνείληφε πάντα, καὶ μεταδίδωσιν· *That God, who is the Cause of Generation and the whole Nature, and of all the Powers in the Elements themselves, is Separate, Exempt, Elevated above, and expanded over, all the Powers and Elements in the World. For being above the World and transcending the same, Immaterial, and Incorporeal, Supernatural, Unmade, Indivisible, manifested wholly from himself;* Lib. 1. c. 2.

ſelf, and in himſelf, he ruleth over all things and in himſelf conteineth all things. And becauſe he virtually comprehends all things, therefore does he impart and diſplay the ſame from himſelf. According to which excellent Deſcription of the Deity, it is plain that the Egyptians aſſerting *One God that Comprehends All things*, could not poſſibly ſuppoſe a *Multitude* of *Self-exiſtent Deities.* In which place alſo the ſame *Jamblichus* tells us, that as the Egyptian Hieroglyphick for Material and Corporeal things, was Mud or floating Water, ſo they pictur'd God, *in Loto arbore ſedentem ſuper Lutum, ſitting upon the Lote-tree above the Watery Mud, Quod innuit Dei eminentiam altiſſimam, qua fit ut nullo modo attingat Lutum ipſum. Demonſtratque Dei imperium intellectuale, quia Loti arboris omnia ſunt rotunda tam frondes quàm fructus, &c. Which ſignifies the tranſcendent Eminency of the Deity above the Matter, and its intellectual Empire over the World, becauſe, both the Leaves and Fruit of that tree are Round, repreſenting the Motion of intellect.* Again he there adds alſo, that the Egyptians ſometime pictured God ſitting at the Helm of a Ship. But afterward in the ſame Book, he ſums up the Queries, which *Porphyrius* had propounded to the Egyptian Prieſt, to be reſolved concerning them, in this manner; βέλει σοι δηλωθῆναι, τί τὸ πρῶτον ἄιτιον ἡγοῦνται εἶναι αἰγύπτιοι; πότερον νοῦν ἢ ὑπὲρ νοῦν; καὶ μόνον ἢ μετ' ἄλλα ἢ ἄλλων; καὶ πότερον ἀσώματον ἢ σωματικόν, καὶ εἰ ταὐτὸ δημιουργῷ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ; καὶ εἰ ἓξ ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα ἢ ἐκ πολλῶν; καὶ εἰ ὕλαι ἴσασιν ἢ σώματα ποιὰ πρῶτον; καὶ εἰ ἀγένητον ὕλαν ἢ γενητὴν; *You deſire to be reſolved, What the Egyptians think to be the firſt Cauſe of all. Whether Intellect or ſomething above Intellect? And that Whether alone or with ſome other? Whether Incorporeal or Corporeal? Whether the firſt Principle be the ſame with the Demiurgus and Architect of the World, or before him? Whether all things proceed from One or Many? Whether they ſuppoſe Matter, or Qualified Bodies, to be the firſt? and if they admit a Firſt Matter, Whether they aſſert it to be Unmade or Made?* In anſwer to which Porphyrian *Queries*, *Jamblichus* thus begins; καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ πρῶτον ἠρώτησας, περὶ τούτου ἀκουε· πρὸ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντων καὶ τοῦ ὅλων ἀρχῶν, ἕνα θεὸς εἶς· πρῶτος, καὶ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέως, ἀκίνητος· ἐν μονότητι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἑνότητος μένων· ὅτε γὰρ νοητὸν αὐτῷ ὑπιπλέκεται, ὅτε ἄλλό τι· *I ſhall firſt reply to that you firſt demand, That, according to the Egyptians, before all Entities and Principles there is One God, who is in order of nature before (him that is commonly called) the firſt God and King; Immoveable; and always remaining in the ſolitariety of his own Unity, there being nothing Intelligible nor any thing elſe complicated with him, &c.* In which words of *Jamblichus* and thoſe others that there follow after, though there be ſome obſcurity (and we may perhaps have occaſion further to conſider the meaning of them elſewhere) yet he plainly declares, that according to the Egyptians, the firſt Original of all things, was a perfect Unity above Intellect; but intimating withall, that beſides this Firſt Unity, they did admit of certain other Divine *Hypoſtaſes* (as a Perfect Intellect, and Mundane Soul) ſubordinate thereunto, and dependent on it, concerning which he thus writeth afterwards; τὸν πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ζωτικὸν δύναμιν γινώσκουσι, καθαρόν τε νοῦν ὑπὲρ τὸ κόσμον προτιθέασι· *The Egyptians acknowledge, before the Heaven, and in the Heaven, a Living Power (or Soul) and again they place a pure Mind or Intellect above the World.*

Seg. 8. *c.* 1.

But

But that they did not acknowledge a Plurality of Coordinate & Independent Principles is further declared by him after this manner, καὶ ὅπως ἄνωθεν ἄχρι τελευταίων ἡ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰγυπτίοις πραγματεία, ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἄρχεται, καὶ πρόεισιν εἰς πλῆθος, τῶν πολλῶν αὖθις ἀφ' ἑνὸς διακυβερνωμένων, καὶ παντάχοῦ τὸ ἀορίστου φύσεως ὑπηρατεσμένης ὑπό τινος ὡρισμένου μέτρου, καὶ τὸ ἀνωτάτω ἑνιαίας πάντων αἰτίας· *And thus the Egyptian Philosophy, from first to last, begins from Unity; and thence descends to Multitude; the Many being always governed by the One; and the Infinite or Undeterminate nature, every where mastered and conquered by some finite and determined measure; and all ultimately, by that highest Unity that is the first Cause of all things.* Moreover in answer to the last Porphyrian Question concerning Matter; whether the Egyptians thought it to be *Unmade* and *Selfexistent* or *Made*, *Jamblichus* thus replies, ὕλην ὑπαρήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ ἀσιότητος ὑποχωρησάσης ὑλότητος· *That according to* Hermes *and the Egyptians, Matter was also Made or produced by God; ab Essentialitate succisa ac subsisisâ Materialitate*, as *Scutellius* turns it. Which Passage of *Jamblichus*, *Proclus* upon the *Timæus* (where he asserts that God was ἄῤῥητος αἰτία τῆς ὕλης, *the uneffable cause of Matter*) takes notice of in this manner; καὶ ἡ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παράδοσις τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ αὐτῆς φησιν· ὁ γέ τοι θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος, ἱστόρησεν, ὅτι καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐκ τῆς ἀσιότητος τὴν ὑλότητα παράγεσθαι βούλεται, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦτο τὸν Πλάτωνα τὴν τοιαύτην περὶ τῆς ὕλης δόξαν ἔχειν· *And the Tradition of the Egyptians agreeth herewith, That Matter was not Unmade or Self-existent, but produced by the Deity: For the Divine* Jamblichus *hath recorded, that* Hermes *would have Materiality to have been produced from Essentiality* (that is, the Passive Principle of Matter from that Active Principle of the Deity:) *And it is very probable from hence, that* Plato *was also of the same opinion concerning Matter; viz.* because he is supposed to have followed *Hermes* and the Egyptians. Which indeed is the more likely, if that be true which the same *Proclus* affirmeth concerning *Orpheus*, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτίστης καὶ νοητῆς ὑποστάσεως παράγει τῇ ὕλῃ, *That* Orpheus *also did after the same manner, deduce or derive Matter from the First* Hypostasis *of Intelligibles*, that is, from the Supreme Deity. We shall conclude here in the last place with the Testimony of *Damascius*, in his Book of Principles writing after this manner concerning the Egyptians, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὔδημος οὐδὲν ἀπεφήνατο ἱστορεῖ· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλόσοφοι γεγονότες, ἐξηνέγκαν αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας κεκρυμμένης, εὑρόντες ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις δή τισι λόγοις· ὡς ἔστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ μία τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴ σιγητὸν ἄγνωστον ὑμνουμένη, καὶ τοῦτο τρὶς ἀναφωνούμενον ὅτι· Eudemus *hath given us no exact account of the Egyptians, but the Egyptian Philosophers that have been in our times, have declared the hidden truth of their Theology, having found in certain Egyptian Writings, that there was according to them, One Principle of all things, praised under the name of the Unknown Darkness, and that thrice repeated:* Which Unknown Darkness is a Description of that Supreme Deity, that is Incomprehensible.

Pag. 117.

But that the Egyptians amongst their Many Gods did acknowledge One Supreme, may sufficiently appear also, even from their vulgar Religion and Theology. In which they had first a Peculiar and Proper Name for him as such. For as the Greeks called the Supreme God

God Ζεὺς, the Latins *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, ſo did the Egyptians call him *Hammon* or *Ammon* according to *Herodotus*, whoſe Teſtimony to this purpoſe hath been already cited, and confirmed by *Origen* who was an Egyptian born. Thus alſo *Plutarch* in his Book *de Iſide*, ὑπὸ πολλῶν νομιζόντων, ἴδιον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι, τὸ Ἀμοῦν, ὃ καὶ ἡμεῖς Ἄμμωνα λέγομεν· *It is ſuppoſed by moſt, that the proper name of* Zeus *or* Jupiter (*that is, the Supreme Deity*) *amongſt the Egyptians, is* Amous, *which we Greeks pronounce* Hammon. To the ſame purpoſe *Heſychius*, Ἄμμων ὁ Ζεύς, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ammous *according to* Ariſtotle *is the ſame with* Zeus. Whence it came to paſs that by the Latin Writers *Hammon* was vulgarly called *Jupiter Hammon*. Which *Hammon* was not only uſed as a proper name for the Supreme Deity by the Egyptians, but alſo by the Arabians and all the Africans, according to that of *Lucan*,

Quamvis Æthiopum populis Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus ſit Jupiter Ammon.

Wherefore not only *Marmarica* (which is a part of *Africa*, wherein was that moſt famous Temple of this *Ammon*) was from thence denominated *Ammonia*, but even all *Africa*, as *Stephanus* informs us, was ſometimes called *Ammonis*, from this God *Ammon*, who hath been therefore ſtiled Ζεὺς Λίβυος, *the Libyan* Jupiter.

Indeed it is very probable, that this word *Hammon* or *Ammon*, was at firſt derived from *Ham* or *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, whoſe Poſterity was chiefly ſeated in theſe African parts, and from whom *Egypt* was called, not only in the Scripture, *the Land of Ham*, but alſo by the Egyptians themſelves, as *Plutarch* teſtifieth, Χημία or *Chemia*, and as St. *Jerome*, *Ham*; and the *Coptites* alſo to this very day call it *Chemi*. Nevertheleſs this will not hinder, but that the Word *Hammon* for all that, might be uſed afterwards by the Egyptians, as a name for the Supreme God, becauſe amongſt the Greeks, Ζεὺς in like manner, was ſuppoſed to have been at firſt the name of a Man or *Hero*, but yet afterwards applied to ſignifie the *Supreme God*. And there might be ſuch a mixture of *Herology* or *Hiſtory*, together with *Theology* as well amongſt the Egyptians, as there was amongſt the Greeks. Nay ſome learned men conjecture, and not without probability, that the *Zeus* of the Greeks alſo was really the very ſame with that *Ham* or *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, whom the Egyptians firſt worſhipped as an *Hero* or Deified Man; there being ſeveral conſiderable agreements and correſpondencies between the Poetick Fables of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, and the true Scripture-ſtory, of *Noah* and *Cham*; as there is likewiſe a great affinity betwixt the words themſelves, for as *Cham* ſignifies *Heat* or *Fervour*, ſo is Ζεὺς derived by the Greek Grammarians from ζέω. And thus will that forementioned Teſtimony of *Herodotus*, in ſome ſence be verified, that the Greeks received the names of moſt of their Gods, even of Ζεὺς himſelf, from the Egyptians.

Perhaps it may be granted alſo, that the Sun was ſometime worſhipped

shipped by the Egyptians, under the Name of *Hammon*; it having been in like manner sometimes worshipped by the Greeks under the Name of *Zeus*. And the word very well agreeth herewith, חמה in the Hebrew Language signifying not only Heat but the Sun; from whence חמנים *Chamanim* also was derived. Nevertheless it will not follow from hence, that therefore the Visible Sun, was generally accounted by the Egyptians the *Supreme Deity*, no more than he was amongst the Greeks. But as we have often occasion to observe, there was in the Pagan Religion, a confused Jumble, of *Herology*, *Physiology*, and *Theology* all together. And that the Notion of this Egyptian God *Ammon*, was neither confined by them to the *Sun*, nor yet to the whole *Corporeal World* or *Nature of the Universe* (as some have conceived) is evident from hence, because the Egyptians themselves, interpreted it, according to their own Language, to signifie, That which was *Hidden and Obscure*, as both *Manetho* an ancient Egyptian Priest, and *Hecatæus* (who wrote concerning the Philosophy of the Egyptians) in *Plutarch* agree: Μανεθὼς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννίτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἴεται καὶ τῶν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῇ φωνῇ. Ἑκαταῖος δ' Ἀβδηρίτης φησὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἐπιμαίτι χρῆσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὅταν τινὰ προσκαλῶνται, προσκεῖσθαι γοῦν εἶναι τῷ φωνῇ· διὸ τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ὡς ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον ὄντα, προσκαλούμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ καλοῦντες, ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ δῆλον αὐτοῖς, Ἀμοῦν λέγουσι· Manetho Sebennites *conceives the Word* Amoun, *to signifie that which is Hidden. And* Hecatæus *affirmeth that the Egyptians Use this Word when they call any one to them that was distant or absent from them; Wherefore the First God, because he is Invisible and Hidden, they, as it were Inviting him to approach near, and to make himself Manifest and conspicuous to them, call him* Amoun. And agreeably hereunto, *Jamblichus* gives us this account of the true Notion of this Egyptian God *Ammon*, ὁ δημιουργικὸς νοῦς, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας προστάτης, καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐρχόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ γένεζιν, καὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν τῶν κεκρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, ἀμοῦν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γλῶτταν λέγεται· *The Demiurgical Intellect, and President of Truth, as with Wisdom it proceedeth to Generation, and produceth into Light, the Secret and Invisible Powers of the hidden Reasons, is, according to the Egyptian Language, called* Hammon. Wherefore we may conclude, that *Hammon* amongst the Egyptians, was not only the Name of the *Supreme Deity*, but also of such a one as was *Hidden, Invisible and Incorporeal.*

And here it may be worth our observing, that this Egyptian *Hammon* was in all Probability taken notice of in Scripture, though vulgar Interpreters have not been aware thereof. For thus we understand that of *Jeremy* 46. 25. *The Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel saith, behold I will visit* אמון נא (that is, not *the Multitude of Noe*, but) *Ammon* (the God) *of Noe, and Pharaoh and Egypt with her* (*other*) *Gods and Kings, and all that trust in him; I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon.* For the understanding of which place, we must observe, that according to the Language of those ancient Pagans, when every Country or City, had their Peculiar and Proper names; for the Gods presiding over them or Worshipped by

them, the ſeveral Nations and Places, were themſelves commonly denoted and ſignified, by the names of thoſe their reſpective Gods. With which kind of Language, the Scripture it ſelf alſo complieth; as when the Moabites are called in it, *the People of Chemoſh*, Numbers 21. And when *the Gods of Damaſcus are ſaid to have ſmitten Ahaz*, becauſe the Syrians ſmote him, 2 *Chron.* 28. Accordingly whereunto alſo, whatſoever was done or attempted againſt the ſeveral Nations or Countries, is ſaid to have been done or attempted againſt their Gods. Thus *Moab*'s Captivity is deſcribed, *Jeremy* 48. *Thou ſhalt be taken, and Chemoſh ſhall go into captivity.* And the overthrow of *Babylon* is predicted after the ſame manner, in the Prophecy of *Iſaiah Cap.* 46. *Bell boweth down, Nebo ſtoopeth, themſelves are gone into captivity.* As alſo the ſame is threatned in that of *Jeremy*, *C.* 51. *I will viſit Bell in Babylon, and will bring out of his mouth, that which he hath ſwallowed up, and the Nations ſhall not flow unto him any more, for the Wall of Babylon ſhall be broken down.* Now *Bell* according to *Herodotus*, was a name for the Supreme God amongſt the Babylonians, as well as *Ammon* was amongſt the Egyptians; who notwithſtanding by both of them was worſhipped after an Idolatrous manner. And therefore as in theſe latter places, by the Viſiting and Puniſhing of *Bell*, is meant the viſiting and puniſhing of the Babylonians; ſo in that former place of *Jeremy*, by the viſiting of *Ammon*, and the Gods of *Egypt*, is underſtood, the viſiting of the Egyptians themſelves; accordingly as it is there alſo expreſſed. *No* was, it ſeems, the Metropolis of all *Egypt*; and therefore *Ammon* the Chief God of thoſe Ancient Egyptians, and of that City, was called *Ammon of No.* As likewiſe the City *No*, is denominated from this God *Ammon* in the Scripture, and called both *No-Ammon*, and *Ammon-No.* The former in the Prophecy of *Nahum*, *Cap.* 3. *Art thou better than No-Ammon?* or that *No* in which the God *Ammon* is worſhipped? Which is not to be underſtood of the Oracle of *Ammon in Marmarica*, as ſome have imagined (they taking *No* for an Appellative and ſo to ſignifie Habitation;) it being unqueſtionably the Proper name of a City in *Egypt.* The Latter in that of *Ezekiel*, *Cap.* 30. *I will pour out my fury upon Sin, the ſtrength of Egypt, and will cut off Hammon-No.* In which place as by *Sin* is meant *Peluſium*, ſo *Hammon-No*, by the Seventy, is interpreted *Dioſpolis*, the City of *Jupiter*; that is, the Egyptian *Jupiter*, *Hammon.* Which *Dioſpolis* was otherwiſe called the Egyptian *Thebes*, (anciently the *Metropolis* of all *Egypt*) but whoſe Proper name in the Egyptian Language, ſeems to have been *No*; which from the chief God there worſhipped, was called both *No-Ammon* and *Hammon-No*; as that God himſelf was alſo denominated from the City, *Ammon of No.* And this is the rather probable, becauſe *Plato* tells us expreſly, that *Ammon* was anciently the Proper or Chief God of the Egyptian *Thebes* or *Dioſpolis*, where he ſpeaks of *Theuth* or *Thoth* the Egyptian *Hermes*, in theſe words; βασιλέως δ' αὖ τότε ὄντος Αἰγύπτου ὅλης Θαμοῦς, ὠκεῖτο τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τῆς ἄνω τόπος, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ἄμμωνα. Thamus *was then King over all* Egypt, *reigning in that great City (the Metropolis thereof) which the Greeks call the Egyptian* Thebes, *and whoſe God was* Ammon. But whereas the Prophet *Nahum* (who ſeems to have written after the completion of that judgment

In Phædro.

judgment upon *No*, predicted both by *Jeremy* and *Ezekiel*) deſcribes the place, *as ſituate among the Rivers, and having the Sea for its Wall and Rampart*; whence many Learned men have concluded, that this was rather to be underſtood of *Alexandria* than *Dioſpolis* (notwithſtanding that *Alexandria* was not then in being, nor built till a long while after in *Alexander* the Great's time.) This may very well, as we conceive, be underſtood of *Egypt* in general, whoſe *Metropolis* this *No* was; that it was ſituate amongſt the Rivers and had the Seas for its Wall and Rampart; the Red and Mediterranean. And thus much for the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or their Supreme Deity, called by them *Hammon*.

There is an excellent Monument of Egyptian Antiquity preſerved by *Plutarch* and others, from whence it may be made yet further Evident, that the Egyptians did not ſuppoſe a Multitude of *Unmade Self-exiſtent Deities*, but acknowledged *One Supreme, Univerſal and All-comprehending Numen*. And it is that Inſcription upon the Temple at *Sais*, Ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν, *I am all that Hath been, Is, and Shall be, and my* Peplum *or Veil, no mortal hath ever yet uncovered*; which though perhaps ſome would underſtand thus, as if that Deity therein deſcribed, were nothing but the *Senſleſs Matter* of the whole Corporeal Univerſe, according to that Opinion of *Chæremon* before mentioned and confuted; yet it is plain, that this could not be the meaning of this Inſcription: Firſt, becauſe the God here deſcribed, is not a mere *Congeries* of diſunited Matter, or Aggregation of Divided Atoms, but it is ſome *One thing* which was *All*: According to that other Inſcription upon an Altar dedicated to the Goddeſs *Iſis*, which we ſhall alſo afterward make uſe of, *Tibi, Una, quæ es Omnia*; *To thee who being One, art All Things*. Again, in the Deity here deſcribed, there is both a Veil or Outſide, and alſo ſomething *Hidden and Recondite*; the ſence ſeeming to be this, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be*; *and the whole World is nothing but my ſelf Veiled*; *but my naked and unveiled Brightneſs, no mortal could ever yet behold or comprehend*: Which is juſt, as if the Sun ſhould ſay, I am all the Colours of the Rainbow (whoſe mild and gentle light may eaſily be beheld) and they are nothing but my *Simple* and *Uniform Luſtre*, variouſly refracted and abated; but my immediate Splendour and the Brightneſs of my Face, no mortal can contemplate, without being either blinded or dazled by it. Wherefore this Deſcription of the Deity, may ſeem not a little to reſemble that Deſcription which God makes of himſelf to *Moſes*, *Thou ſhalt ſee my Back-parts*, *but my Face ſhall not be ſeen*. Where there is alſo ſomething Exteriour and Viſible in the Deity, and ſomething Hidden and Recondite, Inviſible and Incomprehenſible to Mortals. And *Philo* thus gloſſeth upon thoſe words, αὐτάρκες ἔξι σοφῷ, τὰ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν γνῶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀγωνιᾶν ὀξίαν ὁ βουλόμενος καταθεάσασθαι, τῆς ἀμιάντου καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς περὶ ἰδεῖν περὸς ἔσται· *It is ſufficient for a wiſe man to know God* á Poſteriori, *or from his Effects*; *but whoſoever will needs behold the naked Eſſence of the Deity, will be blinded with the tranſcendent Radiancy and Splendour of his Beams*. Where, as according to *Philo*, the Works of God, as manifeſting the Attributes

Ἄφανὴς ἅμα καὶ ἔμφανὴς· *Procl.* of this Egyptian God, that it was both *Inviſible and Manifeſt*. *In Tim.* P. 30.

P. 474. *Par.*

of his Power, Goodneſs and Wiſdom, are called the *Back-parts* of the Deity; ſo are they here in this Inſcription called the *Peplum*, the *Veil* and *Exteriour Garment* of it, or elſe *God himſelf Veiled.* Wherefore it is plain, that the Deity here deſcribed, cannot be the mere Viſible and Corporeal World as Senſleſs and Inanimate, that being all Outſide and Expoſed to the View of Senſe, and having nothing Hiddden or Veiled in it. But thirdly, this will yet be more evident, if we do but take notice of the Name of this God, which was here deſcribed, and to whom that Temple was dedicated; and that was in the Egyptian Language, *Neith*, the ſame with Ἀθηνᾶ *amongſt the Greeks*, and *Minerva amongſt the Latins*; by which is meant *Wiſdom* or *Underſtanding:* from whence it is plain, that the Inſcription is to be underſtood not of ſuch a God, as was meerly *Senſleſs Matter* (which is the God of the Atheiſts) but a *Mind.* *Athenagoras* tells us, that the Pagan Theologers interpreted τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν or *Minerva* to be τὴν φρόνησιν διὰ πάντων διήκουσαν, *Wiſdom or Mind paſſing and diffuſing it ſelf through all Things*; than which there cannot be a better Commentary on this Inſcription. Wherefore it may be here obſerved, that thoſe Pagans who acknowledged God to be a *Mind*, and *Incorporeal Being* ſecrete from Matter, did notwithſtanding frequently conſider him, not abſtractly by himſelf alone, but concretely together with the Reſult of his whole Fecundity, or as diſplaying the World from himſelf, and diffuſing himſelf through all things, and being in a manner All Things. Accordingly we learn'd before from *Horus Apollo*, that the Egyptians by God, meant, *a Spirit diffuſing it ſelf through the World, and intimately pervading all things*; and that they ſuppoſed, *that nothing at all could conſiſt without God.* And after this manner, *Jamblichus* in his Myſteries, interprets the meaning of this Egyptian Inſcripiion: For when he had declared that the Egyptians, did both in their Doctrine and their Prieſtly Hierurgies, exhort men to aſcend above Matter, to an Incorporeal Deity the Maker of all, he adds, ὑφηγήσατο δ' ἡ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἣν μιμήσατο ὁ Βίθυς προφήτης Ἄμμωνι βασιλεῖ, ἐν ἀδύτοις δείκνυσιν ἀναγεγραμμένην, ἐν ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ Σαΐν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τότε τὸ θεὸν ὄνομα παρέδωκε τὸ διῆκον δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου· Hermes *alſo propounded this Method, and* Bithys *the Prophet interpreted the ſame to King* Ammon, *having found it written in Hieroglyphick letters in the Temple of* Sais *in* Egypt; *as he alſo there declared the name of that God, who extends or diffuſes himſelf through the whole World.* And this was *Neith*, or *Athena*, that God thus deſcribed, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be, and my* Peplum *or Veil no mortal could ever uncover.* Where we cannot but take notice alſo, that whereas the *Athena* of the Greeks, was derived from the Egyptian *Neith*, that ſhe alſo was famous for her *Peplum* too, as well as the Egyptian Goddeſs. *Peplum* (ſaith *Servius*) *eſt Propriè Palla picta Fæminea*, Minervæ *conſecrata*; Peplum *is properly a womaniſh Pall or Veil, embroidered all over, and conſecrated to* Minerva. Which Rite was performed at *Athens*, in the Great *Panathenaicks*, with much Solemnity, when the Statue of this Goddeſs, was alſo by thoſe Noble Virgins of the City, who embroidered this Veil, cloathed all over therewith. From whence we may probably conclude, that the Statue of the Egyptian *Neith* alſo, in the

Νηίθως in *Procl.* upon *Plato's Tim. P.* 30.

Μία ἦν δύο πόλεων ἔφορος τ' τε Σάεως καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνῶν· Sais *and* Athens, *had one and the ſame Tutelar God. Procl. in Tim. p.* 30. Where alſo *Theopompus* affirmeth the Athenians to have been a Colony of the *Saites.*

the Temple of *Sais*, had likewiſe agreeably to its Inſcription, ſuch a *Peplum* or Veil caſt over it, as *Minerva* or *Artemis* at *Athens* had; this Hieroglyphically to ſignifie, that the Deity was inviſible and incomprehenſible to mortals, but had Veiled it ſelf in this Viſible Corporeal World, which is as it were the *Peplum*, the exteriour variegated or embroidered Veſtment of the Deity. To all which Conſiderations may be added in the laſt place, what *Proclus* hath recorded, that there was ſomething more belonging to this Egyptian Inſcription, than what is mentioned by *Plutarch*; namely theſe words, ἐγὼ ὃν ἔτεκον καρπὸν, ἥλιος ἐγένετο, *And the Sun was the fruit or off-ſpring which I produced*; from whence it is manifeſt, that according to the Egyptians, the Sun was not the Supreme Deity, and that the God here deſcribed, was as *Proclus alſo obſerveth*, δημιουργικὸς θεὸς, *A Demiurgical Deity* the Creator of the whole World, and of the Sun. Which Supreme Incorporeal Deity, was notwithſtanding in their Theology, ſaid to be *All Things*, becauſe it diffuſed it ſelf thorough *All*. *In Tim. p. 30.*

Wherefore, whereas *Plutarch* cites this Paſſage out of *Hecatæus*, concerning the Egyptians, τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν τὸ πᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν νομίζειν, *That they take the Firſt God, and the Univerſe, for one and the Same thing*; the meaning of it cannot be, as if the *Firſt* or *Supreme God* of the Egyptians, were the Senſleſs Corporeal World, *Plutarch* himſelf in the very next words declaring him to be, ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον, *Inviſible and Hidden*; whom therefore the Egyptians, as inviting him to manifeſt himſelf to them, called *Hammon*; as he elſewhere affirmeth, *That the Egyptians Firſt God or Supreme Deity, did ſee all things, himſelf being not ſeen.* But the forementioned Paſſage muſt needs be underſtood thus, that according to the Egyptians, the Firſt God, and τὸ πᾶν or the *Univerſe*, were Synonymous expreſſions, often uſed to ſignifie the very ſame thing; becauſe the *Firſt Supreme Deity*, is that which contains *All Things*, and diffuſeth it ſelf through *All Things*. And this Doctrine was from the Egyptians derived to the Greeks, *Orpheus declaring*, ἕν τι τὰ πάντα, *that all things were One*, and after him *Parmenides* and other Philoſophers, ἓν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, *that One was the Univerſe or All*, and that τὸ πᾶν was ἀκίνητον, *that the Univerſe was Immovable*, they meaning nothing elſe hereby, but that the *Firſt Supreme Deity*, was both *One and All things, and Immovable.* And thus much is plainly intimated by *Ariſtotle* in theſe words, εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἕν' μιᾶς ἔχοντος φύσεως ἀπεφήναντο. *There are ſome who pronounced concerning the whole Univerſe, as being but One Nature*; that is, who called the Supreme Deity τὸ πᾶν or *the Univerſe*, becauſe that vertually contained All things in it. *Metaph. L. 1.*

Nevertheleſs τὸ πᾶν or *the Univerſe*, was frequently taken by the Pagan Theologers alſo, as we have already intimated, in a more comprehenſive ſence, for the Deity, together with all the extent of its Fecundity, God as diſplaying himſelf in the World; or, for *God and the World* both together; the Latter being look'd upon, as nothing but an *Emanation* or *Efflux* from the Former. And thus

was the word taken by *Empedocles* in *Plutarch*, when he affirmed, ὁ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον τι τοῦ παντὸς μέρος, *That the World was not the Universe, but only a small part thereof.* And according to this sence was the God *Pan* understood both by the Arcadians and other Greeks, not for the mere Corporeal World as *Sensless* and *Inanimate*, nor as endued with a *Plastick Nature* only (though this was partly included in the Notion of *Pan* also) but as proceeding from a *Rational* and *Intellectual* Principle, diffusing it self through All; or for the whole *System of Things, God and the World* together, as one Deity. For that the Arcadick *Pan*, was not the Corporeal World alone, but chiefly the Intellectual Ruler and Governour of the same, appears from this Testimony of *Macrobius*; *Hunc Deum Arcades colunt, appellantes* αὐτὸν ὑλης κύριον, *non sylvarum Dominum, sed universæ substantiæ Materialis Dominatorem: The Arcadians worship this God* Pan (*as their most ancient and honourable God*) *calling him the Lord of* Hyle, *that is, not the Lord of the Woods, but the Lord or Dominator over all Material Substance.* And thus does *Phornultus* likewise describe the *Pan* of the other Greeks; not as the mere Corporeal World, Senseless and Inanimate, but as having a *Rational and Intellectual Principle* for the Head of it, and presiding over it, that is, for God and the World both together, as one System; the World being but the Efflux and Emanation of the Deity. *The lower parts of* Pan (saith he) *were Rough and Goatish, because of the asperity of the Earth, but his upper parts of a Humane Form, because the Ether being Rational and Intellectual, is the Hegemonick of the World:* Adding hereunto, *that* Pan *was feigned to be Lustful or Lascivious, because of the Multitude of Spermatick Reasons contained in the World, and the continual Mixtures and Generations of things; to be cloathed with the Skin of a Libbard, because of the bespangled Heavens, and the beautiful variety of things in the World; to live in a Desart, because of the Singularity of the World; and Lastly, to be a good Demon, by reason of the* προεστὼς αὐτῆς λόγου, *that supreme Mind, Reason and Understanding, that governs all in it.* *Pan* therefore was not the mere Corporeal World Senseless and Inanimate, but the Deity as displaying it self therein, and pervading All things. Agreeably to which *Diodorus Siculus* determines, that πὰν and ζεὺς were but two several Names for one and the same Deity, (as it is well known that the whole Universe was frequently called by the Pagans *Jupiter* also, as well as *Pan.*) And *Socrates* himself in *Plato* directs his Prayer in a most devout and serious manner, to this *Pan*, that is, not the Corporeal World or Senseless Matter, but an Intellectual Principle Ruling over all, or the Supreme Deity diffusing it self through All; he therefore distinguishing him from the Inferiour Gods, Ὦ φίλε πὰν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῇδε θεοὶ, δοίητέ μοι καλῷ γενέσθαι τὰνδοθεν, τὰ ἔξωθεν δὲ ὅσα ἔχω τοῖς ἐντὸς εἶναι μοι φίλια· *O Good* (or Gracious) Pan; *and ye other Gods, who preside over this place; Grant that I may be Beautiful or Fair within, and that those External things, which I have, may be such as may best agree with a right Internal disposition of mind, and that I may account him to be rich that is wise and just:* The matter of which prayer, though it be excellent, yet is it Paganically directed to *Pan* (that is the Supreme God) and the Inferiour Gods both together. Thus we see that as well

well according to the Greeks, as the Egyptians, the First or Supreme God, and τὸ πᾶν or the Universe, were really the same thing.

And here we cannot but by the way take notice of that famous and remarkable Story of *Plutarch*'s in his defect of Oracles, *concerning Demons lamenting the Death of the Great* Pan. In the time of *Tiberius* (saith he) certain persons embarquing from *Asia* for *Italy*, towards the Evening sailed by the *Echinades*, where being becalmed, they heard from thence a loud voice calling one *Thamous* an Egyptian Mariner amongst them, and after the third time commanding him when he came to the *Palodes*, to declare That the *Great Pan* was dead. He with the advice of his company resolved, that if they had a quick gale when they came to the *Palodes*, he would pass by silently, but if they should find themselves there becalmed, he would then perform what the voice had commanded: But when the ship arrived thither, there neither was any Gale of Wind nor agitation of Water. Whereupon *Thamous* looking out of the hinder Deck, towards the *Palodes*, pronounced these words with a loud voice, ὁ μέγας Πὰν τέθνηκε, *The Great* Pan *is dead*, which he had no sooner done, but he was answered, with a Quire of many voices, making a great Howling and Lamentation, not without a certain mixture of Admiration. *Plutarch*, who gives much credit to this Relation, adds how Sollicitous *Tiberius* the Emperour was, first concerning the truth thereof, and afterwards, when he had satisfied himself therein, concerning the Interpretation; he making great Enquiry amongst his Learned men, who this *Pan* should be. But the only use which that Philosopher makes of this Story is this, to prove that Demons having Bodies as well as men, (though of a different kind from them and much more longeve) yet were notwithstanding Mortal: he endeavouring from thence to salve that *Phænomenon* of the *Defect of Oracles*, because the Demons who had formerly haunted those places were now dead. But this being an idle Fancy of *Plutarch*'s, it is much more probably concluded, by Christian Writers; that this thing coming to pass in the Reign of *Tiberius* when our Saviour Christ was crucified, was no other than a Lamentation of Evil Demons (not without a mixture of Admiration) upon account of our Saviours Death, happening at that very time: They not mourning out of Love for him that was dead, but as sadly presaging evil to themselves from thence, as that which would threaten danger to their Kingdom of Darkness, and a Period to that Tyranny and Domination which they had so long exercised over Mankind; according to such Passages of Scripture as these, *Now is the Prince of this World judged*; and *Having spoiled Principalities and Powers* (by his Death upon the *Cross*) *He triumphed over them in it.* Now our Saviour Christ could not be called *Pan*, according to that Notion of the word, as taken for nothing but the *Corporeal World* devoid of all manner of Life, or else as endued only with a *Plastick Nature*; but this Appellation might very well agree to him, as *Pan* was taken for the λόγον προεστῶς τᾶ κόσμε, *that Reason and Understanding by which all things were made, and by which they are all governed*, or for φρόνησις διὰ πάντων διήκουσα, *that Divine Wisdom which diffuseth it self through all things*

things. Moreover *Pan* being uſed not ſo much for the naked and abſtract Deity, as the Deity as it were embodied in this Viſible Corporeal World, might therefore the better ſignifie, *God manifeſted in the Fleſh*, and cloathed with a Particular Humane Body (in which reſpect alone, he was capable of dying.) Neither indeed was there any other Name, in all the Theology of the Pagans, that could ſo well befit our Saviour Chriſt as this.

We have now made it manifeſt, that according to the ancient *Egyptian Theology*, (from whence the Greekiſh and European was derived) there was One Intellectual Deity, One Mind or Wiſdom, which as it did produce all things from it ſelf, ſo doth περιέχειν τὸ ὅλον, *contain and comprehend the whole*, and is it ſelf in a manner *All things*. We think fit in the next place to obſerve, how this Point of the *Old Egyptian Theology*, *viz.* God's being *All Things*, is every where inſiſted upon throughout the *Hermaick* or *Triſmegiſtick Writings*. We ſhall begin with the *Aſclepian Dialogue* or the τέλειος λόγος, tranſlated into Latin by *Apuleius*; in the Entrance of which, the Writer having declared, *Omnia Unius eſſe, & Unum eſſe Omnia, that all things were of One, and that One was All things*, he afterwards adds this explication thereof, *Nonne hoc dixi*, Omnia Unum eſſe, & Unum Omnia, *utpote quia in Creatore fuerint omnia, antequam creâſſet omnia? Nec immeritò Unus eſt dictus Omnia, cujus membra ſunt Omnia. Hujus itaque qui eſt* Unus Omnia, *vel ipſe eſt Creator omnium, in tota hac diſputatione curato meminiſſe: Have we not already declared, that All things are One, and One All things? foraſmuch as All things exiſted in the Creator, before they were made; Neither is he improperly ſaid to be All things, whoſe Members all things are. Be thou therefore mindful in this whole diſputation, of him who is One and All things, or was the Creator of All.* And thus afterwards does he declare, that all Created things were in the Deity before they were made, *Idcirco non erant quando nata non erant, ſed in eo jam tunc erant unde naſci habuerunt, they did not properly then exiſt before they were made, and yet at that very time, were they in him from whom they were afterwards produced.* Again, he writes thus concerning God, *non ſpero totius Majeſtatis Effectorem, omnium rerum Patrem vel Dominum, uno poſſe quamvis è multis compoſito nomine nuncupari. Hunc voca potius omni nomine, ſiquidem ſit* Unus & Omnia; *ut neceſſe ſit aut Omnia ipſius nomine, aut ipſum omnium nomine nuncupari. Hic ergo Solus Omnia, &c. I cannot hope ſufficienly to expreſs, the Author of Majeſty, and the Father and Lord of all things, by any One Name, though compounded of never ſo many names. Call him therefore by every Name, foraſmuch as he is One and All things, ſo that of neceſſity, either All things muſt be called by His name, or he by the Names of All things.* And when he had ſpoken of the mutability of Created things he adds; *Solus Deus ipſe In ſe, & A ſe, & Circum ſe, totus eſt plenus atque perfectus, iſque ſua firma ſtabilitas eſt; nec alicujus impulſu, nec loco moveri poteſt, cum in eo ſint Omnia, & in omnibus ipſe eſt Solus: God alone in himſelf, and from himſelf, and about himſelf, is altogether perfect; and himſelf is his own ſtability. Neither can he be moved or changed, by the impulſe of any thing, ſince All things are in him, and he alone is in All things.*

P. 612. *Colv.*

things. Laſtly, to omit other places, *Hic Senſibilis Mundus, receptaculum eſt omnium ſenſibilium ſpecierum, qualitatum, vel corporum; quæ omnia ſine Deo vegetari non poſſunt:* Omnia *enim* Deus, *& à Deo Omnia; & ſine hoc, nec Fuit aliquid, nec Eſt, nec Erit; Omnia enim ab eo, & in ipſo, & per ipſum——Si totum animadvertes, vera ratione perdiſces; Mundum ipſum Senſibilem, & quæ in eo ſunt omnia, à Superiore illo Mundo, quaſi Veſtimento eſſe contecta: This Senſible World, is the Receptacle of all Forms, Qualities, and Bodies, all which cannot be vegetated and quickned without God; for God is All Things, and All things are from God, and all things the Effect of his Will; and without God, there neither Was any thing, nor Is, nor Shall be; but all things are from him, and in him, and by him——And if you will conſider things after a right manner, you ſhall learn, that this ſenſible World, and all the things therein, are covered all over, with that ſuperiour World* (or Deity) *as it were with a Garment.* As for the other Triſmegiſtick Books of *Ficinus* his Edition, the Third of them called ἱερὸς λόγος, is thus concluded, τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἡ πᾶσα κοσμικὴ σύνοδος, φύσει ἀναθεωρεμένη· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θείῳ καὶ ἡ φύσις συγκαθέσται· *The Divinity is the whole Mundane Compages, or Conſtitution: for Nature is alſo placed in the Deity.* In the Fifth Book written upon this Argument, ὅτι ἀφανὴς θεὸς φανερώτατός ἐστι, *That the Inviſible God is moſt manifeſt,* we read thus, οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐν παντὶ ἐκείνῳ, ὃ μὴ ἔστιν αὐτός, ἔστιν αὐτός, καὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ μὴ ὄντα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄντα ἐφανέρωσε· τάδε μὴ ὄντα ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ· *For there is nothing in the whole World, which he is not, He is both the things that are, and the things that are not; for the things that are, He hath manifeſted, but the things that are not, He contains within himſelf.* And again, ἕτερος ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ ὁ πολυσώματος· μᾶλλον δὲ πάντος σώματος οὐδέν ἐστιν ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἐστι· πάντα γὰρ ἃ ἐστι, καὶ ἕτερός ἐστι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ὀνόματα ἔχει πάντα, ὅτι ἑνός ἐστι πατρός· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομα οὐκ ἔχει, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶ πατήρ· *He is both Incorporeal and Omnicorporeal, for there is nothing of any Body, which he is not; He is all things that are, and therefore he hath all Names, becauſe all things are from one Father; and therefore he hath no Name, becauſe he is the Father of all things.* And in the cloſe of the ſame Book, ὑπὲρ τίνος σε ὑμνήσω, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐποίησας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἐποίησας; ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐφανέρωσας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔκρυψας; διὰ τί δὲ καὶ ὑμνήσω σε; ὡς ἐμαυτοῦ ὤν; ὡς ἔχων τί ἴδιον, ὡς ἄλλος ὤν; σὺ εἶ γὰρ ὃ ἐὰν ὦ· σὺ εἶ ὃ ἂν ποιῶ· σὺ εἶ ὃ ἂν λέγω· σὺ γὰρ πάντα εἶ, τὸ ἄλλο οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ εἶ· σὺ πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, σὺ τὸ μὴ γενόμενον· *For what ſhall I praiſe thee? for thoſe things which thou haſt made? or for thoſe things which thou haſt not made? for thoſe things which thou haſt manifeſted, or for thoſe things which thou haſt hidden and concealed within thy ſelf? And for what cauſe ſhall I praiſe thee? becauſe I am my own, as having ſomething proper, and diſtinct from thee? Thou art whatſoever I am, thou art whatſoever I do, or ſay, for thou art All things, and there is nothing which thou art not; thou art that which is made, and thou art that which is unmade.* Where it is obſervable, that before things were Made, God is ſaid κρύπτειν, *to Hide them within himſelf;* but when they are made, φανεροῦν, *to Manifeſt and reveil them from himſelf.* Book the Eighth, νόησον ὅτι ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἀρχὴ δὲ καὶ περιοχὴ καὶ σύστασις πάντων ὁ θεός· *Underſtand that the whole World is from God, and in God; for God is the Beginning, Comprehenſion*

P. 617.

and Conſtitution of all things. Book the Ninth, μᾶλλον δὲ λέγω ὅτι ἐκ αὐτὸς αὑτὰ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαίνομαι, αὐτὸς ἅπαντά ἐστιν· ἐκ ἐξωθεν αὐτὰ προσλαμβάνων, ἔξω δὲ ἀποδιδούς· *I would not ſay, that God Hath all things, but rather declare the truth, and ſay that he Is All things; not as receiving them from without, but as ſending them forth from himſelf.* Again afterwards in the ſame Book, καὶ ἐκ ἔσαι ποτε χρόνος, ὅτε ἀπολειφθήσεταί τι τῶν ὄντων· ὅταν δὲ λέγω τῶν ὄντων, λέγω τοῦ θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ὄντα ὁ θεὸς ἔχει, καὶ ὅτε αὐτοῦ ἀδὲν ἐκτὸς, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἀδενός· *There ſhall never be a time, when any thing that is, ſhall ceaſe to be, for when I ſay any thing that Is, I ſay any thing of God; for God hath all things in him and there is neither any thing without God, nor God without any thing.* Book the Tenth, τί γάρ ἐστι θεὸς, καὶ πατὴρ, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τὸ τῶν πάντων εἶναι ἐκ ἔτι ὄντων· ἀλλὰ ὕπαρξις αὐτὴ τῶν ὄντων; *What is God, but the very Being of all things that yet are not, and the Subſiſtence of things that are.* And again, ὁ θεὸς, καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν, τῷ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, *God is both the Father and Good, becauſe he is All things.* Book the Eleventh, αὐτεργὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀεί ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, αὐτὸς ὢν ὃ ποιεῖ· εἰ γὰρ χωρισθείη αὐτοῦ, πάντα μὲν συμπεσεῖσθαι, πάντα δὲ τεθνήξεσθαι ἀνάγκη· *God acting immediately from himſelf, is always in his own work, Himſelf being that which he makes; for if that were never ſo little ſeparated from him, all would of neceſſity fall to nothing and die.* Again, πάντά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ὄχ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ κείμενα, *All things are in God, but not as lying in a place.* And further, ſince our own Soul can by Cogitation and Phancy, become what it will, and where it will, any thing, or in any place, τοῦτον δὲν τὸν τρόπον νόησον τὸν θεὸν, ὡς πᾶν νοήματα πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα, τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν ὅλον· *You may conſider God in the ſame manner, as containing the whole World within himſelf, as his own Conceptions and Cogitations.* And in the Cloſe of that Chapter, that which is alſo thence cited by St. *Cyril*, is to the ſame purpoſe, ἀόρατός ὁ θεός; δύφήμησον καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ φανερώτερος· διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάντα ἐποίησεν, ἵνα διὰ πάντων αὐτὸν βλέπῃς· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴ, τὸ αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι διὰ πάντων· *Is God Inviſible? ſpeak worthily of him, for who is more manifeſt than he? for this very reaſon did he make all things, that thou mighteſt ſee him through all things; This is the Vertue and Goodneſs of the Deity, to be ſeen through all things. The Mind is ſeen in thinking, but God in Working or Making.* Book the Twelfth, ἤκουσα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος λέγοντος (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μόνος, ὦ τέκνον, ἀληθῶς ὡς πρωτόγονος θεὸς, τὰ πάντα καθορῶν, θείους λόγους ἐφθέγξατο) ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ποτὲ λέγοντος, ὅτι ἓν ἐστι τὰ πάντα· *I have heard the good Demon (for he alone, as the firſt begotten God, beholding all things, ſpake Divine Words) I have heard him ſometimes ſaying, that One is All things.* Again in the ſame Chapter, ὁ δὲ σύμπας κόσμος ὅτος ἡνωμένος ἐκείνῳ, καὶ συσώζων τὴν τάξιν, καὶ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς, πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἀδὲν ἐστιν ἐν τούτῳ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὅτε τοῦ παντὸς, ὅτε τῶν μέρους, ὃ μὴ ζῇ, νεκρὸν γὰρ ἀδὲ ἓν, ὅτε γέγονεν, ὅτε ἐστὶν, ὅτε ἔσται ἐν κόσμῳ· *This whole World is intimately united to him, and obſerving the order and will of its Father, hath the fulneſs of Life in it, and there is nothing in it through Eternity (neither Whole nor Part) which does not live; for there neither is, nor hath been, nor ſhall be, any thing Dead in the world.* The meaning is, that all things vitally depend upon the Deity, who is ſaid in Scripture, to quicken and enliven all things.

τοῦτο

τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς, τὸ πᾶν· ἐν ᾧ τῷ παντὶ, ὄσ᾽ ἔστιν οὐ μὴ ἔστιν· ὅθεν ὅτε μέγεθος, ὅτε τόπος, ὅτε ποιότης, ὅτε σχῆμα, ὅτε χρόνος περὶ τὸν Θεόν ἐστι· πᾶν γὰρ ὄζι, τὸ ὂν πᾶν διὰ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντα· *This is God, the Universe or All. And in this Universe there is nothing which he is not: Wherefore there is neither Magnitude nor Place nor Quality nor Figure nor Time about God, for he is All or the Whole, (but those things belong to Parts.)* And the *Arcane Cantion*, though that Thirteenth Book to which it is subjoyned be suppositious, yet harps much upon this Point of the Egyptian Theology, *That God is All:* ὑμνεῖν μέλλω τὸν τῆς κτίσεως κύριον, καὶ τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τὸ ἕν· *I am about to praise the Lord of the Creation, the All and the One.* And again, *All the Powers that are in me, praise the One and the All.* Book the Fifteenth, ἐάν τις ἐπιχειρήσῃ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἐν χωρίσαι, τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἑνὸς λύσας ἀπολέσῃ τὸ πᾶν, πάντα γὰρ ἓν εἶναι δεῖ· *If any one go about to separate the All from the One, he will destroy the All, or the Universe, for All ought to be One.* Book the Sixteenth, ἄρξομαι τοῦ λόγου ἔνθεν, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, τὸν τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην, καὶ ποιητὴν, καὶ πατέρα, καὶ περίβολον, καὶ πάντα ὄντα τὰ ἕνα, καὶ ἕνα ὄντα τὰ πάντα· τὸ πάντων γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα, ἓν ἐστι, καὶ ἐν ἑνί· *I will begin with a Prayer to him, who is the Lord and Maker and Father and Bound of all things; and who being All things, is One, and being One is All things; for the fulness of All things is One and in One.* And again, μέρη τοῦ Θεοῦ πάντα ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ πάντα μέρη, πάντα ἄρα ὁ Θεός· πάντα δὲ ποιῶν, ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖ· *All things are Parts of God, but if all things be Parts of God, then God is All things; Wherefore He making All things, doth, as it were, make himself.*

Now by all this we see, how well these Trismegistick Books, agree with that *Ancient Egyptian Inscription*, in the Temple of *Sais*, That *God is all that Was, Is, and Shall be.* Wherefore the Egyptian Theology thus undoubtedly asserting, *One God that was All things*; it is altogether impossible that it should acknowledge a *Multitude of Self-existent, and Independent Deities.*

Hitherto we have taken notice of Two several Egyptian Names, for One and the same *Supreme Deity*; *Hammon* and *Neith*; but we shall find that besides these, the Supreme God was sometimes worshipped by the Egyptians under other Names and Notions also; as of *Isis*, *Osiris* and *Sarapis.* For first, though *Isis* have been taken by some for the *Moon*, by others for the whole *Earth*, by others for *Ceres* or Corn, by others for the *Land of Egypt*, (which things in what sence they were Deified by the Egyptians, will be elsewhere declared) yet was she undoubtedly taken also sometimes, for an *Universal and All-comprehending Numen.* For *Plutarch* affirms, that *Isis* and *Neith*, were really one and the same God among the Egyptians, and therefore the Temple of *Neith* or *Minerva* at *Sais*, where the forementioned Inscription was found, is called by him, *the Temple of Isis*; so that *Isis* as well as *Neith* or *Minerva* among the Egyptians, was there described, as That God, who is *All that Was, Is, and Shall be*, and whose Veil no Mortal hath ever uncovered; that is, not a particular God, but an Universal and All-comprehending *Numen.* And this may be yet further confirmed, from that Ancient Inscription and Dedication to the Goddess *Isis*, still extant at *Capua.*

TIBI.
UNA. QUÆ.
ES. OMNIA.
DEA. ISIS.

Where the Goddeſs *Iſis* is plainly declared to be ἓν τὸ πᾶν, *One and All things*, that is, *a Univerſal and All-comprehending Deity.* And with this agreeth alſo that Oration of this Goddeſs *Iſis* in *Apuleius*; *En adſum tuis, commota,* Luci, *precibus, rerum Natura Parens, elementorum omnium Domina, ſeculorum Progenies initialis: Summa numinum, Regina marium, Prima Cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque Facies uniformis; quæ cœli luminoſa culmina, maris ſalubria flamina, inferorum deplorata ſilentia, nutibus meis diſpenſo. Cujus Numen unicum multiformi ſpecie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis: Behold here am I, moved by thy Prayers,* Lucius, *that Nature which was the Parent of things; the Miſtreſs of all the Elements; the Beginning and Original of Ages; the Sum of all the Divine Powers; the Queen of the Seas; the Firſt of the Celeſtial Inhabitants; the Uniform Face of Gods and Goddeſſes; which with my becks diſpenſe the Luminous Heights of the Heavens, the wholeſome Blaſts of the Sea, and the deplorable ſilences of Hell; whoſe only Divine Power, the whole World worſhips and adores, in a Multiform manner, and under Different Rites and Names.* From which words it is plain, that this Goddeſs *Iſis*, was not the meer *Animated Moon* (which was rather a Symbol of her) but that ſhe was an Univerſal Deity, comprehenſive of the whole Nature of things; the One Supreme God, worſhipped by the Pagans, under ſeveral Names, and with different Rites. And this is the plain meaning of thoſe laſt words *Numen Unicum, &c. that the whole World worſhippeth one and the ſame Supreme God, in a multiform manner, with various Rites, and under many different Names.* For beſides the Several Names of the other Pagans there mentioned, the Egypptians worſhipped it, under the Names of *Hammon, Neith,* and others that ſhall be afterwards declared. And thus was *Iſis* again worſhipped and invok'd, as the *unicum Numen*, or only Divine power, by *Apuleius* himſelf, in theſe following Words; *Tu ſancta & humani generis Soſpitatrix perpetua, dulcem matris affectionem miſeris tribuis, fatorum inextricabiliter contorta retractas litia, fortunæ tempeſtates mitigas, & ſtellarum noxios meatus cohibes: Te Superi colunt, obſervant Inferi. Tu rotas orbem, luminas ſolem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum. Tibi reſpondent ſydera, gaudent numina, ſerviunt elementa: Tuo nutu ſpirant flamina, &c. Thou holy and perpetual Saviour of Mankind that art always bountiful in cheriſhing Mortals, and doſt manifeſt the dear affections of a Mother to them in their Calamities, thou extricateſt the involved threds of Fate, mitigateſt the tempeſts of Fortune, and reſtraineſt the noxious Influences of the Stars: the Celeſtial Gods worſhip thee, the Infernal Powers obey thee; thou rolleſt round the Heavens, enlightneſt the Sun, governeſt the World, treadeſt upon* Tartarus *or Hell; the Starrs obey thee, the Elements ſerve thee, at thy beck the winds blow,* &c. Where *Iſis* is plainly ſuppoſed to be an Univerſal *Numen* and ſupreme Monarch of the World. Neither may this hinder,

Metam. l. 11.

hinder, that she was called a Goddess as *Neith* also was; these Pagans making their Deities to be indifferently of either Sex, Male or Female. But much more was *Osiris* taken for the Supreme Deity, whose name was sometimes said, to have signified in the Egyptian Language, πολυόφθαλμος, *that which had many Eyes*, sometimes κράτος ἐνεργὲς καὶ ἀγαθοποιὸν, *an active and beneficent Force*; (and whose Hieroglyphick was *an Eye and a Scepter*;) the former signifying Providence and Wisdom, and the Latter Power and Majesty (as *Plutarch* tells us) Who also is thus described in *Apuleius*, *Deus Deorum magnorum potior, & majorum summus, & Summorum Maximus, & Maximorum Regnator*, Osiris: *That God who is the chiefest of the Greater Gods, and the Greatest of the Chiefest, and which Reigneth over the Greatest.* Wherefore the same *Apuleius* also tells us, that *Isis* and *Osiris* were really one and the same Supreme *Numen*, though considered under different Notions and Worshipped with different Rites, in these words, *Quanquam connexa imo vero unica, ratio Numinis, Religionisque esset, tamen Teletæ discrimen esse maximum*; *though* Isis *and* Osiris *be really One and the same Divine Power, yet are their Rites and Ceremonies very different.* The proper notion of *Osiris*, being thus declared by *Plutarch*, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νοερώτατον πάντων, ὃ τ' ἀγαθῷ ταὐτόν ἐστι, *that First and Highest of all Beings, which is the same with Good.* Agreeably whereunto, *Jamblichus* affirmeth, ἀγαθῶν ποιητικὸς ὢν Ὄσιρις κέκληται, *that God as the Cause of all Good is call'd* Osiris *by the Egyptians.* Lastly, as for *Sarapis*, though *Origen* tells us, that this was a new upstart Deity, set up by *Ptolemy* in *Alexandria*: yet this God in his Oracle to *Nicocrion* the King of *Cyprus*, declares himself also to be a Universal *Numen*, comprehending the whole World, in these words, οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλή, &c. to this Sence; *The Starry Heaven is my Head, the Sea my Belly, my Ears are in the Ether, and the bright Light of the Sun is my clear piercing Eye.* And doubtless he was worshipped by many under this Notion. For as *Philarchus* wrote thus concerning him, Σάραπις ὄνομα τοῦ τὸ πᾶν κοσμοῦντος, *That* Sarapis *was the Name of that God, which orders and governs the whole World*; so doth *Plutarch* himself conclude, that *Osiris* and *Sarapis*, were ἄμφω ἑνὸς θεοῦ καὶ μιᾶς δυνάμεως, *both of them Names of One God, and the same Divine Power.* Accordingly whereunto *Diodorus Siculus* determines, that these Three, *Hammon*, *Osiris* and *Sarapis*, were but different names for one and the same Deity, or Supreme God. Notwithstanding which, *Porphyrius* it seems, had a very ill conceit of that Power which manifested it self in the Temple of this God *Sarapis*, above all the other Pagan Gods, he suspecting it to be no other than the very Prince of evil Demons or Devils, τοὺς δὴ πονηροὺς δαίμονας ὧν ἐπὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Σαράπιν ὑποπτεύομεν· οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ συμβόλου μόνον ἀναπειθόντες, &c. *We do not vainly or without ground suspect and conjecture, that the evil Demons, are under* Sarapis *as their Prince and Head: this appearing* (saith he) *not only from those Rites of Appeasment used in the Worship of this God, but also from the Symbol of him, which was a Three-headed Dog, signifyng that Evil Demon, which ruleth in those Three Elements, Water, Earth, and Air.* Neither indeed can it be doubted, but that it was an Evil Demon or Devil, that delivered Oracles in this Temple of *Sarapis* as well as elsewhere among the Pagans, however he affected to be worshipped as the Supreme God.

L. 5 p. 257.

Euseb: Pr ap. L. 4. cap 23.

Besides

Beſides all this, *Euſebius* himſelf from *Porphyrius* informs us, that the Egyptians acknowledged *One Intellectual Demiurgus*, or Maker of the World, under the name of *Cneph*, whom they worſhipped in a Statue of Humane Form, and a blackiſh Sky-coloured Complexion; holding in his hand a Girdle and a Scepter, and wearing upon his Head a Princely Plume, and thruſting forth an Egg out of his Mouth. The reaſon of which Hieroglyphick is thus given, ὅτι λόγῳ δυζδρέτῳ καὶ κεκρυμμένῳ, καὶ ὃ φανὸς, καὶ ὅτι ζωοποιὸς, καὶ ὅτι βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὅτι νοερᾶς κινεῖται· διὸ καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ φύσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κεῖται· *Becauſe that Wiſdom and Reaſon, by which the World was made, is not eaſie to be found out but hidden and obſcure. And becauſe this is the Fountain of Life and King of all things; and becauſe it is Intellectually moved, ſignified by the Feathers upon his head. Moreover by the Egg thruſt out of the Mouth of this God, was meant the World, created by the Eternal* λόγος, *and from this* Cneph, *was ſaid to be Generated or Produced Another God, whom the Egyptians call* Phtha *and the Greeks* Vulcan; of which *Phtha* more afterwards. That the Egyptians were the moſt eminent Aſſerters of the *Coſmogonia* or *Temporary Beginning* of the World, hath been already declared; for which cauſe the Scholiaſt upon *Ptolemy* thus perſtringeth them, ὡς πᾶς εἰώθασι λέγειν γένεσιν Αἰγύπτιοι κόσμου, *The Egyptians were wont to talk perpetually of the* Geneſis *or Generation of the World.* And *Aſclepius* an ancient Egyptian Writer in his *Myriogeneſis*, affirms that according to the Egyptian Tradition, the Sun was made in *Libra.* But that the Egyptians did not ſuppoſe the world to have been made by Chance, as *Epicurus* and other Atheiſtical Philoſophers did, but by an Intellectual *Demiurgus* called by them *Cneph* is evident from this Teſtimony of *Porphyrius.* Which *Cneph* was look'd upon by them as an *Unmade and Eternal Deity*, and for this very cauſe the Inhabitants of *Thebais* refuſed to worſhip any other God beſides him, as *Plutarch* informs us in theſe words, εἰς ὃ τὰς γραφὰς περὶ τιμωμένων ζώων, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας συντεταγμένα τελεῖν, μόνας δὲ μὴ διδόναι τὰς Θηβαΐδα κατοικοῦσας, ὡς θνητὸν θεὸν οὐδένα νομίζοντες, ἀλλὰ ὃν καλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ Κνὴφ, ἀγένητον ὄντα καὶ ἀθάνατον· *Whileſt the other Egyptians paid their proportion of Tax impoſed upon them, for the nouriſhment of thoſe ſacred Animals, worſhipped by them, the Inhabitants of* Thebais *only refuſed, becauſe they would acknowledge no Mortal God, and worſhipped him only whom they call* Cneph, *an Unmade and Eternal Deity.*

Prap. L. 3. c. 11. p. 115.

Scal. Emend. Temp. l. 5. de condit. mundi.

De Iſ. & Oſir.

Having now made it undeniably manifeſt, that the Egyptians had an acknowledgement amongſt them of *One Supreme Univerſal and Unmade Deity*, we ſhall conclude this whole Diſcourſe with the Two following Obſervations; Firſt that a great part of the *Egyptian Polytheiſm*, was really nothing elſe but the Worſhipping of *One* and the ſame *Supreme God*, under many different *Names* and *Notions*, as of *Hammon*, *Neith*, *Iſis*, *Oſiris*, *Sarapis*, *Kneph*, to which may be added *Phtha*, and thoſe other names in *Jamblichus*, of *Eicton* and *Emeph.* And that the Pagans univerſally over the whole world did the like, was affirmed alſo by *Apuleius*, in that fore-cited Paſſage of his, *Numen Unicum, multiformi ſpecie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo,*

totus

totus veneratur orbis, the Whole World worshippeth one only Supreme Numen *in a multiform manner, under different names and with different Rites.* Which different names for one and the same *Supreme God*, might therefore be mistaken by some of the sottish Vulgar amongst the Pagans, as well as they have been by learned men of these later times, for so many distinct *Unmade* and *Self-existent Deities.*

Nevertheless here may well be a Question started, whether amongst those several Egyptian Names of God, some might not signifie distinct *Divine Hypostases* Subordinate; and particularly, whether there were not some Footsteps of a *Trinity*, to be found in the old *Egyptian Theology?* For since *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, who all of them asserted a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, unquestionably derived much of their Doctrine from the Egyptians, it may reasonably be suspected, that these Egyptians did the like before them. And indeed *Athanasius Kircherus* makes no doubt at all hereof, but tells us that in the Pamphylian Obelisk, that First Hieroglyphick of a *Winged Globe, with a Serpent coming out of it*, was the Egyptian Hieroglyphick of a *Triform Deity*, or *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*; he confirming the same, from the Testimony of *Abenephius* an Arabian Writer, and a Chaldaick Fragment imputed to *Sanchuniathon*; the Globe being said to signifie, the First Incomprehensible Deity without Beginning or End, Self-existent; the Serpent the Divine Wisdom and Creative Vertue; and lastly the Wings, that Active Spirit, that cherisheth, quickneth, and enliveneth all things. How far credit is to be given to this, we leave others to judge; but the clearest footsteps that we can find any where of an *Egyptian Trinity* is in *Jamblichus* his Book, written concerning their Mysteries; which whole place therefore is worth the setting down, Κατ' ἄλλω δὲ τάξιν προστάτην [Ἑρμῆς] θεὸν τὸν Ἥμηφ, τὴν ἐπτεραγίαν θεῶν ἡγεμόνα, ὃν φησὶν νοῦν εἶναι αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν νοοῦντα, καὶ τὰς νοήσεις εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα. Τοῦτο δὲ ἓν ἄμερες, καὶ ὃ φησι τὸ πρῶτον μάγδωμα προτάττει, ὃν καὶ Εἰκτὼν ἐπονομάζει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πρῶτον ὂν νοῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον νοητὸν, ὃ δὴ καὶ διὰ σιγῆς μόνης θεραπεύεται. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις—— ὁ δημιουργικὸς νοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας προστάτης, καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐρχόμενον μὲν εἰς γένεσιν, καὶ τὸν ἀφανῆ τῶν κεκρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, Ἀμμῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γλῶσσαν λέγεται, συντελῶν δὲ ἀφθόδως ἔχασα καὶ τεχνικῶς μετ' ἀληθείας φθὰ, Ἕλληνες δὲ εἰς Ἥφαιστον μεταλαμβάνοντες τὸ φθὰ, τῷ τεχνικῷ μόνον προσβάλλοντες, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ποιητικὸς ὢν Ὄσιρις κέκληται, καὶ ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείας ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει. *According to another order or method,* Hermes *places the God* Emeph*, *as the Prince and Ruler over all the Celestial Gods, whom he affirmeth to be a Mind understanding himself and converting his Cogitations or Intellections into himself. Before which* Emeph*, *he placeth One Indivisible, whom he calleth* Eicton, *in which is the first Intelligible, and which is worshipped only by silence. After which Two,* Eicton *and* Emeph*, *the Demiurgick Mind and President of truth as with wisdom it proceedeth to Generations, and bringeth forth the hidden Powers of the occult Reasons into light, is called in the Egyptian Language* Ammon; *as it Artificially effects all things with truth,* Phtha (*which* Phtha *the Greeks attending only to the Artificialness thereof call* Hephestus *or* Vulcan) *as it is productive of Good,* Osiris, *besides other names that it hath according to its other Powers*

* or *Cneph.*

* or *Cneph.*

* or *Cneph.*

Powers and Energies. In which Paſſage of *Jamblichus* we have plainly *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes*, or univerſal Principles Subordinate, according to the *Hermaick Theology*; Firſt an *Indiviſible Unity* called *Eicton*, Secondly a *Perfect Mind* converting its Intellections into it ſelf, called *Emeph* or *Hemphta*, and Thirdly theimmediate *Principle of Generation*, called by ſeveral names, according to its ſeveral Powers, as *Phtha*, *Ammon*, *Oſiris* and the like: So that theſe Three Names with others, according to *Jamblichus*, did in the Egyptian Theology, ſignifie, one and the ſame Third Divine *Hypoſtaſis*. How well theſe Three Divine *Hypoſtaſes* of the Egyptians, agree with the Pythagorick or Platonick Trinity, of Firſt, τὸ ἓν or τἀγαθὸν, *Unity and Goodneſs* it ſelf, Secondly, νοῦς, *Mind*, and Thirdly ψυχὴ, *Soul*, I need not here declare. Only we ſhall call to mind what hath been already intimated, that that Reaſon or Wiſdom which was the *Demiurgus* of the World, and is properly the Second of the forementioned *Hypoſtaſes*, was called alſo amongſt the Egyptians, by another name, *Cneph*; from whom was ſaid to have been produced or begotten the God *Phtha*, the *Third Hypoſtaſis* of the *Egyptian Trinity*; ſo that *Cneph* and *Emeph* are all one. Wherefore we have here plainly an *Egyptian Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes Subordinate*, *Eicton*, *Emeph* (or *Cneph*) and *Phtha*. VVe know not what to add more to this of *Jamblichus*, concerning an *Egyptian Trinity*, unleſs we ſhould inſiſt upon thoſe Paſſages which have been cited by ſome of the Fathers to this purpoſe out of *Hermaick* or *Triſmegiſtick Books*, whereof there was one before ſet down out of St. *Cyril*; or unleſs we ſhould again call to mind, that Citation out of *Damaſcius*, μία τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴ σκότος ἄγνωστον ὑμνουμένη ἐπὶ τοῖς τρισὶ τελὶς ἀναφανόμενον ὕτως, *that according to the Egyptians, there is One Principle of all things praiſed under the name of the Unknown Darkneſs, and this Thrice repeated.* Agreeably to which *Auguſtinus Steuchus* produces another Paſſage out of the ſame Philoſophick VVriter; that the Egyptians made, πρώτην ἀρχὴν σκότον ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν νόησιν, σκότος ἄγνωστον, τρὶς τοῦτο ἐπιφημίζοντες, *the Firſt Principle of all, to be Darkneſs above all Knowledge and Underſtanding (or Unknown Darkneſs) they Thrice repeating the ſame.* VVhich the forementioned *Steuchus* takes to be a clear acknowledgement of a *Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes* in the *Egyptian Theology.*

Our *Second Obſervation* is this, That the *Egyptian Theology* as well as the *Orphick* (which was derived from it) aſſerting *One Incorporeal Deity*, that is *All Things*; as it is evident, that it could not admit a *Multitude* of *Self-exiſtent* and *Independent Deities*, ſo did the ſeeming Polytheiſm of theſe Egyptians proceed alſo in great meaſure from this Principle of theirs not rightly underſtood; they being led thereby, in a certain ſence, θεοποιεῖν *to Perſonate and Deifie* the Several *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, beſtowing the *Names* of *Gods and Goddeſſes* upon them. Not that they thererefore worſhipped the *Inanimate Parts* of the VVorld as ſuch, Much leſs Things not *Subſtantial* but meer *Accidents*, for ſo many Real, Diſtinct, Perſonal Deities; but becauſe conceiving that *God* who was *All things*, ought to be Worſhipped in *All things* (ſuch eſpecially as were moſt Beneficial to Mankind) they did, according to that *Aſclepian* and *Triſmegiſtick*

Doctrine

Doctrine before-mentioned, *Call God by the Name of every Thing, or Every thing by the Name of God.* And that the wiſer of them very well underſtood that it was really *One* and the ſame *Simple Deity*, that was thus worſhipped amongſt them by piece-meal, in the ſeveral Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, and under different Names and Notions, with different Ceremonies, is thus declared by *Plutarch*, Ἑλληνικὸν ἡ Ἶσις ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ Τυφὼν πολέμιος τῇ θεῷ, καὶ διὰ ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπάτην τετυφωμένῳ, καὶ διασπῶντι καὶ ἀφανίζοντι τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃν ἡ θεὸς συνάγει καὶ συντίθησι, καὶ παραδίδωσι τοῖς τελουμένοις θεώσεως· *Iſis is a Greek Word, which ſignifies Knowledge; and* Typhon *is the Enemy to this Goddeſs; who being puffed up by Ignorance and Error, doth Diſtract and Diſcerp the Holy Doctrine (of the Simple Deity) which* Iſis *collects together again, and makes up into One, and thus delivers it to thoſe who are initiated into her ſacred Myſteries, in order to Deification.* In which words, *Plutarch* intimates, that the *Egyptian Fable*, of *Oſiris* being Mangled and Cut in pieces by *Typhon*, did Allegorically ſignifie the *Diſcerption* and *Diſtraction* of the *Simple Deity*, by reaſon of the Weakneſs and Ignorance of vulgar minds (not able to comprehend it altogether at once) into ſeveral Names and Partial Notions, which yet *True Knowledge and Underſtanding*, that is, *Iſis*, makes up whole again and unites into One. *De Iſ. & Oſ.* 351.

XIX. It is well known that the Poets, though they were the *Prophets of the Pagans*, and pretending to a kind of *Divine Inſpiration*, did otherwiſe embue the minds of the Vulgar, with a certain Senſe of *Religion*, and the Notions of Morality, yet theſe notwithſtanding were the grand *Depravers* and *Adulterators* of the *Pagan Theology*. For this they were guilty of upon ſeveral Accounts. As Firſt, Their attributing to the Gods, in their Fables concerning them, all manner of Humane Imperfections, Paſſions and Vices. Which abuſe of theirs, the wiſer of the Pagans were in all ages highly ſenſible of and offended with, as partly appears from theſe Free Paſſages vented upon the Stage,

——Καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ὢν βροτῷ
Κακὸς πέφυκε, ζημιοῦσιν οἱ θεοί·
Πῶς οὖν δίκαιον, τοὺς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς
Γράψαντας, αὐτοὺς ἀνομίαν ὀφλισκάνειν; *Eurip. in Iône.*

——— *Si quis eſt mortalium*
Qui ſcelera patrat, exigunt pœnam Dei:
At nonne iniquum eſt, vos, ſuas leges quibus
Gens debet hominum, jure nullo vivere?

To this ſence: *Since mortal men are puniſhed by the Gods for tranſgreſſing their Laws, is it not unjuſt, that ye Gods who write theſe Laws, ſhould your ſelves live without Law?* And again,

——Οὐκέτ' ἀνθρώπους κακῶς
Λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακὰ
Μιμούμεθ', ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε·

——*Nulla nos posthac notet*
Censura, siquando ista quæ superos decent
Imitamur homines. Culpa ad auctores redit.

Let men no longer be blamed for imitating the Evil Actions of the Gods; for they can only be justly blamed, who teach men to do such things by their Examples.

Secondly, the Poets were further guilty of *Depraving* the *Religion* and *Theology of the Pagans*, by their so frequently *Personating* and *Deifying* all the *Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World*, and calling them by the Names of those Gods, that were suppos'd to preside over them; that is, of the several Divine Powers manifested in them. This *Plutarch* taxes the Poets with, where giving directions for young mens reading of their VVritings, he thus seasonably cautions against the danger of it, τοῦτο δ' ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ χρήσιμον, εἰ μέλλοιμεν ὠφελεῖσθαι τῶν ποιημάτων ὠφελιθήσεσθαι καὶ μὴ βλαβήσεσθαι, τὸ γινώσκειν πῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ χρῶνται. ——χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι οἱ ποιηταὶ, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκείνων ἐφαπτόμενοι τῇ ἐννοίᾳ, ποτὲ δὲ δυνάμεις τινὰς, ὧν οἱ θεοὶ δωτῆρές εἰσι καὶ χαθηγεμόνες, ὁμωνύμως προσαγορεύοντες· *It is very profitable and necessary if we would receive good from the Writings of the Poets and not hurt; that we should understand how they use the names of the Gods in different senses. Wherefore the Poets sometimes use the names of the Gods, properly, as intending to signifie thereby the Gods themselves, and sometimes again they use them Improperly and Equivocally, for those Powers which the Gods are the Givers and Dispensers of, or the Things which they Preside over.* As for example, *Vulcane* is sometimes used by the Poets, for that God or Divine Power which presides over Fire and the Arts that operate by Fire, and sometimes again the word is taken by them for Fire it self. So *Mars* in like manner, is sometimes used for the God which presides over Military Affairs, and sometimes again it signifies nothing else but VVar. An instance whereof is there given by *Plutarch out of Sophocles.*

Τυφλὸς γὰρ, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἐσθ' ὁρῶν Ἄρης,
Συὸς προσώπῳ, πάντα τυρβάζει κακά·

Mars (*O Mulieres*) *cæcus hirsuto suis*
Velut ore frendens, cuncta commiscet mala.

And we might give this other instance of the same from *Virgil*,

——*Furit toto Mars impius orbe.*

For the God of War, that is, the Divine Providence that presides over Military Affairs, could not be called Impious or Wicked, but it is War it self that is there so styled.

Indeed we shall afterwards make it appear, that the first Original of this business, proceded from a certain Philosophick Opinion amongst

mongſt the Pagans, *That God was diffuſed throughout the whole World*, and was himſelf in a manner All Things; and therefore ought to be Worſhipped in All Things; but the Poets were principally the men, who carried it on thus far, by Perſonating the ſeveral Inanimate Parts of the World and Things of Nature, to make ſuch a Multitude of *diſtinct Gods and Goddeſſes of them.* Which Humour, though it were chiefly indulged by them, ψυχαγωγίας ἕνεκεν, *only for the delight and pleaſure of the Reader*, beſides gratifying their own Poetick Phancies; yet was it a matter of Dangerous Conſequence, as the ſame *Plutarch* gravely and ſoberly advizes, in his Book *de Iſide*, it begetting in ſome groſs and irrational *Superſtition* (that is, in our Chriſtian Language, *Idolatry*) and carrying others on to downright *Impiety and Atheiſm.* But this will be afterwards alſo again inſiſted on.

Wherefore in the next place, we ſhall obſerve that the Poets did alſo otherwiſe deprave the Theology of the Pagans, ſo as to make it look ſomewhat more *Ariſtocratically*, and this principally Two manner of wayes; Firſt by their ſpeaking ſo much of the Gods in General and without Diſtinction, and attributing the Government of the Whole World to them in Common; ſo as if it were managed and carried on, *Communi Conſilio Deorum, by a Common Council and Republick of Gods*, wherein all things were determined by a *Majority of Votes*, and as if their *Jupiter* or Supreme God were no more amongſt them than a Speaker of a *Houſe of Lords* or *Commons*, or the Chairman of a Committee. In which they did indeed attribute more to their Inferiour Deities, than according to their own Principles they ought.

And Secondly (which is the *Laſt Depravation* of the *Pagan Theology* by theſe Poets) by their making thoſe that were really nothing elſe but ſeveral Names and Notions of one and the ſame Supreme Deity, according to its ſeveral Powers manifeſted in the World, or the different Effects produced by it; to be ſo many really diſtinct Perſons and Gods; inſomuch as ſometimes to be at odds and variance with one another and even with *Jupiter* himſelf. This St. *Baſil* ſeems to take notice of, in his Oration, *How Young men may be profited by the Writings of the Greeks*, πάντων ἥκιστα περὶ θεῶν τι διαλεγομένοις (ποιηταῖς) προσέξομεν, ἢ μάλιστ' ὅταν, ὡς περὶ πολλῶν τε αὐτῶν διεξίωσι, καὶ τούτων οὐδὲ διανοουμένων· *But leaſt of all will we give credit to the Poets, where they diſcourſe concerning the Gods, and ſpeak of them as Many (Diſtinct and Independent) Perſons, and that not agreeing amongſt themſelves neither, but ſiding ſeveral ways, and perpetually quarrelling with one another.*

Notwithſtanding all which Extravagancies and Miſcarriages of the Poets, we ſhall now make it plainly to appear, that they really aſſerted, not a Multitude of *Self-exiſtent and Independent Deities*; but *One only Unmade Deity*, and all the other, Generated or Created Gods. This hath been already proved concerning *Orpheus* from ſuch Fragments of the Orphick Poems, as have been owned and atteſted by Pagan Writers: but it would be further evident, might we

give credit to any of those other Orphick Verses, that are found cited by Christians and Jews only (and we cannot reasonably conclude all these to be counterfeit and suppositious) amongst which we have this for one,

Εἷς ἐς' αὐτογενὴς, ἐνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,

There is One only Unmade God, and all other Gods and Things, are the Off-spring of this One. Moreover when God in the same *Orphick Fragments*, is stiled μητερ-πάτωρ, *both Father and Mother of all things* (accordingly as it was observed before) that both the Orphick and Egyptian Theology, made the Supreme Deity especially, to be ἀρρενόθηλυν, *Hermaphroditical*, or *Male and Female together*; This, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* rightly interprets the meaning of it, was to signifie, τὸν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γένεσιν, *the Production of things out of nothing* or from the Deity alone, without any Preexistent or Self-existent Matter.

But we shall pass from *Orpheus* to *Homer*. Now it is certain that *Homer's Gods*, were not all *Eternal*, *Unmade* and *Self-existent*, he plainly declariug the contrary concerning the Gods in general; that they had a *Genesis*, that is, a *Temporary Production*, as in that forecited Verse of his

Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, &c.

The Ocean from whence the Gods were Generated, Where by *Gods* are meant all the Animated parts of the world superiour to men, but principally (as *Eustathius* observes) the *Stars*, θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀστέρων, *Gods* (saith he) *are here put for Stars*. And as the same Philologer further adds, the Gods or Stars, do by a Synechdoche signifie All Things, or the Whole World, ἀντὶ τοῦ πάντων ὡς ἀπὸ μέρους, *a Part being put for the Whole*, accordingly as the same Poet elsewhere declares his sence, speaking likewise of the Ocean,

——"ὃς γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται,

Which was the Original of all things, or from whence (*not only the Gods* but also) *all other things were Generated*. Wherefore the full meaning of *Homer* was this, That the *Gods* or *Stars*, together with this whole Visible World, had a Temporary Production, and were at first made out of the *Ocean*, that is, out of the *Watry Chaos*. So that *Homer's Theogonia* as well as *Hesiod's*, was one and the same thing with the *Cosmogonia*, his Generation of Gods, the same with the *Generation or Creation of the World*, both of them having in all probability derived it from the *Mosaick Cabala*, or Tradition. And *Eustathius* tells us, that, according to the Ancients, *Homer's* ἀστιδοποιΐα, described *Il.* σ. was αἴνιγμα τῆς κοσμογονίας, *an obscure signification of the Cosmogénia or Cosmogonia*.

Nevertheless though οἱ θεοὶ or *the Gods* in general, be by *Homer*, thus

thus generated from the Ocean or Watry *Chaos*, yet this is to be understood only of the *Inferiour Gods*, and He is supposed to be distinguished from them, who in the same Poet is frequently called, ὁ Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχὴν, *God by way of eminency* (to whom he plainly ascribes Omnipotence) and ΖΕΥΣ or *Jupiter*, whom he stileth κάρητον ἁπάντων, *the most powerful of all*, and πρῶτα Θεῶν, *the First and Chiefest of the Gods*, and Ὕπατον Θεῶν and κρειόντων, *the Highest of Gods and Governours*, and whom he affirmeth infinitely to transcend the Gods, *Il.* θ.

Τόσσον ἐγὼ περί τ' εἰμὶ Θεῶν; περί τ' εἴμ' ἀνθρώπων.

And to reign as well over Gods as Men, *Il.* α.

——— ὅς τε Θεοῖσι ἠδ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει.

Lastly, whom he maketh to be πατέρα Θεῶν, *the Father of the Gods as well as Men*, that is, nothing less than the Creatour of them and the whole World. He therefore who thus produced the Gods and Stars, out of the Ocean or Watry *Chaos*, must needs be excluded out of that number of Gods, so as not to have been himself Generated or made out of it. Thus have we before observed, that οἱ Θεοὶ, or *the Gods* in general, are frequently taken, both by *Homer* and other Greek Writers, in way of distinction from ὁ Θεὸς or *Jupiter*, that is, for the Inferiour Gods only.

It is true indeed that others of the Pagan Gods besides *Jupiter*, were by the Latins in their solemn Rites and Prayers, stiled *Patres*, *Fathers*; and as *Jupiter* is nothing else but *Jovis Pater*, contracted into one word, so was *Mars* called by them *Marspiter*, and *Saturnus*, *Janus*, *Neptunus* and *Liber* had the like addition also made to their names, *Saturnuspater*, *Januspater*, *Neptunuspater*, *Liberpater*; and not only so, but even their very *Heroes* also (as for example, *Quirinus*) had this honourable title of *Father* bestowed on them, All which appeareth from those Verses of *Lucilius*,

Ut nemo sit nostrum quin aut Pater Optimus Divum,
Aut Neptunus Pater, Liber, Saturnus Pater, Mars,
Janus, Quirinus Pater nomen dicatur ad unum

Notwithstanding which, here is a great difference to be be observed, that though those other *Gods* were called *Fathers*, yet none of them was ever called, either by the Greeks, πατὴρ Θεῶν, or by the Latins, *Pater Optimus Divum*, save only ΖΕΥΣ or *Jupiter*, the Supreme Deity.

And that *Homer* was thus generally understood by the Pagans themselves to have asserted a *Divine Monarchy*, or One Supreme Deity ruling over All, may further appear from these following Citations. *Plutarch* in his Platonick Questions, ὁ Ξενοκράτης Δία Ὕπατον καλεῖ, πρότερον ὁ Ὅμηρος τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρχόντων ἄρχοντα Θεὸν, Ὕπατον κρειόντων προσεῖπε. Zenocrates *called* Jupiter, Hypaton, *or the Highest, but before him* Homer *stiled that God, who is the Prince of all Princes*, Ὕπατον κρειόντων, *the Highest*

Highest of Rulers or Governours. Again the same *Plutarch de Iside & Osiride,* Τὸν δ' Ὄσιριν αὖ πάλιν ὀφθαλμῷ μὲν σκήπτρῳ γράφουσι, ὧν τὸ μὲν τῷ προνοίαν ἐμφαίνει, τὸ δὲ τῷ δύναμιν· ὡς Ὅμηρος καὶ βασιλεύοντα πάντων Ζῆνα ὕπατον καὶ μήστορα καλῶν, ἔοικε τῷ μὲν ὑπάτῳ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν, τῷ δὲ μήστορι τῷ δεσπόζειν καὶ τῷ φρόνησιν σημαίνειν· *The Egyptians when they described* Osiris *by those Hieroglyphicks of an Eye and a Scepter, did by the former of them signifie Providence, and by the latter Power; as* Homer *when he calls that* Ζεὺς *or* Jupiter, *who ruleth and reigneth over all things,* ὕπατον *and* μήστορα, *seems by the word* ὕπατον, *to denote his Power and Sovereignty, but by* μήστορα *his Wisdom and Knowledge.* P. 371.

To *Plutarch* may be added *Proclus,* who upon *Plato's Timæus,* having proved that according to that Philosopher, there was τῷ κόσμῳ παντὸς εἷς καὶ ὅλου δημιουργός, *One only Maker of the whole World,* affirms the same likewise of that Divine Poet *Homer* (as he there stiles him) ὃς καὶ διὰ πάσης ποιήσεως ὕπατον κρείττων καὶ πατέρα ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν αὐτὸν ἀνυμνεῖ, καὶ πᾶσιν εὐφημεῖ τοῖς δημιουργικοῖς νοήμασιν· *That he also throughout all his Poesie, praises* Jupiter, *as the Highest of all Rulers, and the Father both of Gods and Men, and attributes all Demiurgical Notions to him.* P. 96.

Whereupon he concludes in this manner, Οὕτω τοίνυν σύμπασαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεολογίαν ἀπεφήναμεν, τοῦ Διὶ τὸν ὅλων δημιουργίαν ἀπονέμουσαν· *And thus we have made it manifest, that all the Greekish Theology, universally ascribes to* Ζεὺς *or* Jupiter, *the Making of all things.* Lastly, *Aristotle* himself confirmeth the same with his Testimony, where he writes of the Paternal Authority after this manner, ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς τέκνων ἀρχὴ βασιλική· διὸ καλῶς Ὅμηρος τὸν Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπών, *De Rep. L. 1. c. 12*

——Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

ἡ βασιλέα τούτων ἁπάντων· φύσει γὰρ ὁ βασιλέα διαφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τοῦ γένους δ' εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν· ὅθεπερ πέπονθε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον, καὶ ὁ γεννήσας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον· *The Paternal Power or Authority over Children, is a Kingly Authority: Wherefore* Homer *when he intended to set forth* Jupiter's *Kingly Power over all, very well called him the Father of Men and Gods. For he that is a King by Nature, ought both to differ from those that he reigneth over, and also to be of the same kind with them; as the Senior is to the Junior, and he that Begetteth to his Off-spring.* Where *Aristotle's* sence seems to be this, That *Jupiter* had therefore a Natural and not acquired Kingly Power over all the Gods, because they were all his Off-spring and Begotten by him, as well as Men. In which Passage therefore *Aristotle* plainly accquits and frees *Homer* from all suspicion of Atheism.

As for *Hesiod,* if we had not already sufficiently prov'd from his *Theogonia,* that all his Gods (that is his Inferiour Deities) were *Generated* and *Made,* as well as Men, it might be made unquestionably evident, from this Verse of his in his *Opera,*

Ὡς ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι,

When the Gods and Mortal men, were both together, alike made or Generated

nerated. Where the word ὁμόθεν is thus interpreted by the Greek Scholiasts, ἀπὸ τ῀ αὐτ῀ς ἐίζης and ἐκ τ῀ αὐτ῀ γ῀ς, i. e. *The Gods and Men, were both alike made from the same Root or Stock.* And though it followeth immediatly after,

Χρύσεον μὲν πρώτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες·

That first of all a Golden Age of men was made by the Immortal Gods; Yet *Moschopulus* there notes, Ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν, ὁ ζ῀ς μόνος ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τ῀ ἄλλων φάνερον γίνεται· λέγει δὲ πάντας τὸς θεὸς, τὸ τ῀ ἑνὸς ἔργον ἐπὶ πάντας τὸς ὁμοειδ῀ς ἀναφέρων· *The Immortal Gods made; the true meaning* (saith he) *is, that* Jupiter *alone made, this First golden Age of Men; as may be proved from other places in the same Poet; and though he speak of the Gods in general, yet doth he but transfer that, which was the work of One upon all of the like kind. And there are several other Instances, of this Poets using* θεοὶ *for* θεὸς, *Gods for God.* But it is possible that *Hesiod*'s meaning might be the same with *Plato*'s, that though the Inferiour Mundane Gods were all made at first by the Supreme God, as well as Men, yet they being made something sooner than Men, did afterwards contribute also to the Making of men.

But *Hesiod*'s *Theogonia* or *Generation of Gods*, is not to be understood universally neither, but only of the *Inferiour Gods*, that ζ῀ς or *Jupiter* being to be excepted out of the number of them, whom the same *Hesiod* as well as *Homer*, makes to be the *Father* of *Gods*, as also the *King of them*, in these words,

Αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλ῀ς καὶ κοίρανος ἔξ῀ν
Ἀθανάτων.

And attributes the Creation of all things to him, as *Proclus* writeth upon this place,

Ὃν τε διὰ θνητοὶ ἄνθρες ὄμως, &c.

By whom all Mortal men are, δι' ὃν πάντα, καὶ ἐκ αὐτομάτως· πάντα τ῀ Διὶ περσαναπλάττει; *by whom all things are, and not by chance; the Poet by a* Synechdoche, *here ascribing the making of all to* Jupiter. Wherefore *Hesiod*'s *Theogonia* is to be understood of the Inferiour Gods only, and not of ζ῀ς or *Jupiter*, who was the Father and Maker of them (though out of a Watery *Chaos*) and himself therefore αὐτοφυὴς, *Self-existent* or *Unmade.*

In like manner, that *Pindar*'s Gods were not *Eternal*, but *Made* or *Generated*, is plainly declared by him in these words,

Ἓν ἀνθρῶν, ἓν θεῶν γένος, ἐκ μιᾶς δ' πνέομεν
Ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι· *Nem. Od. 6.*

Unum

Unum Hominum, Unum Deorum genus,
Et ex Una ſpiramus
Matre utrique.

There is one kind both of Gods and Men, and we both breath from the ſame Mother, or ſpring from the ſame Original. Where by the common Mother both of Gods and Men, the Scholiaſt underſtands the Earth and *Chaos*, taking the Gods here for the Inferiour Deities only, and principally the Stars.

This of *Pindar*'s therefore is to be underſtood, of all the other Gods, That they were made as well as men out of the Earth or *Chaos*, but not of that Supreme Deity, whom the ſame *Pindar* elſewhere calls, θεῶν κράτιστον, *the moſt Powerful of the Gods*, and ὁ πάντων ἄριστον, *the Lord of all things*, and παντὶ ἄριστον, *the Cauſe of every thing*, and ἀριστοτέχνᾳ θεὸν, *that God who is the beſt Artificer*, or was *the Framer of the whole World*, and as *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, τὸ πᾶν, or *the Univerſe*. Which God alſo, according to *Pindar*, *Cheiron* inſtructed *Achilles* to worſhip principally, above all the other Gods.

Pyth. Od. 6.

——μάλιστα μὲν Κρονίδαν
Βαρυόπαν, στερόπᾶν κραιανῶν τε πρύτανιν,
Θεῶν σέβεσθαι·

The ſence of which words is thus declared by the Scholiaſt, ἐξαιρέτως ὁ μεγαλόφωνον ἀστραπῶν καὶ κραυνῶν δεσπότην ὁ Δία, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ σέβεσθαι· *That he ſhould honour and worſhip the Loud-ſounding* Jupiter, *the Lord of Thunder and Lightning, tranſcendently above all the other Gods.* Which by the way confutes the Opinion of thoſe who contend, that the *Supreme God*, as ſuch, was not at all Worſhipped by the Pagans.

However this is certain concerning theſe Three, *Homer*, *Heſiod* and *Pindar*; that they muſt of neceſſity either have been all abſolute Atheiſts, in acknowledging no *Eternal Deity* at all, but making ſenſleſs *Chaos*, Night and the Ocean, the Original of all their Gods without exception, and therefore of *Jupiter* himſelf too, that King and Father of them, or elſe aſſert One only Eternal Unmade Self-exiſtent Deity; ſo as that all the other Gods were Generated or Created by that One. Which latter doubtleſs was their genuine ſence; and the only reaſon why *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* might poſſibly ſometime have a ſuſpicion of the contrary, ſeems to have been this, their not underſtanding that Moſaick *Cabbala*, which both *Heſiod* and *Homer* followed, of the World's, that is, both Heaven and Earth's, being made at firſt out of a Watery *Chaos*; for thus is the Tradition declared by St. *Peter*, *Ep.* 2. *Ch.*3.

There might be ſeveral remarkable Paſſages to the ſame purpoſe, produced out of thoſe two *Tragick Poets*, *Æſchylus* and *Sophocles*; which yet becauſe they have been already cited, by *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens*

Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; to avoid nnnecessary tediousness, we shall here pass by. Only we think fit to observe concerning that one famous Passage of *Sophocles*,

Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ὄντ᾽ θεὸς,
Ὃς οὐρανόν τ᾽ ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὰν,
Πόντου τε χάρυβδιν οἶδμα, κἀνέμων βίαν, &c.

Unus profectò, Unus est tantùm Deus,
Cœli solique machinam qui condidit,
Vadumque Ponti cæruleum, & vim Spiritus, &c.

There is in truth, One only God, who made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, Air and Winds, &c. After which followeth also, something against *Image-worship*; That though this be such as might well become a Christian, and be no where now to be found in those extant Tragedies of this Poet (many whereof have been lost) yet the sincerity thereof, cannot reasonably be at all suspected by us, it having been cited by so many of the Ancient Fathers in their Writings against the Pagans, as particularly, *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, *Cyril* and *Theodoret*; of which number, *Clemens* tells us, that it was attested likewise, by that ancient Pagan Historiographer *Hecatæus*. But there are so many Places to our purpose, in *Euripides*, that we cannot omit them all; In his *Supplices* we have this, wherein all mens Absolute Dependence upon *Jupiter*, or one Supreme Deity, is fully acknowledged,

Ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δῆτα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς
Φρονεῖν λέγουσι; ζῶμεν ἢ τί μεμπτόμεθα;
Δρῶμέν τε τοιαῦτ᾽, ἂν σὺ τυγχάνῃς θέλων.

Miseros quid Homines, O Deûm Rex & Pater,
Sapere arbitramur? Pendet è nutu tuo
Res nostra, facimusque illa quæ visum tibi.

We have also this excellent Prayer to the Supreme Governour of Heaven and Earth, cited out of the same Tragedian,

Σοὶ τῷδ᾽ πάντων μεδέοντι χολῶ,
Πέλανον τε φέρω Ζεῦς ἔτ᾽ Ἀΐδης
Ὀνομαζόμενος σέβεις·
Σὺ γὰρ ἐν τε θεοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίδαις,
Σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζων,
Χθονίων θ᾽ Ἅιδη μετέχεις ἀρχῆς·
Πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχαῖς ἀνέρων
Ταῖς βουλομέναις ἄθλους προμαθεῖν
Πόθεν ἔβλασον, τίς ῥίζα κακῶν,
Τίνι δεῖ μακάρων δῦ θυσαμένους
Εὑρεῖν μόχθων ἀνάπαυλαν·

Tibi (Cunctorum Domino) Vinum,

Salſamque Molam fero, ſeu Ditis,
Tu, ſive Jovis *nomine gaudes:*
Tu namque Deos Superos inter,
Sceptrum tractas Sublime Jovis;
Idem Regnum Tereſtre tenes.
Tu Lucem animis infunde Virûm,
Qui ſcire volunt, quo ſata Mentis
Lucta ſit ortu, Quæ Cauſa Mali;
Cui Cœlicolûm rite litando
Requiem ſit habere laborum.

Where we may obſerve that Ζεὺς and Ἅιδης, *Jupiter* and *Pluto*, are both of them ſuppoſed to beNames, equally belonging to One and the ſame Supreme God. And the Sum of the Prayer is this, *That God would infuſe Light into the Souls of men, whereby they might be enabled to know, What is the Root, from whence all their Evils ſpring, and by what means they may avoid them.*

Laſtly, there is another Devotional Paſſage, cited out of *Euripides*, which conteins alſo a clear acknowledgment of One Self-exiſtent Being, that comprehends and governs the whole World,

Σὲ ϑ' Αὐτοφυῆ, ϑ' ἐν αἰθερίῳ
Ῥόμβῳ, πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξαντ',
Ὃν περὶ μὲν φῶς, περὶ δ' ὀρφναῖα
Νὺξ αἰολόχρως· ἄπειρόν τ' ἄστρων
Ὄχλον ἐνδιλεχῶς ἀμφιχορεύει·

Thou Self-ſprung Being, that do'ſt All Enfold,
And in thine Arms, Heav'ns Whirling Fabrick hold!
Who art Encircled with reſplendent Light,
And yet ly'ſt Mantled o're in Shady Night!
About whom, the Exultant Starry Fires,
Dance nimbly round, in Everlaſting Gyres.

For this ſence of the Second and Third Verſes, which we think the Words will bear, and which agrees with that Orphick Paſſage

——— Περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήριπται,

That God being in himſelf a moſt bright and dazeling Light, is reſpectively to us, and by reaſon of the Weakneſs of our Underſtanding, *covered over with a Thick Cloud*; as alſo with that in the Scripture, *Clouds and Darkneſs are round about him*; I ſay, this ſence, we choſe rather to follow, as more Rich and Auguſt, than that other Vulgar one, though Grammatically and Poetically good alſo; *That Succeſſive Day and Night, together with a Numberleſs Multitude of Stars, perpetually dance round about the Deity.*

Ariſtophanes in the very beginning of his *Plutus* diſtinguiſheth betwixt Ζεὺς and Θεοὶ, *Jupiter and the Gods*,

Ὡς

Ὡς ἀρχαλέον πρᾶγμ' ὄξη ὦ ζεῦ ἠ θεοί, &c.

And we have this clear Testimony of *Terpander* cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχά, ζεῦ πάντων ἀγήτωρ, *Thou* Jupiter *who art the Original of all things, Thou* Jupiter *who art the Governour of all.* And these following Verses are attributed to *Menander.*

Τὸν ὄντα πάντων κύριον ψυχικώτατον
Καὶ πατέρα, τοῦτον διατελεῖ τιμᾶν μόνον,
Ἀγαθῶν τοιούτων εὑρέτην ἠ κτίστορα.

Rerum universarum Imperatorem & Patrem,
Solum perpetuo colere suppliciter decet,
Artificem tantæ & Largitorem copiæ.

Where men are exhorted to Worship the Supreme God only, as the sole Author of all Good, or at least transcendently above all the other Gods. There are also Two remarkable Testimonies, one of *Hermesianax* an ancient Greek Poet, and another of *Aratus*, to the same purpose; which shall both be reserved for other places.

Wherefore we pass from the Greek to the Latin Poets, where *Ennius* first appears, deriving the Gods in General (who were all the Inferiour Deities) from *Erebus* and Night, as supposing them all to have been *Made* or *Generated* out of *Chaos*, nevertheless acknowledging One who was

——*Divûmque Hominumque Pater, Rex,*

both Father and King of Gods and Men, that is, the Maker or Creator of the whole World, who therefore made those Gods together with the World out of *Chaos*, himself being Unmade.

Plautus in like manner sometimes distinguisheth betwixt *Jupiter* and the *Gods*, and plainly acknowledgeth One Omniscient Deity,

Est profecto Deus, qui quæ nos gerimus, auditque & videt. *Cap. Act. 2. Sc. 2.*

Which Passage very much resembles that of *Manlius Torquatus* in *Livy*, *Est Cœleste Numen, Es Magne* Jupiter; a strong Asseveration of One Supreme and Universal Deity. And the same *Plautus in his Rudens* clearly asserts one Supreme Monarch and Emperor over All, whom the Inferiour Gods are subservient to,

Qui Gentes omnes Mariaque & Terras movet,
Ejus sum Civis civitate Cœlitum;
Qui est Imperator Divûm atque Hominum Jupiter,
Is nos per gentes alium aliâ dispărat,
Hominum qui facta, mores, pietatem & fidem
Noscamus.——

Qui falsas lites falsis testimoniis
Petunt, quique in jure abjurant pecuniam,
Eorum referimus nomina exscripta ad Jovem.
Cotidie Ille *scit, quis hic quærat malum.*
Iterum Ille *eam rem judicatam judicat.*
Bonos in aliis tabulis exscriptos habet.
Atque hoc sceleśti illi in animum inducunt suum
Jovem *se placare posse donis, hostiis;*
Sed operam & sumptum perdunt, quia
Nihil Ei *acceptum est à perjuris supplicii.*

Where *Jupiter* the Supreme Monarch of Gods and Men, *is said to appoint other Inferiour Gods under him, over all the parts of the Earth, to observe the Actions, Manners and Behaviours of men every where; and to return the names both of bad and good to him. Which* Jupiter *judges over again all unjust Judgments, rendring a righteous retribution to all. And though wicked men conceit that he may be bribed with sacrifices, yet no worship is acceptable to him from the Perjurious.* Notwithstanding which, this Poet afterwards jumbles the *Supreme and Inferiour Gods* all together, after the usual manner, under that one general name of Gods, because they are all supposed to be Co-governours of the World;

Facilius, siqui pius est, à Diis supplicans,
Quam qui sceleśtus est, inveniet veniam sibi.

Pœn. Act. 5. Sc. 4. Again the same Poet elsewhere brings in *Hanno* the Carthaginian, with this form of Prayer addressing himself to *Jupiter* or the Supreme God,

Jupiter, *qui genus colis alisq; Hominum, per quem vivimus*
Vitale ævum; quem penes spes, vitæque sunt Hominum Omnium,
Da diem hunc sospitem, quæso, rebus meis agundis.

In the next place, we have these Verses of *Valerius Soranus*, an ancient and eminent Poet, full to the purpose, recorded by *Varro*,

Jupiter *Omnipotens, Regum Rex ipse Deûmque,*
Progenitor Genitrixque Deûm; Deus UNUS & OMNIS.

To this sence: *Omnipotent* Jupiter, *the King of Kings and Gods, and the Progenitor and Genitrix, the both Father and Mother of those Gods; One God and all Gods.* Where the Supreme and Omnipotent Deity is stiled *Progenitor & Genitrix Deorum*, after the same manner as he was called in the Orphick Theology μητροπάτωρ and ἀρρενόθηλυς, that expression denoting the Gods and all other Things, to have been produced from him alone, and without any prexistent matter. Moreover according to the tenour of this Ethnick Theology, that *One God was All Gods* and *Every God*, the Pagans supposed, that whenever any Inferiour Deity was worshipped by them, the Supreme was therein also at once worshipped and honoured.

Though

Though the ſence of *Ovid* hath been ſufficiently declared before, yet we cannot well omit ſome other Paſſages of his, as that grateful and ſenſible acknowledgment,

Quod loquor & ſpiro, Cœlumque & lumina Solis
Aſpicio (poſſumne ingratus & immemor eſſe?)
Ipſe dedit.

And this in the Third of his *Metamorph.*

Ille Pater Rectorque Deûm, cui Dextra triſulcis
Ignibus armata eſt, qui Nutu concutit Orbem.

Virgil's Theology alſo may ſufficiently appear from his frequent acknowledgment of an Omnipotent Deity, and from thoſe Verſes of his before cited out of *Æn.* 6. wherein he plainly aſſerts One God to be the Original of all things, at leaſt as a *Soul of the World*; *Servius Honoratus there paraphrazing* thus, *Deus eſt quidam Divinus Spiritus, qui per quatuor fuſus elementa, gignit univerſa, God is a certain Spirit, which infuſed through the Four Elements, begetteth all things.* Nevertheleſs, we ſhall add from him this alſo of *Venus* her Prayer to *Jupiter*, *Æn.* 1.

——O qui res Hominumque Deûmque,
Æternis regis imperiis, & fulmine terres!

Which *Venus* again, *Æn.* 10. beſpeaks the ſame *Jupiter* after this manner,

O Pater, O Hominum Divûmque Æterna Poteſtas!

Where we have this Annotation of *Servius*, *Divûmque Æterna Poteſtas, propter aliorum Numinum diſcretionem,* Jupiter *is here called the Eternal Power of the Gods, to diſtinguiſh him from all the other Gods* that were not Eternal, but Made or Generated from him.

Neither ought *Horace* to be left out, in whom we read to the ſame purpoſe, *Lib.* 1. *Od.* 12.

Quid prius dicam ſolitis Parentis
Laudibus? Qui res Hominum & Deorum,
Qui Mare & Terras, variiſque mundum
Temperat horis.
Unde nil majus generatur ipſo,
Nec viget quicquam ſimile aut ſecundum;
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.

And again, *Lib.* 3. *Od.* 4.

Qui Terram inertem, qui mare Temperat
Ventoſum

Ventoſum, & Urbes, Regnaque Triſtia;
Divoſque, Mortaleſque turmas,
Imperio regit UNUS æquo.

Where from thoſe words of *Horace*, *Solitis Parentis Laudibus*, it appears that the One *Supreme Deity*, the *Parent* and Maker of all things, was then wont to be celebrated by the Pagans as ſuch, above all the other Gods. And whereas thoſe Pagans vulgarly aſcribed the Government of the Seas particularly to *Neptune*, of the Earth and *Hades* or *Inferi* (which are here called *Triſtia Regna*) to *Pluto*, theſe being here attributed by *Horace* to One and the ſame Supreme and Univerſal Deity, it may well be concluded from thence, that *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, were but Three ſeveral Names or Notions, of One Supreme *Numen*, whoſe ſovereignty notwithſtanding was chiefly ſignified by *Jupiter*. Which ſame is to be ſaid of *Pallas* or *Minerva* too, that ſignifying the Eternal Wiſdom, that it was but another name of God alſo, though look'd upon as inferiour to that of *Jupiter* and next in dignity to it: unleſs we ſhould conclude it to be a Second Divine *Hypoſtaſis*, according to the Doctrine of the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts (probably not unknown to *Horace*) as alſo to that Scripture *Cabbala*, *I was ſet up from everlaſting, or ever the Earth was, when there were no Depths, I was brought forth, &c.* But of this more afterward.

Laſtly, we ſhall conclude with *Manilius* who lived in the ſame Auguſtean age, and was a zealous oppoſer of that Atheiſtical *Hypotheſis* of *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*, as appears from theſe Verſes of his,

Quis credat tantas operum ſine Numine Moles,
Ex Minimis cæcoque creatum fœdere mundum?

Wherefore he alſo plainly aſſerts One Supreme Deity the Framer and Governour of the whole World in this manner, *Lib.* 2.

Namque canam tacitâ Naturam mente potentem,
Infuſumque Deum Cœlo, Terriſque, Fretoque,
Ingentem æquali moderantem fœdere molem,
Totumque alterno conſenſu vivere mundum,
Et rationis agi motu; quum SPIRITUS UNUS
Per cunctas habitet partes, atque irriget Orbem,
Omnia pervolitans, Corpuſq; Animale figuret, &c.

And again,

Hoc opus immenſi conſtructum corpore mundi,
Vis Animæ Divina regit, Sacroque Meatu,
Conſpirat Deus, & tacita ratione gubernat.

And, *Lib.* 4.

——— *Faciem Cæli non invidet Orbi*
Ipſe Deus, vultuſque ſuos, corpuſque recludit,

Semper

Semper volvendo, seq; ipsum inculcat & offert;
Ut bene cognosci possit, monstretque videndo
Qualis eat, doceatque suas attendere Leges.
Ipse vocat nostros animos ad Sydera Mundus,
Nec patitur, quia non condit, sua Jura latere.

Where notwithstanding, we confess, that the whole *Animated World*, or rather the *Soul* thereof, is, according to the Stoical Doctrine, made by *Manilius* to be the Supreme *Numen*.

XX. We now pass from the *Poets* of the Pagans to their *Philosophers*. A Modern Writer concerning the *Religion of the Gentiles*, affirmeth this to have been the Opinion of very eminent Philosophers, *That even all the Minor Gods of the Pagans, did exist of themselves from Eternity Unmade, they giving many reasons for the same.* But how far from truth this is, will (as we conceive) appear sufficiently, from the Sequel of this Discourse. And we cannot conclude otherwise but that this Learned Writer, did mistake that Opinion of *Aristotle* and the latter Platonists, concerning the *Eternity of the World and Gods*, as if they had therefore asserted the *Self-existence* of them; the contrary whereunto hath been already manifested. Wherefore we shall now make it unquestionably evident by a Particular Enumeration, That the Generality of the Pagan Philosophers who were Theists, however they acknowledged a Multiplicity of Gods, yet asserted *One only Self-existent Deity*, or a *Universal Numen*, by whom the World and all those other Gods were Made. There being only some few Ditheists to be excepted, (such as *Plutarch* and *Atticus*) who out of a certain Softness and Tenderness of Nature, that they might free the *One Good God*, from the Imputation of Evils, would needs set up besides him, an *Evil Soul* or *Dæmon* also in the World *Self-existent*, to bear all the blame of them.

And indeed *Epicurus* is the only Person that we can find, amongst the reputed Philosophers; who though pretending to acknowledge Gods, yet professedly opposed *Monarchy*, and verbally asserted a Multitude of Eternal Unmade Self-existent Deities: but such, as had nothing at all to do either with the Making or Governing of the World. The reason whereof was, because he would by no means admit the World to have been made by any Mind or Understanding. Wherefore he concluded,

Naturam Rerum, haud Divinâ Mente Coortam, *Lucret. l. 5.*

That there was no God the δημιουργὸς *or Framer of the World.* But nevertheless that he might decline the *Odium* of being accompted an Atheist, he pretended to assert a *Multitude of Gods Unmade and Incorruptible*, such as were unconcerned in the Fabrick of the World. Wherein first it is evident, that he was not serious and sincere, because he really admitting no other Principles of things in his Philosophy, besides *Atoms* and *Vacuum*, agreeably thereunto, could acknowledge no other Gods, than such as were compounded out of Atoms

Atoms, and therefore Corruptible. And thus does *Origen* declare the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, not indeed as he pretended to hold it, but as according to the tenor of his Principles, he muſt have held it, had he really aſſerted any Gods at all, οἱ τῶ Ἐπικύρε θεοὶ, σύνθετοι ἐξ ἀτόμων τυγχάνοντες, ᾗ τὸ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ συσάσει ἀναλυτοὶ, πραγματεύονται τὰς φθοροποιὰς ἀτόμους ἀποσείεσθαι, Epicurus *his Gods being compounded of Atoms, and therefore by their very conſtitution Corruptible, are in continual labour and toyl, ſtruggling with their Corruptive Principles.* Nevertheleſs if *Epicurus* had in good earneſt aſſerted ſuch a *Commonwealth of Gods*, as were neither Made out of Atoms, nor yet Corruptible; ſo long as he denied the World to have been Made by any Mind or Wiſdom (as we have already declared) he ought not to be reckoned amongſt the *Theiſts* but *Atheiſts*.

Lib. 4. cont. C. p. 169.

Thales the Mileſian was one of the moſt Ancient Greek Philoſophers, who that he admitted a *Plurality of Gods* in ſome ſence, is evident from that ſaying of his cited by *Ariſtotle*, πάντα θεῶν πλήρη, *All things are full of Gods.* But that notwithſtanding he aſſerted *One Supreme* and only *Unmade* or *Self-exiſtent Deity*, is alſo manifeſt from that other Apothegm of his in *Laertius*, πρεσβύτατον πάντων ὁ θεὸς, ἀγένητον γάρ· *God is the Oldeſt of all things, becauſe he is Unmade.* From whence it may be concluded, that all *Thales* his other Gods were Generated, and the Off-ſpring of One ſole Unmade Deity.

Pherecydes Syrus was *Thales* his contemporary, of whom *Ariſtotle* in his Metaphyſicks hath recorded, that he affirmed τὸ γενῆσαν πρῶτον ἄριστον, that *the Firſt Principle* from whence all other things were Generated, was *the Beſt* or an *Abſolutely Perfect Being*; So as that in the *Scale of Nature* things did not aſcend upwards from the moſt *Imperfect* to the more *Perfect* Beings, but on the contrary deſcend downwards, from the *moſt Perfect*, to the *leſs Perfect*. Moreover *Laertius* informs us, that this was the Beginning of one of *Pherecydes* his Books, ζεὺς μὲν ἢ χρόνος εἰς ἀεὶ, ἢ χθὼν ἰῶ· Jupiter, *and Time, and the Earth always were.* Where notwithſtanding in the following words, he makes the Earth to be dependent upon *Jupiter*. Though ſome reading κρόνος here inſtead of χρόνος, ſeem to underſtand him thus; that *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, *really one and the ſame Numen, was always from Eternity.* However there is in theſe words an acknowledgment of One Single and Eternal Deity.

Pythagoras was the moſt eminent of all the ancient Philoſophers, who that he was a Polytheiſt as well as the other Pagans, may be concluded from that Beginning of the Golden Verſes (though not written by him)

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς νόμῳ, ὡς διάκειται,
Τίμα· ἢ σέβε ὅρκον· ἔπειθ' ἥρωας ἀγαυούς·
Τούς τε καταχθονίους σέβε δαίμονας, ἔννομα ῥέζων.

Wherein men are exhorted in the firſt place to worſhip the *Immortal Gods*, and that accordingly as they were appointed by Law, after them the *Heroes*, and laſt of all the *Terreſtrial Demons.* And accordingly

cordingly *Laertius* gives this account of *Pythagoras* his Piety, τιμὰς θεοῖς δ' εἶν νομίζειν καὶ ἥρωσιν, μὴ τὰς ἴσας· *That he conceived men ought to worſhip, both the Gods, and the Heroes; though not with equal honour.* And who theſe Gods of *Pythagoras* were, the ſame Writer alſo declareth, ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας, εἶναι θεούς· *That they were* in part at leaſt, *the Sun, and Moon, and Stars.*

Notwithſtanding which, that *Pythagoras* acknowledged One Supreme and Univerſal *Numen*, which therefore was the Original of all thoſe other Gods, may partly appear from that Prayer in the Golden Verſes, which, whether written by *Philolaus* or *Lyſis* or ſome other Follower of *Pythagoras*, were undoubtedly ancient and agreeable to his Doctrine.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἢ πολλῶν τε κακῶν λύσαις ἅπαντας·
Εἰ πᾶσιν δ' ἐξαις οἵῳ τῷ δ' ἀλίμονι χρῶνται·

Salmaſ. Praef. in Tab. Ceb. Arab.

Jupiter *alme, malis jubeas vel ſolvier omnes:*
Omnibus utantur vel quonam dæmone monſtra.

Upon which *Hierocles* thus writeth, τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς ἔθος ἦν τοῖς πυθαγορείοις τῷ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ Ζηνὸς, ὀνόματι σεμνύνειν· διὸ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ζῆν, τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπάρχει, τοῦτον δίκαιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας ὀνομάζεσθαι· *It was the manner of the Pythagoreans to honour the Maker and Father of this whole Univerſe, with the name of* Dis *and* Zen, *it being juſt, that he who giveth Being and Life to all, ſhould be denominated from thence:* And again afterwards, τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὄνομα σύμβολόν ἐστι, καὶ εἰκὼν ἐν φωνῇ δημιουργικῆς οὐσίας, τῷ τοὺς πρώτους θεμένους τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ σοφίας τινὰς ἀγαλματοποιοὺς ἀρίστους, διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὡς δι' εἰκόνων, ἐμφανίσαι αὐτῶν τὰς δυνάμεις· *This very name* Zeus, *is a convenient ſymbol or image of the Demiurgical Nature. And they who firſt gave names to things, were by reaſon of a certain wonderful Wiſdom of theirs, a kind of excellent Statuaries; they by thoſe ſeveral Names, as Images, lively repreſenting the natures of things.* Moreover that this Pythagorick Prayer was directed to the Supreme *Numen* and King of Gods, *Jamblichus* thus declares in his Protrepticks, ἐν δὴ τούτοις μία μὲν ἀρίστη παράκλησις εἰς τὴν θείαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἡ μεμιγμένη ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀνακλήσεσι τῶν θεῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν Διός· *Here is an excellent exhortation of theſe Golden Verſes, to the purſuit of Divine Felicity, mingled together with Prayers and the Invocation of the Gods, but eſpecially of that* Jupiter *who is the King of them.* Moreover the ſame might further appear from thoſe Pythagorick Fragments that are ſtill extant, as that of *Ocellus Lucanus*, and others who where Moraliſts, in which as *Gods* are ſometimes ſpoken of plurally, ſo alſo is *God* often ſingularly uſed, for that Supreme Deity which conteineth the whole.

But this will be moſt of all manifeſt, from what hath been recorded concerning the Pythagorick Philoſophy and its making a Monad the Firſt Principle. It is true indeed that the Writer *de Placitis Philoſophorum*, doth affirm, *Pythagoras* to have aſſerted *Two Sub-*

ſtantial Principles Self-exiſtent, a Monad and a Dyad; by the former of which as God is confeſſed to have been meant, ſo the latter of them is declared with ſome uncertainty, it being in one place interpreted to be a *Dæmon*, or a Principle of Evil, πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεὸν, καὶ ἀγαθὸν, εἶτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς· τὴν δ' ἀόριστον δυάδα δαίμονα, καὶ τὸ κακόν, &c. Pythagoras *his Firſt Principle is God and Good, which is the Nature of Unity, and a perfect Mind; but his other Principle of Duality, is a Demon or Evil:* But in another place expounded to be Matter, πάλιν τὴν μονάδα καὶ τὴν ἀόριστον δυάδα ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς· σποδοῦσά γ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν ἡ μὲν ὅτι τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον καὶ εἴδικον, (ὅπερ ἐστὶ νοῦς ὁ θεὸς) ἡ δ' ὅτι τὸ παθητικόν τε καὶ ὑλικὸν (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὁρατὸς κόσμος·) Pythagoras *his Principles, were a Monad and Infinite Duality: The former of them an Active Principle, Mind or God; the latter Paſſive and Matter.* And *Plutarch* in ſome other Writings of his declares that the *Firſt Matter* did not exiſt alone by it ſelf Dead and Inanimate, but acted with an irrational Soul; and that both theſe together made up that wicked *Dæmon* of his. And doubtleſs, this Book *De Placitis Philoſophorum*, was either written by *Plutarch* himſelf, or elſe by ſome Diſciple and Follower of his according to his Principles. Wherefore this accompt which is therein given of the Pythagorick Doctrine, was probably infected with that private Conceit of *Plutarch's*; *That God and a wicked Demon*, or elſe Matter together with an Irrational Soul, Self-exiſtent, were the *Firſt Principles of the Univerſe.* Though we do acknowledge, that others alſo beſides *Plutarch*, have ſuppoſed *Pythagoras* to have made Two Self-exiſtent Principles, God and Matter, but not animate, nor informed, as *Plutarch* ſuppoſed, with any Irrational or wicked Soul.

Lib. 1. cap. 3.

Notwithſtanding which, it may well be made a Queſtion, Whether *Pythagoras* by his *Dyad*, meant *Matter* or no; becauſe *Malchus* or *Porphyrius*, in the Life of *Pythagoras*, thus interprets thoſe Two Pythagorick Principles, of *Unity* and *Duality*; τὸ αἴτιον τῆς συμπνοίας καὶ τῆς συμπαθείας, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ ὅλων τοῦ κατὰ ταυτὰ καὶ ὁμοίως ἔχοντος, ἐν προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἓν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχει, ἀνωμαλίαν τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ σύμπνοιαν, κατὰ μετουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου· ἡ δὲ τῆς ἑτερότητος καὶ ἀνισότητος καὶ παντὸς τοῦ μεριστοῦ καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐχόντος δυοειδῆ λόγον καὶ δυάδα προσηγόρευσαν· *The Cauſe of that Sympathy, Harmony, and Agreement, which is in things, and of the conſervation of the Whole, which is always the ſame and like it ſelf, was by* Pythagoras called *Unity or a Monade (that Unity which is in the things themſelves being but a participation of the Firſt Cauſe:) But the reaſon of Alterity, Inequality and unconſtant Irregularity in things was by him called a Dyad.* Thus acording to *Porphyrius*, by the Pythagorick Dyad, is not ſo much meant *Matter*, as the *Infinite and Indeterminate Nature*, and *the Paſſive Capability of Things.* So that *the Monade and Dyad* of *Pythagoras*, ſeem to have been the ſame with *Plato's* πέρας and ἄπειρον, his *Finite* and *Infinite* in his *Philebus*; the Former of which Two only is Subſtantial, that Firſt moſt ſimple Being, the cauſe of all Unity and the Meaſure of all things.

P. 203.

However if *Pythagoras* his *Dyad* be to be understood of a Substantial Matter, it will not therefore follow, that he supposed *Matter* to be Self-existent and Independent upon the Deity, since according to the best and most ancient Writers, his *Dyad* was no Primary but a Secondary Thing only, and derived from his *Monad*, the sole Original of all things. Thus *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that *Alexander* who wrote the Successions of Philosophers, affirmed he had found in the Pythagorick Commentaries, ἀρχὴ μὲν τῶν ἁπάντων, μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος, ἀόριστον δυάδα, ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποσῆναι· *That a Monade was the Principle of all things, but that from this Monade was derived infinite Duality, as Matter for the Monade to work upon, as the Active Cause.* With which agreeth *Hermias*, affirming this to be one of the greatest of all the Pythagorick Mysteries, that a *Monade* was the sole *Principle of all things.* Accordingly whereunto *Clemens Alexandrinus*, cites this Passage out of *Thearidas* an ancient Pythagorean in his Book concerning Nature, Ἀ ἀρχὰ τῶν ὄντων, ἀρχὰ μὲν ὄντως ἀληθινὰ, μία. Κενὰ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τε ἦεν ἓν καὶ μόνον, *The true Principle of all things was only One; for this was in the beginning One and Alone.* Which words also seem to imply the World to have had a Novity of Existence or beginning of Duration. And indeed, however *Ocellus Lucanus* write, yet that *Pythagoras* himself, did not hold *the Eternity of the World*, may be concluded from what *Porphyrius* records of him, where he gives an Account of that his superstitious abstinence from Beans, ὅτι τὰ πρώτης ἀρχῆς καὶ γενέσεως ταραττομένης, καὶ πολλῶν ἅμα συννενεγμένων καὶ συσσηπομένων καὶ συσκιρτώντων ἐν τῇ γῇ, κατ'ὀλίγον γένεσις καὶ διάκρισις συνέστη, ζώων τε ὁμοῦ γινομένων, καὶ φυτῶν ἀναδιδομένων, τότε δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σηπεδόνος, ἀνθρώπους συστῆναι καὶ κυάμους βλαστῆναι· *That at the beginning, things being confounded and mingled together, the Generation and Secretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, Animals and Plants appearing; at which time also from the same putrified Matter, sprung up both Men and Beans.*

Pythagoras is generally reported to have held a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*: and therefore when St. *Cyril* affirmeth *Pythagoras* to have called God ψύχωσιν τῶν ὅλων κύκλων, καὶ πάντων κίνησιν, *the Animation of the whole Heavens, and the Motion of all things*; adding that God was not, as some supposed, ἐκτὸς τῆς διακοσμήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ ὅλῳ ἐν ὅλῳ, *without the Fabrick of the World, but whole in the whole*, this seems properly to be understood, of that *Third* Divine *Hypostasis* of the Pythagorick Trinity, namely the *Eternal Psyche*. Again when God is called in *Plutarch* according to *Pythagoras*, αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς, *Mind it self*, this seems to be meant properly of his *Second Hypostasis*; the Supreme Deity according to him being something above *Mind* or *Intellect*. In like manner when in *Cicero*, *Pythagoras* his Opinion concerning the Deity is thus represented, *Deum esse animum, per naturam rerum omnium intentum & commeantem, ex quo Animi nostri carperentur, That God was a Mind passing through the whole Nature of things, from whom our Souls were, as it were, decerped or cut out.* And again, *Ex universa mente Divina, delibatos esse animos nostros*; this in all probability was to be understood also ei-

Strm. 5. p. 611.

ther of the *Third* or *Second* Divine *Hypoſtaſis*, and not of the *Firſt*, which was properly called by him, τὸ ἓν and μόνας, *a Unity* and *Monade*, and alſo as *Plutarch* tells us, τὸ ἀγαθὸν, *Goodneſs it ſelf*. *Ariſtotle* plainly affirmeth that ſome of the ancient Theologers amongſt the Pagans made ἔρωτα or *Love*, to be the Firſt Principle of all things, that is, the *Supreme Deity*; and we have already ſhewed, that *Orpheus* was one oft heſe. For when ἔρως πολυτερπὴς and πολύμητις, *Delightful Love, and that which is not blind, but full of Wiſdom and Counſel*, is made by him to be αὐτοτελὲς and πρεσβύταῖον, *Self-perfect* and *the Oldeſt of all Things*, it is plain that he ſuppoſed it to be nothing leſs than the Supreme Deity. Wherefore ſince *Pythagoras* is generally affirmed, to have followed the Orphick Principles, we may from hence preſume that he did it in this alſo. Though it be very true, that *Plato* who called the Supreme Deity τἀγαθὸν, as well as *Pythagoras*, did diſſent from the Orphick Theology in this, and would not acknowledge *Love* for a name of the *Supreme Deity*; as when in his *Sympoſion* in the perſon of *Agatho* he ſpeaks thus: φαίδρῳ πολλὰ ἄλλα ὁμολογῶν, τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογῶ, ὡς Ἔρως Κρόνου καὶ Ἰαπετοῦ ἀρχαιότερός ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ φημὶ νεώτατον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεῶν, καὶ ἀεὶ νέον· *Though I ſhould readily grant to* Phædrus *many other things, yet I cannot conſent to him in this, that Love was Older than* Saturn *and* Japet, *but on the contrary I do affirm him to be the Youngeſt of the Gods; as he is always youthful.* They who made *Love Older* than *Saturn* as well as *Japhet*, ſuppoſed it to be the Supreme Deity; wherefore *Plato* here on the contrary affirms Love not to be the *Supreme Deity* or *Creator of all*, but a *Creature*; a *Certain Junior God*, or indeed as he afterwards adds, not ſo much *a God as a Dæmon*; it being a thing which plainly implies Imperfection in it. *Love* (ſaith he) *is a Philoſopher*, whereas θεῶν οὐδεὶς φιλοσοφεῖ, οὐδ' ἐπιθυμεῖ σοφὸς γενέσθαι, ἔστι γάρ, *no God philoſophizeth, nor deſires to be made wiſe, becauſe he is ſo already.* Agreably with which Doctrine of his, *Plotinus* determines that Love is peculiar to that middle rank of Beings, called Souls, πᾶσα ψυχὴ, ἀφροδίτη· καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεται καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀφροδίτης γενέθλια, καὶ ὁ ἔρως ὁ μετ' αὐτῆς γεγόμενος· ἐρᾷ οὖν καὶ φύσιν ἔχουσα ψυχὴ θεοῦ, ἐνοῦσθαι ἡδέως, ὡς παρθένος καλὴ πρὸς καλὸν ἀνδρα· ὅταν δὲ εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθοῦσα, οἷον μνησείαις ἀπατηθῇ, ἄλλον ἀφαμιλλᾶται θνητὸν ἔρωτα, ἐρημία παλαιὰς ὑποδέξεται, &c. *Every Soul is a* Venus, *which is alſo intimated by* Venus *her Nativity, and Loves being begotten with her; wherefore the Soul being in its right natural ſtate, Loves God deſiring to be united with him, which is a pure, heavenly and virgin Love; but when it deſcends to Generation, being courted with theſe Amorous allurements here below, and deceived by them, it changeth that its Divine and Heavenly Love, for another Mortal one; but if it again ſhake off theſe laſcivious and wanton Loves, and keep it ſelf chaſt from them, returning back to its own Father, and Original, it will be rightly affected as it ought.* But the reaſon of this difference betwixt the *Orpheiſts* and *Plato*, that the former made *Love* to be the *Oldeſt of all the Gods*, but the latter to be a *Junior God* or *Dæmon*, proceeded only from an Equivocation in the word *Love*. For *Plato's* Love was the *Daughter of Penia*, that is, Poverty and Indigency, together with a mixture of πόρος or *Riches*, and beingſo as it were compounded of Plenty and Poverty, was in plain language, no other than the *Love of Deſire*;

Met. L. 1. c. 6.

Deſire, which as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth is μετὰ λύπης, *accompanied with Grief and Pain.* But that *Orphick* and *Pythagorick Love*, was nothing elſe but πόρος and ἀπορία, *Infinite Riches and Plenty, a Love of Redundancy and Overflowing Fulneſs, delighting to communicate it ſelf*, which was therefore ſaid to be, *the Oldeſt of all things and moſt Perfect*, that is, the *Supreme Deity*; according to which notion alſo in the Scripture it ſelf, God ſeems to be called Love, though the word be not there, ἔρως but ἀγάπη. But to ſay the Truth, *Parmenides* his Love (however made a Principle ſomewhere by *Ariſtotle*) ſeems to be neither exactly the ſame with the *Orphick*, nor yet with the *Platonick Love*, it being not the Supreme Deity, and yet the Firſt of the *Created Gods*; which appears from *Simplicius* his connecting theſe Two Verſes of his together in this manner,

Ἐν δ' μέζῳ τούτων δαίμων ὃς πάντα κυβερνᾷ,

ταύτῳ γὰρ θεῶν αἰτίαν ἔναι φησι, λέγων,

Πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων.

In the midſt of theſe Elements is that God which governeth all things; and whom Parmenides *affirmeth to be the cauſe of Gods, writing thus, God firſt of all created Love, before the other Gods.* Wherefore by this *Love* of *Parmenides*, is underſtood nothing elſe, but the Lower *Soul of the World*, together with a *Plaſtick Nature*, which though it be the Original of *Motion and Activity* in this Corporeal World, yet is it but a *Secondary* or *Created God.* Before whoſe Production, Neceſſity is ſaid by thoſe Ethnick Theologers to have reigned; the true meaning whereof ſeems to be this, that before that Divine Spirit moved upon the Waters and brought things into an orderly Syſtem, there was nothing but the *Neceſſity* of *Material Motions*, unguided by any orderly Wiſdom or Method for Good (that is, by *Love*) in that confuſed and floating *Chaos.*

But *Pythagoras* it ſeemeth, did not only call the Supreme Deity a *Monad*, but alſo a *Tetrad* or *Tetractys*, for it is generally affirmed, that *Pythagoras* himſelf was wont to ſwear hereby; though *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus*, and others write, that the Diſciples of *Pythagoras* ſwore by *Pythagoras*, who had delivered to them the Doctrine or *Cabala* of this *Tetractys.* Which *Tetractys* alſo in the Golden Verſes, is called πηγὴ ἀενάου φύσεως, *the Fountain of the Eternal Nature*, an expreſſion that cannot properly belong to any thing but the Supreme Deity. And thus *Hierocles*, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὃ μὴ τῆς Τετράδος, ὡς ἔφημεν, ἠρτῆται. ἔστι γὰρ, ὡς ἔφαμεν, δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, καὶ αἰτία ἡ Τετρὰς, θεὸς νοητὸς, αἴτιος τοῦ ὁρατοῦ, καὶ αἰσθητοῦ θεός· *There is nothing in the whole World, which doth not depend upon the* Tetractys, *as its Root and Principle. For the Tetrad is, as we have already ſaid, the Maker of all things; the Intelligible God, the Cauſe of the Heavenly and Senſible God*, that is of the Animated World or Heaven. Now the Latter Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, endeavour to give Reaſons, why God ſhould be called *Tetras* or *Tetractys*, from certain Myſteries in that Number *Four*, as for example,

Firſt,

First, because the Tetrad is δύναμις δεκάδ☉, *the Power of the Decad*, it virtually containing the whole Decade in it, which is all Numbers or Beings; but the bottom of this Mystery is no more than this, that *One*, *Two*, *Three*, and *Four*, added all together, make up *Ten*. Again because the *Tetrad* is an Arithmetical Mediety, betwixt the *Monad* and the *Hebdomad*, which *Monad* and *Hebdomad* are said to agree in this, that as the *Monad* is Ingenit or Unmade, it being the Original and Founntain of all Numbers, so is the *Hebdomad* said to be, not only παρθένος but ἀμήτωρ, *a Motherless* as well as *Virgin Number*. Wherefore the *Tetrad* lying in the middle betwixt the *Ingenit Monad*, and the Motherless Virgin *Hebdomad*; and it being both begotten and begetting, say they, must needs be a very Mysterious number and fitly represent the Deity. Whereas indeed it was therefore unfit to represent the Deity, because it is begotten by the Multiplication of another Number; as the Hebdomade therefore doth not very fitly symbolize with it neither; because it is barren or begets nothing at all within the Decad, for which cause it is called a *Virgin*. Again it is further added, that the *Tetrad* fitly resembles that which is Solid, because as a *Point* answers to a *Monad*, and a *Line* to a *Dyad*, and a *Superficies* to a *Triad* (the first and most simple figure being a *Triangle*) so the *Tetrad* properly represents the *Solid*, the first *Pyramid* being found in it. But upon this consideration, the Tetrade could not be so fit a Symbol of the Incorporeal Deity neither as of the Corporeal World. Wherefore these things being all so trifling, slight and phantastical, and it being really absurd for *Pythagoras* to call his *Monade* a *Tetrade*; the late conjecture of some Learned men amongst us, seems to be much more probable, that *Pythagoras* his *Tetractys* was really nothing else but the *Tetragrammaton*, or that proper name of the Supreme God amongst the Hebrews, consisting of *Four Letters* or *Consonants*. Neither ought it to be wondered at, that *Pythagoras* (who besides his travelling into *Egypt*, *Persia*, and *Chaldea*, and his sojourning at *Sidon*, is affirmed by *Josephus*, *Porphyrius* and others, to have conversed with the Hebrews also) should be so well acquainted with the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton*, since it was not unknown to the Hetrurians and Latins, their *Jove* being certainly nothing else. And indeed it is the opinion of some Philologers, that even in the *Golden Verses* themselves, notwithstanding the seeming repugnancy of the Syntax, it is not *Pythagoras* that is sworn by, but this *Tetractys* or *Tetragrammaton*, that is, *Jova* or *Jehovah*, the *Name* of *God*, being put for *God himself*, according to that received Doctrine of the Hebrews הוא שמו ושמו הוא, *That God and his Name are all one*; as if the meaning of those words

Ναὶ μὰ τὴν ἀμετέρᾳ ψυχᾷ παραδόντα τετρακτὺν
Πάγαν ἀενάου φύσεως.———

were this; *By the* Tetragammaton *or* Jovah, *who hath communicated* [himself, or] *The Fountain of the Eternal Nature*, to our Humane Souls; for these according to the Pythagorick Doctrine, were said to be *ex Mente Divina carptæ & delibatæ*, *i. e.* nothing but Derivative Streams from that first Fountain of the Divine Mind. Wherefore

Wherefore we shall now sum up all concerning *Pythagoras* in this Conclusion of St. *Cyril's*, ἰδὼ δὴ σαφῶς, ἕνα τε εἶναι λέγει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅλων θεὸν, καὶ πάντων ἀρχὼ ἐργάτιν τε καὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμεως, φωτίζοντα καὶ ψύχοντα, ἤτοι ζωοποιοῦντα καὶ ὅλων καὶ κύκλων πάντων κίνησιν· παρῆκται δὲ τὰ πάντα παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι κίνησιν λαχόντα φαίνεται· *Behold we see, clearly, that* Pythagoras *held there was One God of the whole Universe, the Principle and Cause of all things, the Illuminator, Animator and Quickener of the Whole, and Original of Motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of Non-entity into Being.* Cont. Jul. l. 1.

Next to *Pythagoras* in order of time, was *Xenophanes* the Colophonian, the Head of the Eleatick Sect of Philosophers, who that he was an Asserter both of *Many Gods* and *One God*, sufficiently appears from that Verse of his before cited, and attested both by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Sextus* the Philosopher,

Εἷς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος,

There is One God, the Greatest both amongst Gods and Men. Concerning which greatest God, this other Verse of *Xenophanes* is also vouched,

Καὶ ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νόῳ, φρενὶ πάντα κραδαίνει·

That he moveth the whole world without any labour or toil, merely by Mind. Besides which, *Cicero* and others tell us, that this *Xenophanes* philosophizing concerning the *Supreme Deity*, was wont to call it ἓν καὶ πᾶν, *One and All*, as being One most Simple Being that virtually conteineth all things. But *Xenophanes* his Theosophy, or Divine Philosophy, is most fully declared by *Simplicius* out of *Theophrastus* in this manner, Μίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρχὼ, ἤτοι ἓν τὸ ὂν καὶ πᾶν, καὶ οὔτε πεπερασμένον οὔτε ἄπειρον, οὔτε κινούμενον οὔτε ἠρεμοῦν, Ξενοφάνην καὶ Κολοφώνιον καὶ Παρμενίδου διδάσκαλον ὑποτίθεσθαί φησιν ὁ Θεόφραστος· ὁμολογῶν ἑτέρας εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ φύσεως ἰσοτιμίας, τῷ μνήμῃ καὶ τούτου δόξης· τὸ γὰρ ἓν τοῦτο καὶ πᾶν, καὶ θεὸν ἔλεγεν ὁ Ξενοφάνης· ὃν ἕνα μὲν ἀπέφηνεν ἐκ τοῦ πάντων κρατίστου εἶναι· πλειόνων γάρ φησιν ὄντων, ὁμοίως ἀνάγκη ὑπάρχειν πᾶσι τὸ κρατεῖν· τὸ δὲ πάντων κρατίστου καὶ ἄριστον, θεός· ἀγένητον δὲ ἀπέφηνεν—— καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄπειρον οὔτε πεπερασμένον εἶναι· διότι ἄπειρον μὲν τὸ μὴ ὄν, ὡς ὅτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε μέσον μήτε τέλος· περαίνειν δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ πλείω· ἁπλοῦς δὲ καὶ τῷ κίνησιν ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ τῷ ἠρεμίαν· ἀκίνητον μὲν, &c. Theophrastus *affirmeth, that* Xenophanes *the Colophonian* Parmenides *his Master, made One Principle of all things, he calling it One and All, and determining it to be neither Finite nor Infinite (in a certain sence) and neither Moving nor Resting. Which* Theophrastus *also declares, that* Xenophanes *in this, did not write as a Natural Philosopher or Physiologer, but as a Metaphysician or Theologer only;* Xenophanes *his One and All, being nothing else but God. Whom he proved to be One solitary Being from hence, because God is the Best and Most Powerful of all things, and there being many degrees of Entity, there must needs be something Supreme to rule over all. Which Best and most Powerful Being can be but One. He also did demonstrate* In Aristot. Phys. F. 5. 68.

monstrate it to be Unmade, as likewise to be neither Finite nor Infinite (in a certain sence;) as he removed both Motion and Rest from God. Wherefore when he saith that God always remaineth or resteth the same, he understands not this, of that Rest which is opposite to Motion, and which belongs to such things as may be moved; but of a certain other Rest which is both above that Motion and its Contrary. From whence it is evident, that *Xenophanes* supposed (as *Sextus* the Philosopher also affirmeth) *God to be Incorporeal*, a Being unlike to all other things, and therefore of which no Image could be made. And now we understand, that *Aristotle* dealt not ingenuously with *Xenophanes*, when from that expression of his, that God was σφαιροειδὴς, or *Spheryform*, he would infer, that *Xenophanes* made God to be a *Body*, and nothing else but the *Round Corporeal World Animated*; which yet was repugnant also to another Physical *Hypothesis* of this same *Xenophanes*, ἀπείρους ἡλίους ἔναι καὶ σελήνας, *that there were Infinite Suns and Moons*; by which *Moons* he understood *Planets*, affirming them to be all habitable Earths, as *Cicero* tells us. Wherefore as *Simplicius* resolves, God was said to be σφαιροειδὴς, or *Spheryform*, by *Xenophanes*, only in this sence, as being πανταχόθεν ὅμοιον, *every way like and uniform.* However it is plain that *Xenophanes* asserting One God who was All or the Universe, could not acknowledge a Multitude of Partial Self-existent Deities.

Heraclitus was no Clear but a Confounded Philosopher (he being neither a Good *Naturalist* nor *Metaphysician*) and therefore it is very hard or rather impossible, to reconcile his Several Opinions with one another. Which is a thing the less to be wondred at, because amongst the rest of his Opinions, this also is said to have been One; *That Contradictories may be true*; and his writings were accordingly as *Plato* intimates, stuft with Unintelligible Mysterious Non-sence. For First he is affirmed to have acknowledged no other Substance besides Body, and to have maintained, *That All things did Flow, and nothing Stand, or remain the same*; and yet in his Epistles (according to the common opinion of Philosophers at that time) doth he suppose the *Præ* & *Post-existence* of Humane Souls in these words, τάχα ἡ ψυχὴ μαντεύεται ἀπόλυσιν ἑαυτῆς ἤδη ποτὲ ὂν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ· ἡ σφόδρα τῷ σώματι ἐκκύψασα, ἀναμιμνήσκεται τὰ πάτρια χωρία, ἔνθεν καταελθοῦσα ἀθρεῖ μόλις ἓν σῶμα τεθνεὸς τοῦτο, ὃ δοκεῖ, &c. *My soul seemeth to vaticinate and presage its approaching dismission and freedom from this its prison; and looking out as it were through the cracks and cranies of this body, to remember those its native Regions or Countries, from whence descending, it was cloathed with this Flowing Mortal Body; which is made up and constipated of Flegm, Choler, Serum, Blood, Nerves, Bones and Flesh.* And not only so, but he also there acknowledgeth the *Souls Immortality*, which Stoicks, allowing its Permanency after Death, for some time at least, and to the next Conflagration, did deny, δύσεται τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὸ εἱμαρμένον, ἀλλὰ ὁ ψυχὴ δύσεται· ἀλλὰ ἀθάνατον ὂν χρῆμα, εἰς ὁρατὸν ἀναπτήσεται μετάρσιον· δέξονται δέ με αἰθέριοι δόμοι, ἡ πολιτεύσομαι ὃν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀλλ' ἐν θεοῖς· *This Body shall be fatally changed to something else, but my Soul shall not die or perish, but being an Immortal thing, shall fly away mounting upwards to Heaven; those Etherial Houses shall receive me, and I shall no longer*

longer converse with men but Gods. Again though *Heraclitus* asserted the Fatal Necessity of all things, yet notwithstanding was he a strict Moralist, and upon this accompt highly esteemed by the Stoicks, who followed him in this and other things; and he makes no small pretence to it himself, in his Epistle to *Hermodorus*, ἐμοιγε πολλοὶ καὶ δυσχερέσταοι ἆθλοι κατώρθωνται· νενίκηκα ἡδονὰς, νενίκηκα χρήματα, νενίκηκα φιλοτιμίαν, καταπάλαισα δειλίαν, καταπάλαισα κολακείαν· ὑπ' ἀνιλέγξ μοι φόβος, ὑπ' ἀνιλέγξ μοι μέθη· φοβεῖταί με λύπη, φοβεῖταί με ὀργή· καὶ τούτων αὐτὸς ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἐστεφάνωμαι, ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιτάξας, οὐχ ὑπ' Εὐρυσθέως· *I have also had my difficult Labours and Conflicts as well as* Hercules; *I have conquer'd Pleasures, I have conquer'd Riches, I have conquer'd Ambition; I have subdued Cowardise and Flattery; neither Fear nor Intemperance can controul me; Grief and Anger are afraid of me, and fly away from me. These are the Victories for which I am crowned, not by* Eurystheus, *but as being made Master of my self.* Lastly though *Heraclitus* made *Fire* to be the First Principle of all things and hath some odd Passages imputed to him, yet notwithstanding was he a *Devout Religionist*, he supposing that Fiery Matter of the whole Universe, *Animantem esse & Deum, to be an Animal and God.* And as he acknowledged Many Gods, according to that which *Aristotle* recordeth of him, That when some passing by had espied him sitting in a smoaky Cottage, he bespake them after this manner, *Introite, nam & hic Dii sunt, Come in, I pray, for here there are Gods also*, he supposing all places to be full of *Gods, Demons* and *Souls*; so was he an undoubted Asserter of One Supreme *Numen*, that governs all things, and that such as could neither be represented by Images, nor confined to Temples. For after he had been accused of Impiety by *Euthycles*, he writes to *Hermodorus* in this manner, ἀλλ' ὦ ἀμαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι διδάξατε πρῶτον ἡμᾶς τί ἐστιν ὁ θεός, πῦ δ' ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς; ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπεικλεισμένῳ; δυσεβεῖς γε, οἱ ἐν σκότῳ τὸν θεὸν ἱδρύετε——ἀπαλδ δυτοι, ὑπ' ἴσε ὅτι ὑπ' ἔστι θεὸς· χλεότμητῳ, ὐδὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάσιν ἔχει ὐδὲ ἔχει ἕνα ἐπερείσολον· ἀλλ' ὅλῳ ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ ναός ἐστι, ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ἄστροις πεποικιλμένῳ· *But O you unwise and unlearned! teach us first what God is, that so you may be believed in accusing me of Impiety: Tell us where God is? Is he shut up within the Walls of Temples? Is this your Piety to place God in the dark, or to make him a Stony God? O you unskilful! know ye not, that God is not made with hands, and hath no* basis *or* fulcrum *to stand upon, nor can be inclosed within the Walls of any Temple; the whole World, variegated with Plants, Animals and Stars, being his Temple.* And again, ἆρ' ὑπ' ἐμοὶ δυσεβὴς, εὐθύκλεις, ὃς μόνῳ οἶδα θεόν; ἐὰν ὑ μὴ ἱδρυσθῇ θεᾶ βωμὸς, ὑπ' ἔστι θεός; ἐὰν ὑ ἱδρυσθῇ μὴ θεᾶ, θεός ἐστιν; ὥστε λίθοι θεῶν μάρτυρες· ἔργα δεῖ μαρτυρεῖν, οἷα ἡλίε· νὺξ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμέρα μαρτυρεῖζιν; ὧραι αὐτῷ μάρτυρες, γῆ ὅλη καρποφορεῖσα, μάρτυς· σελώνης ὁ κύκλῳ, ἐκείνε ἔργον, θρόνιῳ μαρτυρία· *Am I Impious, O* Euthycles, *who alone know what God is? Is there no God without Altars? or are Stones the only witnesses of him? No, his own Works give testimony to him, and principally the Sun; Night and Day bear witness of him; the Earth bringing forth fruits, declares him; the Circle of the Moon, that was made by him, is a Heavenly Testimony of him.*

In the next place *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian Philosopher comes

to be considered, whose Predecessors of the *Ionick Order* (after *Thales*) as *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes* and *Hippo*, were (as hath been already observed) *Materialists* and *Atheists*; they acknowledging no other Substance besides Body, and resolving all things into the Motions, Passions, and Affections of it. Whence was that cautious advice given by *Jamblichus*, πρόσιμα τῷ Ἰταλικῷ φιλοσοφίαν τῷ τὰ ἀσώματα καθ' αὑτὰ θεωρῆσαν, τῆς Ἰονικῆς τῆς τὰ σώματα προηγουμένως ἐπισκοπουμένης· *Prefer the Italick Philosophy, which contemplates Incorporeal Substances by themselves, before the Ionick, which principally considers Bodies.* *Symb.* 36. p. 159. And *Anaxagoras* was the first of these Ionicks who went out of that Road, for seeing a necessity of some other *Cause*, besides the *Material* (*Matter* being not able, so much as to move it self, and much less if it could, by Fortuitous Motion, to bring it self into an Orderly System and Compages;) he therefore introduced *Mind* into the *Cosmopœia*, as the Principal Cause of the Universe; which *Mind* is the same with *God*. Thus *Themistius*, speaking of *Anaxagoras*, νῦν ἢ θεὸν πρῶτον ἐπαγαγόμενον τῇ κοσμοποιΐᾳ, ἢ ὁ πάντα ἀνάψας τῆς φύσεως τοῖς σώμασιν· *He was the first* (that is, amongst the *Ionick Philosophers*) *who brought in Mind and God, to the* Cosmopœia, *and did not derive all things from Senseless Bodies.* *Orat.* 15. And to the same purpose *Plutarch* in the Life of *Pericles*, τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος ὁ τύχῃ δὴ καὶ ἀνάγκην, διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπέστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἄκρατον, *The other Ionick Philosophers before* Anaxagoras, *made Fortune and blind Necessity, that is, the Fortuitous and Necessary Motions of the Matter, to be the only Original of the World, but* Anaxagoras *was the first who affirmed a pure and sincere Mind to preside over all.* *Anaxagoras* therefore supposed Two Substantial Self-existent Principles of the Universe, one an *Infinite Mind* or *God*, the other an *Infinite Homoiomery of Matter*, or Infinite Atoms; not Unqualified, such as those of *Empedocles* and *Democritus*, which was the most Ancient and Genuine Atomology; but *Similar*, such as were severally endued with all manner of *Qualities* and *Forms*, which Physiology of his therefore was a spurious kind of Atomism. *Anaxagoras* indeed, did not suppose God to have created Matter out of nothing; but that he was κινήσεως ἀρχὴ, *the Principle of its Motion*, and also τοῦ δὴ καλῶς αἰτία, *the Regulator of this motion for Good*, and consequently the Cause of all the Order, Pulchritude, and Harmony of the World: for which reason this Divine Principle, was called also by him, not only *Mind* but *Good*; it being that which act *the Sake of Good.* Wherefore according to *Anaxagoras*, First, the World was not Eternal but had a Beginning in time, and before the World was made, there was from Eternity an Infinite *Congeries* of Similar and Qualified Atoms, Self-existent, without either *Order* or *Motion*; Secondly, The World was not afterwards made by Chance, but by Mind or God, first moving the Matter, and then directing the Motion of it so, as to bring it into this orderly System and *Compages.* So that νοῦς was κοσμοποιὸς, *Mind the first Maker of the World, and* νοῦς βασιλεὺς ἁπάντων τε καὶ γῆς, *Mind, that which still governs the same, the King and Sovereign Monarch of Heaven and Earth.* Thirdly, *Anaxagoras* his *Mind* and *God*, was purely Incorporeal; to which purpose his words recorded by *Simplicius* are very remarkable, Νοῦς μέμικται ὁδενὶ χρήματι· ἀλλὰ μόνος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἦν, *In Arist Phys. L. 1. Fol.* 33. c. 2.

ῆν, ἀλλὰ τέω ἐμέμικτο ἄλλῳ, μετεῖχεν ἂν ἁπάντων χρημάτων, εἰ ἐμέμικτο τέῳ· ἐν παντὶ γὰρ παντὸς μοῖρα ἔνεστιν· ὡς ὑφ' ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐμοὶ λέλεκται; καὶ ἂν ἐκεκώλυεν αὐτὸ τὰ συμμεμιγμένα, ὥστε μηδενὸς χρήματος κρατεῖν ὁμοίως, ὡς καὶ μόνον ἐόντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ· ἔστι γὰρ λεπτότατόν τε πάντων χρημάτων, καὶ καθαρώτατον· καὶ γνώμην γε περὶ παντὸς πᾶσαν ἴσχει· καὶ ἰσχύει μέγιστον. *Mind is mingled with nothing, but is alone by it self and separate, for if it were not by it self secrete from Matter, but mingled therewith, it would then partake of all things, because there is something of all in every thing; which things mingled together with it would hinder it, so that it could not master or conquer any thing, as if alone by it self; for Mind is the most Subtil of all things, and the most Pure, and has the knowledge of all things, together with an absolute Power over all.* Lastly, *Anaxagoras* did not suppose a Multitude of Unmade Minds, coexistent from Eternity, as so many partial Causes and Governours of the World, but only One Infinite *Mind* or *God*, ruling over All.

Indeed it may well be made a Question, whether or no besides this Supreme and Universal Deity, *Anaxagoras* did acknowledge any of those other Inferiour Gods, then Worshipped by the Pagans? because it is certain, that though he asserted Infinite Mind to be the Maker and Governour of the whole World, yet he was accused by the Athenians for Atheism, and besides a Mulct impos'd upon him, Banished for the same; the true ground whereof was no other than this, because he affirmed the Sun to be nothing but a Mass of Fire, and the Moon an Earth, having Mountains and Valleys, Cities and Houses in it; and probably concluded the same of all the other *Stars* and *Planets*, that they were either *Fires*, as the Sun, or *Habitable Earths*, as the Moon; wherein, supposing them not to be Animated, he did consequently deny them to be *Gods*. Which his Ungodding of the Sun, Moon and Stars was, then look'd upon by the Vulgar as nothing less than absolute Atheism, they being very prone to think, that if there were not Many Understanding Beings Superiour to Men, and if the Sun, Moon, and Stars were not such, and therefore in their Language Gods; there was no God at all. Neither was it the Vulgar only who condemned *Anaxagoras* for this, but even those Two grave Philosophers *Socrates* and *Plato* did the like; the First in his Apology made to the Athenians, where he calls this opinion of *Anaxagoras* Absurd; the Second in his Book of Laws, where he complains of this Doctrine as a great In-let into Atheism, in this manner: ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ ὅταν τεκμήρια λέγωμεν ὡς εἰσὶ θεοὶ, ταῦτα αὐτὰ προσφέροντος, ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην, καὶ ἄστρα καὶ γῆν ὡς θεὸς καὶ θεῖα ὄντα, ὑπὸ τῆς σοφῶν τούτων ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἂν λέγοιεν, ὡς γῆν τε καὶ λίθους ὄντα αὐτὰ, καὶ οὐδὲν τῆς ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων φροντίζειν δυνάμενα· *When You and I, endeavouring by Arguments to prove that there are Gods, speak of the Sun and Moon, Stars and Earth, as Gods and Divine Things, our young men presently, being principled by these new Philosophers, will reply; that these are nothing but Earth and Stones* (Senseless and Inanimate Bodies) *which therefore cannot mind nor take notice of any Humane affairs.* Where we may observe these Two things, First, that nothing was accounted truly and properly a *God* amongst the Pagans, but only what was endued with *Life* and *Understanding*. Secondly, that the taking away of those *Inferiour Gods* of *De Leg. L. 10 p. 886.*

the Pagans, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, by denying them to be *Animated*, or to have Life and Underſtanding in them, was according to *Plato's* Judgment, then the moſt ready and effectual way to introduce Abſolute Atheiſm.

Moreover it is true, that though this *Anaxagoras* were a profeſſed Theiſt, he aſſerting an *Infinite Self-exiſtent Mind*, to be the Maker of the whole World, yet he was ſeverely taxed alſo, by *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, as one not thorough-paced in *Theiſm*, and who did not ſo fully, as he ought, adhere to his own Principles. For whereas, to aſſert *Mind* to be the *Maker of the World*, is really all one, as to aſſert *Final Cauſality* for things in Nature, as alſo that they were made after the *Beſt manner*; *Anaxagoras* when he was to give his particular account of the *Phænomena*, did commonly betake himſelf to *Material Cauſes only*, and hardly ever make uſe of the Mental or Final Cauſe, but when he was to ſeek and at a loſs; then only bringing in *God* upon the Stage. *Socrates* his diſcourſe concerning this in *Plato's Phædo*, is very well worth our taking notice of: *Hearing one ſometime read* (ſaith he) *out of a Book of* Anaxagoras, ὡς νοῦς ἔστιν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος, *that Mind was the Orderer and Cauſe of all things, I was exceedingly pleaſed herewith, concluding that it muſt needs follow from thence, that All things were ordered and diſpoſed of as they ſhould and after the beſt manner poſſible; and therefore the Cauſes even of the things in Nature (or at leaſt the grand Strokes of them) ought to be fetched from the* τὸ βέλτιστον, *That which is Abſolutely the Beſt. But when afterwards I took* Anaxagoras *his Book into my hand, greedily reading it over, I was exceedingly diſappointed of my expectation, finding therein no other Cauſes aſſigned, but only from Airs, and Ethers, and Waters, and ſuch like Phyſical and Material things. And he ſeemed to me to deal, juſt as if one having affirmed that* Socrates *did all by Mind, Reaſon and Underſtanding; afterward undertaking to declare the Cauſes of all my Actions, as particularly of My Sitting here at this time, ſhould render it after this manner; Becauſe forſooth my Body is compounded of Bones and Nerves, which Bones being ſolid, have Joynts in them at certain diſtances, and Nerves of ſuch a nature, as that they are capable of being both Intended and Remitted: Wherefore my Bones being lifted up in the Joynts and my Nerves ſome of them intended and ſome remitted, was the cauſe of the bending of my Body, and of my ſitting down in this place. He in the mean time neglecting the true and proper Cauſe hereof, which was no other than this; Becauſe it ſeemed good to the Athenians, to condemn me to die, as alſo to my ſelf moſt Juſt, rather to ſubmit to their cenſure and undergo their puniſhment, than by flight to eſcape it; for certainly otherwiſe, theſe Nerves and Bones of mine, would not have been here now in this poſture, but amongſt the Megarenſians and Beotians; carried thither* ὑπὸ δόξης τοῦ βελτίστου, *by the Opinion of the Beſt; had I not thought it Better to ſubmit to the ſentence of the City, than to eſcape the ſame by flight. Which kind of Philoſophers* (ſaith he) *do not ſeem to me, to diſtinguiſh betwixt the True and Proper Cauſe of things, and the Cauſe* Sine qua non, *that without which they could not have been effected. And ſuch are they, who deviſe many odd Phyſical Reaſons for the firm Settlement of the Earth, without any regard to that*

P. 97. Steph.

Power

Power which orders all things for the Beſt, (as having δαιμονίαν ἰσχὺν, *a Divine Force in it;) but thinking to find out an* Atlas *far more ſtrong and immortal, and which can better hold all things together;* τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ δέον, οὐδὲν ξυνδεῖν, καὶ ξυνέχειν· *Good and Fit, being not able, in their Opinions, to Hold, or Bind any Thing.*

From which paſſage of *Plato*'s we may conclude, that though *Anaxagoras* were ſo far convinced of *Theiſm*, as in Profeſſion to mak *One Infinite Mind* the Cauſe of all things, Matter only excepted, yet he had notwithſtanding too great a Tang of that *Old Material* and *Atheiſtical Philoſophy* of his Predeceſſors, ſtill hanging about him, who reſolved all the *Phænomena* of Nature, into *Phyſical*, and nothing into *Mental* or *Final Cauſes*. And we have the rather told this long ſtory of him, becauſe it is ſo exact a Parallel with the *Philoſophick Humour* of ſome in this preſent Age, who pretending to aſſert a *God*, do notwithſtanding diſcard all *Mental* and *Final Cauſality*, from having any thing to do with the Fabrick of the World; and reſolve all, into *Material Neceſſity*, and *Mechaniſm*; into *Vortices*, *Globuli* and *Striate Particles*, and the like. Of which *Chriſtian Philoſophers* we muſt needs pronounce, that they are not near ſo good *Theiſts* as *Anaxagoras* himſelf was, though ſo much condemned by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*; foraſmuch as he, did not only aſſert *God* to be the *Cauſe of Motion*, but alſo the Governour, Regulator and Methodizer of the ſame, for the production of this Harmonious Syſtem of the World, and therefore τοῦ εὖ καὶ καλῶς αἴτιον, *the Cauſe of Well and Fit*. Whereas theſe utterly reject the Latter, and, only admitting the Former, will needs ſuppoſe Heaven and Earth, Plants and Animals, and all things whatſoever in this orderly *Compages* of the World, to have reſulted meerly from a certain *Quantity of Motion*, or *Agitation*, at firſt impreſſed upon the *Matter*, and determin'd to *Vortex*.

XXXI. The Chronology of the old Philoſophers having ſome uncertainty in it, we ſhall not Scrupulouſly concern our ſelves therein, but in the next place conſider *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes* his Auditor and a Philoſophick Poet likewiſe, but who converſing much with two Pythagoreans, *Amenias* and *Diochætes*, was therefore look'd upon as one that was not a little addicted to the Pythagorick Sect. That this *Parmenides* acknowledged *Many Gods*, is evident from what hath been already cited out of him; notwithſtanding which he plainly aſſerted alſo, *One Supreme*, making him, as *Simplicius* tells us, αἰτίαν θεῶν, *the Cauſe of all thoſe other Gods*, of which *Love* is ſaid to have been firſt produced. Which Supreme Deity, *Parmenides* as well as *Xenophanes* called, Ἓν τὸ πᾶν, *One that was All*, or the *Univerſe*; but adding thereunto of his own, that it was alſo ἀκίνητον, *Immovable*.

Now though it be true, that *Parmenides* his Writings being not without obſcurity, ſome of the Ancients, who were leſs acquainted with *Metaphyſical Speculations*, underſtood him *Phyſically*; as if he had aſſerted the whole *Corporeal Univerſe*, to be all but *One Thing*, and that *Immovable*, thereby deſtroying together with the *Diverſity* of things, all *Motion*, *Mutation*, and *Action*; which was plainly to make *Parmenides*

nides not to have been a Philoſopher but a Mad man. Yet *Simplicius*, a man well acquainted with the Opinions of Ancient Philoſophers, and who had by him a Copy of *Parmenides* his Poems, (then ſcarce, but ſince loſt) aſſures us that *Parmenides* dreamt of no ſuch matter, and that he wrote ὁ περὶ τῆ φυσικῆ στοιχείε, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆ ὄντως ὄντος, or περὶ τ᾽ θείας ὑπεροχῆς, *not concerning a Phyſical Element or Principle, but concerning the True* Ens, *or the Divine Tranſcendency*: Adding, that though ſome of thoſe Ancient Philoſophers did not diſtinguiſh, τὰ φυσικὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν, *Natural things from Supernatural*; yet the Pythagoreans, and *Xenophones*, and *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, and *Anaxagoras*, did all διαιρεῖν, handle theſe Two diſtinctly; καίπερ τῆ ἀσαφείᾳ λανθάνοντες τὸς πολλὸς, *however, by reaſon of their obſcurity it were not perceived by many*; for which cauſe they have been moſt of them miſrepreſented, not only by Pagans, but alſo by Chriſtian Writers. For as the ſame *Simplicius* informs us, *Parmenides* propounded Two ſeveral Doctrines, one after another; the Firſt concerning *Theological* and *Metaphyſical* things, called by him ἀλήθειαν, *Truth*, the Second concerning *Phyſical* and *Corporeal* things, which he called δόξαν, *Opinion*. The Tranſition betwixt which, was contained in theſe Verſes of his,

Ἐν τῷ σοι παύω πιστὸν λόγον ἠδὲ νόημα
Ἀμφὶς ἀληθείας· δόξας δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶδε βροτείας
Μάνθανε· κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ἀπατηλὸν ἀκούων.

In the Former of which Doctrines, *Parmenides* aſſerted *One Immoveable Principle*; but in the Latter, Two movable ones, *Fire* and *Earth*. He ſpeaking of Souls alſo as a certain Middle or *Vinculum*, betwixt the Incorporeal and the Coporeal World, and affirming that God did, τὰς ψυχὰς πέμπειν ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς εἰς τὸ ἀειδὲς, ποτὲ δ᾽ ἀνάπαλιν, *ſometimes ſend and tranſlate Souls, from the Viſible to the Inviſible Regions, and ſometimes again, on the contrary from the Inviſible to the Viſible.* From whence it is plain, that when *Parmenides* aſſerted his *One and All Immovable*, he ſpake not as a *Phyſiologer*, but as a *Metaphyſician* and *Theologer* only. Which indeed was a thing ſo evident, that *Ariſtotle* himſelf, though he had a mind to obſcure *Parmenides* his ſence, that he might have a fling at him in his Phyſicks, yet could not altogether diſſemble it. For when he thus begins, *There muſt of neceſſity be either One Principle or Many*; *and if there be but One, then muſt it either be Immovable, as* Parmenides *and* Meliſſus *affirm, or elſe Movable,* ὥσπερ οἱ φυσικοὶ, *as the Naturaliſts or Phyſiologers*; he therein plainly intimates, that when *Parmenides* and *Meliſſus*, made *One Immovable the Principle of all things*, they did not write this as Phyſiologers. And afterwards he confeſſes, that this Controverſie, whether there were *One Immovable Principle*, does not belong to *Natural Philoſophy*, but to *ſome other Science*. But this is more plainly declared by him elſewhere, writing concerning *Parmenides* and *Meliſſus* after this manner, εἰ καὶ τ᾽ ἄλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ φυσικῶς γε δεῖ νομίζειν λέγειν· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι ἅπαν ἓν τῶν ὄντων ἀγένητα καὶ ὅλως ἀκίνητα, μᾶλλον, ἔξω ἑτέρας καὶ πρωτέρας, ἢ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐπισκέψεως. *Though it be granted that* Parmenides *and* Meliſſus *otherwiſe ſaid well, yet we muſt not imagine them to have ſpoken Phyſically. For this, that there*

there is something Unmade and Immovable, does not so properly belong to Physicks, as to a certain other Science which is before it.

Wherefore *Parmenides* as well as *Xenophones* his Master, by his *One and All*, meant nothing else, but the *Supreme Deity*, he calling it also *Immovable*. For the Supreme Deity was by these Ancient Philosophers styled, First τὸ ἓν and μονὰς *a Unity and Monad*, because they conceived, that the First and most Perfect being and the beginning of all things, must needs be the *most Simple*. Thus *Eudorus* in *Simplicius* declares their sence; ἀρχὼ ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν πάντων τὸ ἕν, ὡς ἢ τὴν ὕλης καὶ τῶν ὄντων πάντων, ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένων, τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν θεὸν· *These Ancients affirmed, that the One or Unity, was the first Principle of All, Matter it self as well as other things being derived from it, they meaning by this One, that Highest or Supreme God, who is over all.* And *Syrianus* to the same purpose, οἱ θεῖοι ἐκεῖνοι ἄνδρες, τὸ ἓν θεὸν ἔλεγον, ὡς ἑνώσεως τοῖς ὅλοις αἴτιον, ἢ παντὸς τοῦ ὄντος ἢ πάσης ζωῆς· *Those Divine Men, called God The One, as being the cause of Unity to all things, as likewise he was of Being and Life.* And *Simplicius* concludes, that *Parmenides* his ἓν ὄν, his *One Ens*, was a certain Divine Principle Superior to Mind or Intellect, and more Simple, λείπεται ὂν τὸ νοητὸν πάντων αἴτιον, δι' ὃ καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἔστι καὶ τὸ νοεῖν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα ἐστὶ μίαν ἕνωζιν συνηνωμένως κατειλημμένα, καὶ ἑνωμένως, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ παρμενίδειον Ἓν Ὂν· *It remaineth therefore, that that Intelligible, which is the Cause of all things, and therefore of Mind and Understanding too, in which all things are contained and comprehended compendiously and in a way of Unity, I say that this was* Parmenides *his One* Ens *or Being.* F. 31. Gr.

In the next place, *Parmenides* with the others of those Ancients, called also his ἓν ὄν, τὸ πᾶν, *his One* Ens *or First most Simple Being, All, or the Universe*; because it virtually contained all things, and as *Simplicius* writes, πάντα διακεκριμένως ἐμφαίνεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, *All things are from this One, distinctly displayed.* For which cause, in *Plato's Parmenides*, this One is said to be, εἰς πάντα πολλὰ ὄντα νενεμημένον, *distributed into All things, that are Many.* But that *Parmenides* by his ἓν τὸ πᾶν, *One-All*, or *the Universe*, did not understand the Corporeal World, is evident from hence, because he called it ἀδιαίρετον or *Indivisible*, and as *Simplicius* observes, supposed it to *have no Magnitude*; because that which is Perfectly One, can have no Parts. *In Phys. F. 17. 2.*

Wherefore it may be here observed, that this expression of ἓν τὸ πᾶν, *One being All*, hath been used in very different Sences; for as *Parmenides* and *Xenophanes* understood it of the *Supreme Deity*; that *One* most *Perfect* and most *Simple Being*, was the Original of all things, so others of them meant it *Atheistically*, concerning the most Imperfect and Lowest of all Beings, *Matter* or *Body*, they affirming all things to be nothing but *One and the same Matter*, diversly modified. Thus much we learn from that place of *Aristotle's* in his Metaphysicks, ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἕν τε τὸ πᾶν καὶ μίαν εἶναί τινα φύσιν ὡς ὕλην ὑποτίθενται, καὶ ταύτην σωματικὴν καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσαν, δῆλον ὅτι πολλαχῶς ἁμαρτάνουσι, *They who affirm One to be All in this sence, as if All things were nothing but one and the same Matter, and that corporeal and endued with magnitude, it is manifest* L. 1. c. 7.

nifeſt that they err ſundry wayes. But here is a great Difference betwixt theſe Two to be obſerved, in that, the *Atheiſtical aſſerters* of *One and All* (whether they meant Water or Air by it, or ſomething elſe) did none of them ſuppoſe their *One and All to be Immovable* but *Movable*; but they whoſe Principle was *One and all Immovable* (as *Parmenides*, *Meliſſus* and *Zeno*) could not poſſibly mean any thing elſe thereby, but the *Deity*; that there was one moſt Simple, Perfect, and Immutable Being Incorporeal, which virtually contained *All Things*, and from which All things were derived. But *Heraclitus*, who is one of thoſe who are ſaid to have affirmed ἓν ἔναι τὸ πᾶν, *that One was All*, or *that the Univerſe was but One Thing*; might poſſibly have taken both thoſe ſences together (which will alſo agree in the Stoical *Hypotheſis*) that All things were both from *One God*, and from *One Fire*; they being both alike Corporeal Theiſts, who ſuppoſed an intellectual Fire, to be the Firſt Principle of All Things.

And though *Ariſtotle* in his *Phyſicks* quarrel very much with *Parmenides* and *Meliſſus*, for making *One Immovable Principle*, yet in his *Metaphyſicks*, himſelf doth plainly cloſe with it and own it as very good Divinity, that there is One Incorporeal and Immovable Principle of All Things, and that the Supreme Deity is an Immovable Nature, εἴπερ ὑπάρχῃ τις οὐσία τοιαύτη, λέγω δὲ χωριστὴ καὶ ἀκίνητος, ὅπερ πειράσομαι δεικνύναι, ἐνταῦθα ἂν εἴη τι καὶ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ αὕτη ἂν εἴη πρώτη καὶ κυριωτάτη ἀρχή· *If there be any ſuch Subſtance as this, that is ſeparate* (*from Matter, or Incorporeal*) *and Immovable* (*as we ſhall afterwards endeavour to ſhew that there is*) *then the Divinity ought to be placed here, and this muſt be acknowledged to be the Firſt and moſt Proper Principle of all.* But leſt any ſhould ſuſpect, that *Ariſtotle*, if not *Parmenides* alſo, might for all that, hold Many ſuch Immoveable Principles, or Many Eternal, Uncreated and Self-exiſtent Beings, as ſo many Partial Cauſes of the World, *Simplicius* aſſures us, μὴ γενέναι δόξαν πολλὰς καὶ ἀκινήτους τὰς ἀρχὰς λέγουσαν, i. e. *that though divers of the Ancient Philoſophers aſſerted a Plurality of Movable Principles* (and ſome indeed an Infinity) *yet there never was any Opinion entertained amongſt Philoſophers, of Many, or More than One, Immovable Principles.* From whence it may be concluded, that no Philoſopher ever aſſerted, a Multitude of Unmade Selfexiſtent Minds, or Independent Deities, as Coordinate Principles of the World.

L. 6. c. 1. & L. 13. c. 7.

Indeed *Plotinus* ſeems to think that *Parmenides* in his Writings, by his Τὸ ὄν, or *Ens*, did frequently mean a *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*, there being no True Entity (according to him) below that which Underſtands (which Mind, though Incorporeal, was likened by him to a *Sphere*, becauſe it comprehends all within it ſelf, and becauſe Intellection is not from without, but from within.) But that when again, he called his *On* or *Ens*, *One*, he gave occaſion thereby to ſome, to quarrel with him, as making the ſame both *One* and *Many*; *Intellect* being that which conteins the *Ideas* of all things in it. Wherefore *Parmenides* his whole Philoſophy (ſaith he) was better digeſted and more exactly and diſtinctly ſet down in *Plato's Parmenides*, where he acknowledgeth, *Three Unities Subordinate*, or *a Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes*;

ὁ Θεὸς

ὁ μὲν δὴ πλάτωνι παρμενίδης, ἀκριβέστερον λέγων, διαιρεῖ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ πρῶτον ἓν, ὃ κυριώτερον ἓν· καὶ δεύτερον ἓν πολλὰ λέγων· καὶ τρίτον ἓν καὶ πολλὰ· καὶ σύμφωνος ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς ἄλλαις φύσεσι ταῖς τριάσιν· Parmenides *in* Plato, *speaking more exactly, distinguishes Three Divine Unities Subordinate; The First of that which is Perfectly and most Properly One; the Second of that which was called by him, One-Many; the Third of that which is thus expressed, One and Many. So that* Parmenides *did also agree in this acknowledgment of a Trinity of Divine or Archical Hypostases.* Which Observation of *Plotinus* is, by the way, the best Key, that we know of, for that Obscure Book of *Plato*'s *Parmenides*: Wherefore *Parmenides* thus asserting a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, it was the *First* of those *Hypostases*, that was properly called by him, ἓν τὸ πᾶν, *One the Universe or all:* That is, One most Simple Being, the Fountain and Original of all. And the Second of them (which is a Perfect Intellect) was it seems by him called, in way of distinction ἓν πολλὰ or πάντα, *One-Many* or *One-All Things.* By which *All Things* are meant, the *Intelligible Ideas of Things*, that are all conteined together in One Perfect Mind. And of those was *Parmenides* to be understood also, when he affirmed, *That all Things did stand, and nothing flow*; not of Singular and Sensible Things, which, as the Heracliticks rightly affirmed, do indeed *all flow*; but of the Immediate Objects of the Mind, which are Eternal and Immutable; *Aristotle* himself acknowledging, that no *Generation* nor *Corruption* belongeth to them; since there could be no Immutable and Certain Science, unless there were some Immutable, Necessary and Eternal Objects of it. Wherefore, as the same *Aristotle* also declares, the true Meaning of that Controversie, betwixt the *Heracliticks* and *Parmenideans*, *Whether All Things did flow or Some things stand?* was the same with this, Whether there were any other Objects of the Mind, besides Singular Sensibles, that were Immutable; and consequently, Whether there were any such thing, as *Science* or *Knowledge* which had a Firmitude and Stability in it? For those *Heracliticks* who contended, that the only Objects of the Mind, were *Singular* and *Sensible* things, did with good reason consequently thereupon deny, that there was any Certain and Constant Knowledge, since there can neither be any *Definition of Singular Sensibles*, (as *Aristotle* writes) *nor any Demonstration concerning them.* But the *Parmenideans* on the contrary, who maintained the *Firmitude and Stability of Science*, did as reasonably conclude thereupon, that besides *Singular Sensibles*; there were other Objects of the Mind, *Universal*, *Eternal* and *Immutable*, which they called the *Intelligible Ideas*, all originally conteined in One Archetypal Mind or Understanding, and from thence participated by Inferiour Minds and Souls. But it must be here acknowledged, that *Parmenides* and the Pythagoreans, went yet a step further, and did not only suppose those Intelligible *Ideas*, to be the Eternal and Immutable Objects of all Science, but also as they are contained in the Divine Intellect, to be the Principles and Causes of all other things. For thus *Aristotle* declares their Sence, αἴτια τὰ εἴδη τοῖς ἄλλοις, and again, τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ εἴδη παρέχουσι, τοῖς δ' εἴδεσι τὸ ἕν. *The Ideas are the Causes of all other things; and, the Essence of all other things below, is imparted to them from the Ideas*

En.5.L.1.c.8.

Met. L. 4, c. 5.

Met. L. 1. c. 6.

deas, as the Ideas themſelves, derive their Eſſence from the Firſt Unity. Thoſe *Ideas* in the Divine Underſtanding, being look'd upon by theſe Philoſophers, as the Paradigms and Patterns of all Created things. Now theſe *Ideas* being frequently called by the Pythagoreans, *Numbers*, we may from hence clearly underſtand the Meaning of that ſeemingly monſtrous Paradox or puzzling *Griphus* of theirs, that *Numbers were the Cauſes and Principles of all things*, or that *All things were made out of Numbers*; it ſignifying indeed no more than this, that All things were made from the *Ideas* of the Divine Intellect, called *Numbers*; which themſelves alſo were derived from a Monad or Unity; *Ariſtotle* ſomewhere intimating this very account of that Aſſertion, τὰς ἀριθμὰς αἰτίας εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς οὐσίας, *That Numbers were the Cauſes of the Eſſence of other things*, namely, becauſe τὰ εἴδη ἀριθμοὶ, *the Ideas were Numbers.* Though we are not ignorant, how the Pythagoreans made alſo all the Numbers within the Decad, to be Symbols of Things. But beſides theſe *Two Divine Hypoſtaſes* already mentioned, *Parmenides* ſeems to have aſſerted alſo a *Third*, which becauſe it had yet more *Alterity*, for diſtinction ſake was called by him, neither ἓν τὸ πᾶν, *One the Univerſe or All*; nor ἓν πάντα, *One-All Things*; but ἓν καὶ πάντα, *One and All things*; and this is taken by *Plotinus* to be the *Eternal Pſyche*, that actively produceth All Things, in this Lower World, according to thoſe *Divine Ideas.*

In Ariſt. Phyſ. fol. 7. & 17. & 31.

But that *Parmenides* by his *One-All Immovable*, really underſtood nothing elſe but the Supreme Deity, is further unqueſtionably evident from thoſe Verſes of his cited by *Simplicius*, but not taken notice of by *Stephanus* in his *Poeſis Philoſophica*, of which we ſhall only ſet down ſome few here.

——Ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὸν καὶ ἀνώλεθρον ἔστιν,
οὐδέποτ' ἦν, οὐδ' ἔσται, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἔστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν·
Ἓν συνεχές· τίνα γὰρ γένναν διζήσεαι αὐτοῦ;
Αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι δεσμῶν,
Ταυτὸν τ' ἐν ταυτῷ τε μένον, καθ' ἑαυτό τε κεῖται· &c.

In which together with thoſe thatfollow, the Supreme Deity is plainly deſcribed, as One Single, Solitary, and moſt Simple Being, Unmade or Self-exiſtent, and Neceſſarily Exiſting, Incorporeal and devoid of Magnitude, altogether Immutable or Unchangeable, whoſe Duration therefore was very different from that of ours, and not in a way of Flux or Temporary Succeſſion, but a *Conſtant Eternity*, without either *Paſt* or *Future.* From whence it may be obſerved, that this Opinion of a *Standing Eternity*, different from that Flowing Succeſſion of Time, is not ſo Novel a Thing, as ſome would perſwade, nor was firſt excogitated by Chriſtian Writers, Schoolmen or Fathers, it being at leaſt as old as *Parmenides*; from whom it was alſo afterwards received and entertained by the beſt of the other Pagan Philoſophers; however it hath been of late ſo much decried, not only by Atheiſtical Writers, but other Precocious and Conceited Wits alſo, as Non-ſence and Impoſſibility.

It

It is well known that *Melissus* held forth the very same Doctrine with *Parmenides*, of *One Immovable, that was All*, which he plainly affirmed to be Incorporeal likewise, as *Parmenides* did; ἢ ὁ Μέλισσος ἓν ἐόν φησι, δεῖ αὐτὸ σῶμα μὴ ἔχειν, εἰ ὃ ἔχει πάχος, ἔχοι ἂν μόρια, Melissus *also declared, that his One* Ens *must needs be devoid of Body, because if it had any Crassities in it, it would have Parts.* But the only Difference that was between them was this, that *Parmenides* called this One *Immovable that was All*, πεπερασμένον, *Finite or Determined*, but *Melissus* ἄπειρον, *Infinite.* Which Difference notwithstanding was in Words only, there being none at all, as to the reality of their Sence; whilst each of them endeavoured in a different way, to set forth the greatest Perfection of the Deity; there being an Equivocation in those words *Finite* and *Infinite*, and both of them signifying in one sence Perfection, but in another Imperfection. And the *Disagreeing Agreement* of these two Philosophers with one another, *Parmenides* and *Melissus*; as also of *Xenophanes* with them both concerning the Deity, is well declared by *Simplicius* after this manner; ὀλίγον παρεκβάντα, τοῖς φιλομαθεστέροις ἐπιδεῖξαι, πῶς καίτοι διαφέρειν δοκοῦντες οἱ πάλαιοι, περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν δόξας, εὐαρμονίως ὅμως συμφέρονται. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ νοητὸν καὶ πρώτης ἀρχῆς διελέχθησαν, ὡς Ξενοφάνης καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Μέλισσος· ὁ μὲν Παρμενίδης ἓν λέγων καὶ πεπερασμένον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ ἓν τῷ πλήθους προϋπάρχειν, καὶ τὸ πᾶσιν ὅρος καὶ περατὸς αἴτιον, καὶ τὸ πέρας μᾶλλον ἢ ἄπ. καὶ τῷ ἀπείραν ἀφορίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πάντη τε τέλειον τὸ τέλος τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπειληφὸς, πεπερασμένον εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τέλος τῶν πάντων ὡς ἀρχή· τὸ γὰρ ἀτελὲς ἐνδεὲς ὄν, ὅπου πέρας ἀπείληφε· Μέλισσος δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀμεταβλητον ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεάσατο, καὶ δὲ τὸ ἀνέκλειπτον τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον τῆς δυνάμεως, ἄπειρον αὐτὸ ἀπεφήνατο, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀγένητον· πλὴν ὁ μὲν Ξενοφάνης ὡς πάντων αἴτιον, καὶ πάντων ὑπερανέχον, καὶ κινήσεως αὐτὸ καὶ ἠρεμίας καὶ πάσης ἀντιστοιχείας ἐπέκεινα τίθησιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὑποθέσει· ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης, τὸ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον αὐτῷ, καὶ πάσης μεταβολῆς, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπέκεινα, θεασάμενος, ἀκίνητον αὐτὸ ἀνυμνεῖ· *Simplic. Ar. Phys. f. 19.* *Ar. Phys. f. 7.*

Perhaps it will not be improper for us to digress a little here, and to gratifie the studious and inquisitive Reader, by showing how those Ancient Philosophers, though seeming to dissent in their Opinions concerning the Principles, did notwithstanding harmoniously agree together. As first of all, they who discoursed concerning the Intelligible and First Principle of All; Xenophanes, Parmenides *and* Melissus; *of whom* Parmenides *called it One Finite and Determined; because as Unity must needs exist before Multitude, so that which is to all things the cause of Measure, Bound and Determination, ought rather to be described by Measure and Finitude, than Infinity; as also that which is every way perfect, and hath attained its own end, or rather is the end of all things (as it was the beginning) must needs be of a Determinate Nature; for that which is imperfect and therefore indigent, hath not yet attained its Term or Measure. But* Melissus, *though considering the Immutability of the Deity likewise, yet attending to the Inexhaustible perfection of its Essence, the Unlimitedness and Unboundedness of its Power, declareth it to be Infinite, as well as Ingenit or Unmade. Moreover* Xenophanes *looking upon the Deity, as the Cause of All things and above All things, placed it above Motion and Rest, and all those Antitheses of Inferiour Beings, as* Plato *likewise doth in the first Hypothesis of his* Parmenides;

whereas Parmenides *and* Meliſſus, *attending to its Stability and conſtant Immutability, and its being perhaps above Energy and Power, praiſed it as Immovable.* From which of *Simplicius* it is plain, that *Parmenides* when he called God, πεπερασμένον, *Finite and Determined*, was far from meaning any ſuch thing thereby, as if he were a Corporeal Being of Finite Dimenſions, as ſome have ignorantly ſuppoſed; or as if he were any way limited as to Power and Perfection; but he underſtood it in that ſence, in which πέρας is taken by *Plato*, as oppoſite to ἀπειρία, and for the Greateſt Perfection, and as God is ſaid to be πέρας καὶ μέτρον πάντων, *The Term and Meaſure of All Things.* But *Meliſſus* calling God ἄπειρον, *Infinite*, in the ſence before declared, as thereby to ſignifie his Inexhauſtible Power and Perfection, his Eternity and Incorruptibility, doth therein more agree with our preſent Theology, and the now received manner of ſpeaking. We have the rather produced all this, to ſhew how Curious the ancient Philoſophers were, in their Enquiries after God, and how exact in their Deſcriptions of him. Wherefore however *Anaximanders Infinite*, were nothing but *Eternal Senſleſs Matter* (though called by him the τὸ θεῖον, *the Divineſt thing of all*) yet *Meliſſus* his ἄπειρον, or *Infinite*, was the true Deity.

With *Parmenides* and *Meliſſus* fully agreed *Zeno Eleates* alſo, *Parmenides* his Scholar, that *One Immovable*, was *All*, or the Original of All things, he meaning thereby nothing elſe, but the Supreme Deity. For though it be true, that this *Zeno* did excogitate certain Arguments againſt the Local Motion of Bodies, proceeding upon that *Hypotheſis* of the Infinite Diviſibility of Body, one of which was famouſly known by that name of *Achilles*, becauſe it pretended to prove that it was impoſſible (upon that *Hypotheſis*) for *the Swift-footed* Achilles, *ever to overtake the creeping Snail*; (which Arguments of his, whether or no they are well anſwered by *Ariſtotle*, is not here to our purpoſe to enquire) yet all this was nothing elſe, but *Luſus Ingenii*, a ſportful exerciſe of *Zeno*'s Wit, he being a ſubtil Logician and Diſputant, or perhaps an Endeavour alſo, to ſhow how puzling and perplexing to humane Underſtanding, the conception even of the moſt vulgar and confeſſed *Phænomena* of Nature may be. For that *Zeno Eleates* by his *One Immovable that was All*, meant not the Corporeal World, no more than *Meliſſus*, *Parmenides*, and *Xenophanes*, is evident from *Ariſtotle* writing thus concerning him; τὸ τοιοῦτον ἓν οὖν τὸν θεὸν λέγει, ὅτε κινεῖσθαι, ὅτε κινητὸν εἶναι, Zeno *by his one* Ens *which neither was moved, nor moveable, meaneth God.* Moreover the ſame *Ariſtotle* informs us, that this *Zeno* endeavoured to Demonſtrate, that there was but One God, from that *Idea* which all men have of him, as that which is the Beſt, the Supreme and moſt Powerful of all, or as an abſolutely Perfect Being; εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς ἀπάντων κράτιστον, ἕνα φησὶ προσήκειν αὐτόν· *If God be the Beſt of All things, then he muſt needs be One.* Which Argument was thus purſued by him; τοῦτο θεὸς καὶ θεοῦ δύναμις κρατεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι· ὥστε καὶ θεὸν μὴ κρεῖττον, καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶναι θεόν· πλειόνων δ' ὄντων, εἰ μηδὲν ἕεν τὰ μηδὲν ἀλλήλων κρείττους, τὰ ἴσης, εἶναι θεούς· πεφυκέναι γὰρ θεὸν μὴ κρατεῖσθαι· ἴσων δ' ὄντων, εἶναι ἂν ἔχειν θεὸν φύσιν δεῖν εἶναι κρατιστον· τὸ δ' ἴσον, ὅτε βέλτιον ὅτε

De Xenoph. Zen. & Gor.

χεῖρον

χεῖρον εἶναι τοῦ ἰζα· ὥς ἐιπερ ἔιη τε, καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔιη θεὸς, ἕνα μόνον εἶναι τὸν θεόν· ἐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐδὲ πάντα δύναιτο ἃ ἂν βούλοιτο· *This is God and the Power of God, to prevail, conquer and rule over all. Wherefore by how much any thing falls ſhort of the Beſt, by ſo much does it fall ſhort of being God. Now if there be ſuppoſed more ſuch Beings, whereof ſome are Better, ſome worſe, thoſe could not be all Gods, becauſe it is Eſſential to God not to be tranſcended by any; but if they be conceived to be ſo many Equal Gods; then would it not be the nature of God to be the Beſt, one Equal being neither better nor worſe than another. Wherefore if there be a God, and this be the nature of him, then can there be but One. And indeed otherwiſe he could not be able to do whatever he would.*

Empedocles is ſaid to have been an Emulator of *Parmenides* alſo, which muſt be underſtood of his Metaphyſicks, becauſe in his Phyſiology (which was *Atomical*) he ſeems to have tranſcended him. Now that *Empedocles* acknowledged One Supreme and Univerſal *Numen* and that Incorporeal too, may be concluded from what hath been already cited out of his Philoſophick Poems. Beſides which the Writer *De Mundo* (who though not *Ariſtotle* yet was a Pagan of good antiquity) clearly affirmeth, that *Empedocles* derived all things whatſoever, from One Supreme Deity; τὰ γὰρ δι' ἀέρος ἅπαντα, καὶ ὅπη γῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐν ὕδατι, θεῶν λέγοιτ' ἂν ὄντως ἔργα εἶναι, τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐπέχοντος· ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, P. 26.

Πάντ' ὅσα τ' ἦν, ὅσα τ' ἔστιν, ἰδ' ὅσα τε ἔσσεται ὀπίσω, &c.

All the things that are upon the Earth and in the Air and Water, may truly be called the works of God, who ruleth over the World. Out of whom, according to the Phyſical Empedocles, *proceed all things that were, are, and ſhall be,* viz. *Plants, Men, Beaſts and Gods.* Which notwithſtanding we conceive, to be rather true as to *Empedocles* his ſence, than his words, he affirming, as it ſeems, in that cited place, that all theſe things were made, not immediately out of God, but out of *Contention* and *Friendſhip*; becauſe *Simplicius* who was furniſhed with a Copy of *Empedocles* his Poems, twice brings in that cited Paſſage of his in this connexion,

Ἓν δὲ κέρᾳ διάμορφα καὶ ἄνδιχα πάντα πέλονται,
Σὺν δ' ἔθεν ἐν φιλότητι καὶ ἀλλήλοισι ποθεῖται,
Ἓκ τῶν γὰρ πάντ' ὅσ' ἦν, ὅσα τ' ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται,
Δένδρεά τε βεβλάστηκε, καὶ ἄνερες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες,
Θῆρες, τ' οἰωνοί τε, καὶ ὑδατοθρέμμονες ἰχθῦς,
Καί τε θεοὶ δολιχαίωνες τιμῇσι φέρεσοι.

Things are divided and ſegregated by Contention, but joyned together by Friendſhip; from which Two (Contention and Friendſhip) *all that was, is, and ſhall be, proceeds; as trees, men and women, beaſts, birds and fiſhes, and laſt of all the long lived and honourable Gods.* Wherefore the ſence of *Empedocles* his words here was this; that the whole created World, together with all things belonging to it, viz. Plants,

Beaſts

Beasts, Men and Gods, was made from *Contention* and *Friendship*. Nevertheless, since according to *Empedocles* Contention and Friendship, did themselves depend also upon one Supreme Deity, which he with *Parmenides* and *Xenophanes* called, Τὸ ἓν, or *The Very One*; the Writer *De Mundo* might well conclude, that according to *Empedocles*, all things whatsoever, and not only men, but Gods, were derived from *One Supreme Deity*. And that this was indeed *Empedocles* his sence, appears plainly from *Aristotle* in his Metaphysicks, Τίθησι μὲν γὰρ [Ἐμπεδοκλῆς] ἀρχὴ τινα τὴν φθορᾶς τὸ Νεῖκος· δόξειε δ' ἂν ὀφεῖν ἥττον καὶ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι διὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἑνός. Ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐκ τούτου τἄλλα διὸ καὶ πλὴν ὁ Θεὸς· λέγει γάρ,

L. 3. *c.* 4.

Ἐξ ὧν πάνθ' ὅσα τ' ἦν, ὅσα τ' ἐσθ', ὅσα τ' ἔσται ὀπίσω, &c.

Empedocles *makes Contention to be a certain Principle of Corruption and Generation: Nevertheless he seems to generate this Contention it self also from the Very One* (that is, from the Supreme Deity.) *For all things according to him are from this Contention, God only excepted; he writing after this manner, From which* (that is, Contention and Friendship) *all the things that have been, are and shall be* (Plants, Beasts, Men and Gods) *derived their Original.* For *Empedocles* it seems supposed, that were it not for νεῖκος *Discord* or *Contention*, all things would be One: So that according to him, all things whatsoever proceded from Contention or Discord, together with a mixture of Friendship, save only the Supreme God, who hath therefore no *Contention* at all in him, because he is Essentially Τὸ ἓν, *Unity it self and Friendship.* From whence *Aristotle* takes occasion to quarrel with *Empedocles*, as if it would follow from his Principles, that the Supreme and most Happy God, was the *Least wise* of all, as being not able to know any thing besides himself, or in the World without him, διὸ καὶ συμβαίνει αὐτῷ, τὸν μακαριώτατον θεὸν ἧττον φρόνιμον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων· ὁ γὰρ γνωρίζει τὰ στοιχεῖα πάντα τὸ γὰρ νεῖκος οὐκ ἔχει· ἡ δὲ γνῶσις τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῦ ὁμοίου,

Met. L. 3. *c.* 4.

Γαίῃ μὲν γὰρ (φησι) γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ, &c.

This therefore happens to Empedocles, *that according to his Principles, the most Happy God, is the least Wise of all other things, for he cannot know the Elements, because he hath no Contention in him; all Knowledge being by that which is like; himself writing thus; We know Earth by Earth, Water by Water, Air by Air, and Fire by Fire; Friendship by Friendship, and Contention by Contention.* But to let this pass; *Empedocles* here making the *Gods* themselves to be derived from *Contention* and *Friendship*, the Supreme Deity, or most Happy God, only excepted, (who hath no Contention in him, and from whom Contention and Friendship themselves were derived) plainly acknowledged both One Unmade Deity, the Original of all things under the name of Τὸ ἓν, *The very One*, and many other Inferiour Gods, generated or produced by him; they being Juniors to *Contention*, or *Discord*, as this was also Junior to *Unity*, the First and *Supreme Deity.* Which Gods of *Empedocles*, that were begotten from *Contention* (as well as Men and other things) were doubtless the Stars and Demons.

Moreover

Moreover we may here obſerve, that according to *Empedocles* his Doctrine, the true Original of all the *Evil*, both of *Humane Souls* and *Demons* (which he ſuppoſed alike Lapſable) was derived from that Νεῖκος, *Diſcord and Contention*, that is neceſſarily contained in the Nature of them, together with the the Ill Uſe of their Liberty, both in this *Preſent* and their *Pre-exiſtent State*. So that *Empedocles* here trode in the footſteps of *Pythagoras*, whoſe Praiſes he thus loudly ſang forth in his Poems, According to that Νείκει μεμιγμένῳ πίσυνος. P. 23.

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν κείνοισιν ἀνὴρ περιώσια εἰδώς,
Ὃς δὴ μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον,
Παντοίων τε μάλιστα σοφῶν ὑπερέχων ἔργων, &c. *Porphyr. de Vit. Pyth. p. 194.*

Horum de numero quidam præſtantia norat
Plurima, Mentis Opes Amplas ſub pectore ſervans,
Omnia Veſtigans Sapientum Docta Reperta, &c.

XXII. Before we come to *Socrates* and *Plato*, we ſhall here take notice of ſome other Pythagoreans, and Eminent Philoſophers, who clearly aſſerted *One Supreme* and *Univerſal Numen*, though doubtleſs acknowledging withal, *Other Inferiour Gods*: *Philo* in his Book *De Mundi Opificio*, writing of the *Hebdomad* or *Septenary Number*, and obſerving that according to the Pythagoreans, it was called both a *Motherleſs* and *Virgin Number*, becauſe it was the only number within the Decad, which was neither *Generated*, nor did it ſelf *Generate*, tells us that therefore it was made by them a *Symbol* of the *Supreme Deity*, οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἐξομοιοῦσι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῷ σύμπαντων· *The Pythagoreans likened this Number, to the Prince and Governour of All Things, or the Supreme Monarch of the Univerſe*, as thinking it to bear a reſemblance of his *Immutability*; which Phancy of theirs was before taken notice of by us. However *Philo* hereupon, occaſionally cites this Remarkable Teſtimony of *Philolaus* the Pythagorean, Ἐστὶ γάρ, φησὶν, ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἄρχων ἁπάντων ὁ θεὸς, εἷς ἀεὶ ὢν, μόνιμος, ἀκίνητος, αὐτὸς αὑτῷ ὅμοιος, ἕτερος τῶν ἄλλων· *God (ſaith he) is the Prince and Ruler over all, always One, Stable, Immovable, Like to himſelf, but Unlike to every thing elſe*. To which may be added what in *Stobæus* is further recorded, out of the ſame *Philolaus*, ἦν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἐξ αἰῶνος, καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διαμενεῖ, εἷς ὑπὸ ἑνὸς τῶ συγγενέος καὶ πρωτίστω πυρερνόμενος· *This World was from Eternity and will remain to Eternity, One governed by One, which is Cognate and the Beſt*. Where notwithſtanding he ſeemeth, with *Ocellus*, to maintain the Worlds Pre-eternity. And again, διὸ καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγε, κόσμον ἧμεν ἐνέργειαν ἀΐδιον θεῶ τε καὶ γενέσιος· *Wherefore, ſaid* Philolaus, *the World might well be called the Eternal Energy or Effect of God, and of Succeſſive Generation*. P. 23. *Eccl. Phyſ. p. 44.*

Jamblichus in his Protrepticks cites a Paſſage out of *Archytas* another Pythagorean, to the ſame purpoſe, ὅστις ἀναλύσαι οἷός τε ᾖ, πάντα τὰ γένεα ὑπὸ μίαν τε καὶ αὐτὰν ἀρχὰν, οὗτος δοκεῖ μοι καλὰν σκοπιὰν εὑρηκέναι, ἀφ' ἧς δυνατὸς ἐσσεῖται τὸ θεῖον καταφρᾶσθαι, &c. *Whoſoever is able to reduce all kinds of things under One and the ſame Principle, this man ſeems to me, to have found out an excellent* Specula, *or high Station, from* C. 4. p. 20.

from whence he may be able to take a Large View and Proſpect of God, and of all other things; and he ſhall clearly perceive that God is the Beginning, and End, and Middle of All things, that are performed according to Juſtice and Right Reaſon. Upon which words of *Archytas*, *Jamblichus* thus gloſſeth; Archytas *here declares the End of all Theological Speculation, to be this, not to reſt in Many Principles, but to reduce all things under One and the ſame Head.* Adding τοιαύτη ἔπιστήμη τῦ ἑνὸς, τέλος ἔστι πάσης θεωρίας, *That this knowledge of the firſt Unity, the Original of All things, is the end of all Contemplation.* Moreover *Stobæus* cites this out of *Archytas* his Book of Principles, *viz.* That beſides Matter and Form, ἀναγκαιοτέρων τινὰ εἶμεν αἰτίαν, τὰν κινάσουσαν ἐντὸς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰν μορφὰν, ταύτα δὲ τὰν πρώταν δυνάμιν, καὶ καθυπερτάταν εἶμεν, ὀνομάζεσθαι δὲ θεὸν, &c. *There is another more neceſſary cauſe, which Moving, brings the Form to the Matter, and that this is the Firſt and moſt Powerful Cauſe, which is fitly called God. So that there are Three Principles, God, Matter, and Form; God the Artificer and Mover, and Matter that which is moved, and Form the Art introduced into the Matter.* In which ſame Stobean Excerption it alſo follows afterwards, δεῖ νόῳ τι κρέασσον εἶναι, νόῳ δὲ κρεασσόν ἐστι ὅπερ ὀνομάζομεν θεὸν; *That there muſt be ſomething better than Mind, and that this thing better than Mind, is that which we (properly) call God.*

Eccl. Ph. p. 82.

P. 32. *Ocellus* alſo in the ſame *Stobæus* thus writeth, συνέχει τὰ μὲν σώματα ζῶα, ταύτας δ' αἴτιον ψυχά· τὰ δὲ κόσμον ἁρμονία, ταύτας δ' αἴτιον ὁ θεός· τὸς δ' οἴκως καὶ τὰς πόλιας ὁμόνοια, ταύτας δ' αἴτιος νόμος· *Life contains the bodies of Animals, the Cauſe of which Life is the Soul; Concord contains Houſes and Cities, the cauſe of which Concord is Law; and Harmony contains the whole World, the cauſe of which Mundane Harmony is God.* And to the ſame purpoſe *Ariſtæus*, ὡς ὁ τεχνίτας πρὸς τὰν τέχναν, ὅτως θεὸς πρὸ ἁρμονίαν, *As the Artificer is to Art, ſo is God to the Harmony of the world.* There is alſo this paſſage in the ſame *Stobæus* cited out of an anonymous Pythagorean, θεὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἀρχὰ καὶ πρῶτον, θεῖος δὲ ὁ κόσμος, *God is the Principle, and the Firſt thing; and the World (though it be not the Supreme God) yet is it Divine.*

P. 45.

P. 8.

Timæus Locrus a Pythagorean Senior to *Plato*, in his Book concerning *Nature*, or *the Soul of the World* (upon which *Plato*'s *Timæus* was but a kind of Commentary) plainly acknowledgeth both *One Supreme God* the Maker and Governour of the whole World, and alſo *Many other Gods* his Creatures and ſubordinate Miniſters; in the cloſe thereof, writing thus concerning the puniſhment of wicked men after this life, ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ ἁ Νέμεσις συνδιένειμε, σὺν δαίμοσι παλαμναίοις χθονίοις τε, τοῖς ἐπίσκοπος τᾶν ἀνθρωπίνων· οἷς ὁ πάντων ἀγεμὼν θεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησιν κόσμω συμπεπληρωμένω ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, τᾶν τε ἄλλων ζώων, ὅσα δεδαμύργηται ποτ' εἰκόνα τὰν ἀρίστων εἴδεος ἀγήρατω καὶ αἰωνίω· *All theſe things, hath* Nemeſis *decreed, to be executed in the ſecond Circuit by the Miniſtry of Vindictive Terreſtrial Demons that are Overſeers of humane affairs; to which Demons, that Supreme God the Ruler over all, hath committed the Government and Adminiſtration of the World. Which world is compleated and made up, of Gods, Men, and other Animals, all Created according to the beſt Pattern of*

of the Eternal and Unmade Idea. In which words of *Timæus*, there are these Three several Points of the Pagan Theology contained; First, that there is *One Supreme God*, Eternal and Unmade, the Creator and Governour of the whole World, and who made it according to the Best Pattern or Exemplar of his own *Idea's* and Eternal Wisdom. Secondly, that this World Created by God, is compounded and made up of other *Inferiour Gods*, Men, and Brute Animals. Thirdly, that the Supreme God hath committed the Administration of our Humane Affairs to Demons and Inferiour Gods, who are constant inspectors over us, some of which he also makes use of for the punishment of wicked men after this life. Moreover in this Book of *Timæus Locrus* the Supreme God is often called, ὁ θεὸς, and sometime ὁ δαίμων, *God in way of eminency*; sometime νόος, *Mind*, sometime τ' ἀγαθὸν, *The Very Good* sometime ἀρχὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, *The Principle of the Best things*, sometime δημιουργὸς τοῦ βελτίονος, *The Maker of the Better*, (Evil being supposed not to proceed from him;) sometime κρείττων αἴτιον, *the Best and most Powerful Cause*, sometime ἀρχαγὸς καὶ γενέτωρ ἁπάντων, *The Prince and Parent of all things.* Which God, according to him, is not the Soul of the World neither, but the Creator thereof, he having made the World an *Animal*, and a *Secondary Generated God*; δηλόμενος ὢν ἄριστον γένναμα ποιεῖν, τοῦτον ἐποίει θεὸν γενατὸν, ἄφθαρτον φθαρησόμενον ὑπ' ἄλλω αἰτίω, ἔξω τῶ αὐτὸν συντεταγμένω θεῶ, εἴποκα θέλητο αὖτε διαλύειν, *God willing to make the world the Best, that it was capable of, made it a Generated God, such as should never be destroyed by any other Cause but only by that God himself who framed it, if he should ever will to dissolve it. But since it is not the part of that which is good to destroy the Best of Works, the World will doubtless ever remain Incorruptible and Happy; the best of all Generated things, made by the Best Cause, looking not at Patterns Artificially framed without him, but the Idea and Intelligible Essence, as the Paradigms, which whatsoever is made conformable to, must needs be the Best, and such as shall never need to be mended.* Moreover he plainly declares, that this *Generated God* of his, *the World*, was produced in Time, so as to have a Beginning, περὶ οὐρανὸν γένεσθαι, λογῳ ἦεν ἰδέα τε καὶ ὕλα, καὶ ὁ θεὸς δημιουργὸς τοῦ βελτίονος, *Before the Heaven was made, existed the Idea, Matter, and God the Opifex of the Best.* Wherefore whatever *Ocellus* and *Philolaus* might do, yet this *Timæus* held not the Worlds Eternity; wherein he followed, not only *Pythagoras himself* (as we have already shewed) but also the generality of the first Pythagoreans, of whom *Aristotle* pronounces without exception, γενᾶσι γὰρ τὸν κόσμον, *that they Generated the World.* *Timæus* indeed in this Book, seems to assert the *Pre-eternity* of the Matter, as if it were a *Self-existent Principle* together with God, and yet *Clemens Alexandrinus* cites a passage out of him looking another way, ἀλλ' ἀνίκητος καὶ μίαν ἀρχὼ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλώων ἀκοῦσαι πόθεις; Τίμαιος ὁ Λοκρὸς ἐν τῶ φυσικῶ συγγράμματι κατ' λέξιν ὧδέ μοι μαρτυρήσῃ. Μία ἀρχὰ πάντων ἔστιν ἀγένητος, εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἦκ ἂν ἦν ἔτι ἀρχὰ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνα ἀρχὰ, ἐξ ἂς ἐγένετο· *Would you hear of one only Principle of all things amongst the Greeks?* Timæus Locrus *in his Book of Nature, will bear me witness thereof; he there in express words writing thus, There is One Principle of All Things Unmade; for if it were made it would not be a Principle, but that would be the Principle from whence it was made.* Thus

Met. L.1.c.7.

Strom.5.p.602.

we see that *Timæus Locrus* asserted *One Eternal and Unmade God*, the maker of the whole World, and besides this, another *Generated God*, the World it self Animated, with its several Parts; the difference betwixt both which Gods, is thus declared by him, Θεὸν ἦ, τὸ μὲν αἰώνιον νόῳ ὁρᾶν μόνος, τὸν ἁπάντων ἄρχαγον καὶ γενέτορα τοιοῦτον, τὸ δὲ γενητὸν ὄμμασιν ὁρᾶσθαι, κόσμον δὲ τόνδε, καὶ τὰ μέρεα αὐτοῦ ὁπόσα ἀφάνια ἐστί· *That Eternal God, who is the Prince, Original, and Parent of all these things, is seen only by the Mind, but the other Generated God, is visible to our eyes*, viz. *this world and those parts of it which are Heavenly*, that is, the Stars, as so many particular Gods contained in it. But here it is to be observed, that that Eternal God, is not only so called by *Timæus*, as being without beginning, but also as having a distinct kind of duration from that of Time, which is properly called *Æon* or Eternity, he therein following *Parmenides*, εἰκὼν δὲ ἔφη τῶ ἀγενήτω χρόνω, ὃν αἰῶνα ποταγορεύομες· ὡς γὰ ποτ' ἀΐδιον παράδειγμα τὸ ἰδάνικον κόσμον ὅδε ἀραγὸς ἐγενάσατο, ὅτως ὡς πρὸς παράδειγμα τὸ αἰῶνα ὅδε χρόνος σὺν κόσμῳ ἐδαμιργήθη· *Time is but an Image of that Unmade Duration, which we call Eternity; wherefore as this sensible World was made according to that Eternal Exemplar or Pattern of the Intelligible World, so was Time made together with the World, as an Imitation of Eternity.*

Pag. 233. It hath been already observed, that *Onatus* another Pythagorean, took notice of an Opinion of some in his time, that there was *One only God*, who comprehended *the whole World*, and no other Gods besides, or at least, none such as was to be religiously worshipped; himself in the mean time asserting, That there was both *One God*, and *Many Gods*; or besides *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, *Many* other *Inferiour and Particular Deities*, to whom also men ought to pay Religious Worship. Now his further account of both these Assertions, is contained in these following words; τοὶ δὲ λέγοντες ἕνα θεὸν εἶμεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντι· τὸ γὰ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τᾶ θείας ὑπεροχᾶς ἐ συνθεορεῦντι· λέγω δὲ τὸ ἄρχεν καὶ ἁγεῖσθαι τῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ κρατίστον καὶ καθυπέρτερον εἶμεν τῶν ἄλλων· τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι θεοὶ ποτὶ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νοητὸν ὅτως ἔχοντι ὥςπερ χορευτὰ ποτὶ κορυφαῖον, καὶ στρατίωτα ποτὶ στραταγὸν, καὶ λοχίτα, καὶ συντεταγμένοι ποτὶ ταξιάρχαν καὶ λοχαγέταν, ἔχοντε φύσιν, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν τᾶ καλᾶς καθηγεομένω· κοινὸν μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον ἔστι, καὶ τᾶ ἄρχοντι, καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀλλ' οὐκέτι δύναντο συντετάχθαι τοὶ ἀρχόμενοι ποτὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἀπολειφθέντες ἀγεμόνος· ὥςπερ οὐδὲ χορευταὶ ποτὶ συναύλαν, οὐδὲ στρατ. ὦται ποτὶ στρατηγίαν, ἀπολειφθέντες ἀγεμόνος, τοὶ μὲν στραταγῶ, τοὶ δὲ κορυφαίω· *They who maintain that there is only One God, and not Many Gods, are very much mistaken, as not considering aright, what the Dignity and Majesty of the Divine Transcendency chiefly consisteth in, namely, in Ruling and Governing those which are like to it* (that is, Gods) *and in excelling or surmounting Others, and being Superiour to them. But all those other Gods, which we contend for, are to that First and Intelligible God, but as the Dancers to the* Coryphæus *or* Choragus, *& as the Inferior Common Soldiers, to the Captain or General; to whom it properly belongeth, to follow and comply with their Leader and Commander. The work indeed is common or the same to them both, to the Ruler and them that are Ruled; but they that are ruled, could not orderly conspire and agree together*

Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 5.

ther into one work, were they deſtitute of a Leader, as the Singers and Dancers could not conſpire together into one Dance and Harmony, were they deſtitute of a Coryphæus, *nor Soldiers make up one orderly Army were they without a Captain or Commander.*

And as the Supreme God is here called by *Onatus*, the *Coryphæus* of the Gods, ſo is he in like manner by the Writer *De Mundo*, ſtiled the *Coryphæus* of the World, or the *Præcentor* and *Preſultor* of it, in theſe words, καθάπερ ἐν χορῷ, κορυφαῖος καταρξάντος, συνεπηχεῖ πᾶς ὁ χορὸς ἀνδρῶν, ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐν διαφόροις φωναῖς ὀξυτέραις καὶ βαρυτέραις, μίαν ἁρμονίαν ἐμμελῆ κεραννύντων· οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ὅπου τὸ σύμπαν διέπουσι θεός· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄνωθεν εὐδόκιμον ὑπὸ τοῦ φερωνύμως ἂν κορυφαίου προαγομένου, κινεῖται μιᾷ τὰ ἄστρα ἀεὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός· *As in a* Chorus, *when the* Coryphæus *or* Precentor *hath begun, the whole Quire compounded of men, and ſometimes of women too, followeth, ſinging every one their part, ſome in higher and ſome in lower notes, but all mingling together into one complete Harmony; ſo in the world God, as the* Coryphæus, *the* Præcentor *and* Præſultor, *beginning the Dance and Muſick, the Stars and Heavens move round after him according to thoſe numbers and meaſures, which he preſcribes them, all together making up one moſt excellent Harmony.*

It was alſo before obſerved, that *Ecphantus* the Pythagorean, and *Archelaus* the Succeſſor of *Anaxagoras* (who were both of them *Atomiſts* in their Phyſiology) did aſſert the World to have been Made at Firſt, and ſtill to be governed by *One Divine Mind*; which is more than ſome Atomiſts of ours in this preſent age, who notwithſtanding pretend to be very good Theiſts, will acknowledge. We ſhall in the next place, mention *Euclides Megarenſis*, the Head of that Sect called Megarick, and who is ſaid to have been *Plato*'s Maſter for ſome time, after *Socrates* his death; whoſe Doctrine is thus ſet down by *Laertius*, ὅτι τὸ Ἓν τὸ Ἀγαθὸν ἀπεφαίνετο, πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ φρόνησιν, ὁτὲ δὲ θεὸν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νοῦν, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. τὰ δὲ ἀντικείμενα τῷ Ἀγαθῷ, ἀνῄρει, μὴ εἶναι φάσκων· Pag. 26. Which we underſtand thus, *That* Euclides (who followed *Xenophanes* and *Parmenides*) *made the Firſt Principle of all things, to be One the very Good, called ſometimes Wiſdom, ſometimes God, ſometimes Mind, and ſometimes by other Names; but that he took away all that is Oppoſite to Good, denying it to have any Real Entity*; that is, he maintained, that there was no *Poſitive Nature of Evil*, or *that Evil was no Principle.* And thus do we alſo underſtand that of *Cicero*, when he repreſents the Doctrine of the Megaricks after this manner, *Id bonum ſolum eſſe, quod eſſet Unum, & Simile, & Idem, & Semper*; to wit, *that they ſpake this concerning God, that Good or Goodneſs it ſelf* is a Name properly belonging to him, who is alſo *One, and Like, and the Same, and Alwayes*; and that the true Good of man, conſiſteth in a Participation of, and Conformity with this *Firſt Good.* Which Doctrine *Plato* ſeems to have derived from him, he in like manner, calling the *Supreme Deity*, by thoſe Two Names, τὸ ἓν and τ' ἀγαθὸν, *the One*, and *the Good*, and concluding true humane Felicity to conſiſt, in a Participation of the *Firſt Good*, or of the *Divine Nature.*

In the next place we shall take notice of *Antisthenes*, who was the Founder also of another *Sect*, to wit, the *Cynick*; for he in a certain Physiological Treatise, is said to have affirmed, *Esse Populares Deos Multos, sed Naturalem Unum, That though there were many Popular Gods, yet there was but One Natural God:* Or, as it is expressed in *Lactantius*, *Unum esse Naturalem Deum, quamvis Gentes & Urbes suos habeant Populares; That there was but One Natural God, though Nations and Cities had their Several Popular Ones.* Wherefore *Velleius* the Epicurean in *Cicero* quarrels with this *Antisthenes*, as one who destroyed the *Nature of Gods*, because he denied *a Multitude of Independent Deities*, such as *Epicurus* pretended to assert. For this of *Antisthenes*, is not so to be understood, as if he had therein designed to take away all the *Inferiour Gods* of the Pagans, which had he at all attempted, he would doubtless have been accounted an Atheist, as well as *Anaxagoras* was; but his meaning was, only to interpret the *Theology of the Pagans*, concerning those other Gods of theirs, that were or might be look'd upon, as *Absolute and Independent*; that these, though *Many Popular Gods*, yet indeed were but *One* and the same *Natural God*, called by several Names. As for example, when the Greeks worshipped *Zeus*, the Latins *Jovis*, the Egyptians *Hammon*, the Babylonians *Bel*, the Scythians *Pappæus*; these were indeed many *Popular Gods*, and yet nevertheless all but One and the same *Natural God*. So again when in the self same Pagan Cities and Countries, the respective Laws thereof, made mention of several Gods, as Supreme and Absolute in their several Territories, as *Jupiter* in the Heavens, *Juno* in the Air, *Neptune* in the Sea; or as being Chief in several kinds and Functions, as *Minerva* for Learning, *Bellona* for War, *&c.* (for this *Aristotle* takes notice of in his Book against *Zeno*, κατὰ τὸν νόμον, πολλὰ περιττὸς ἀλλήλων οἱ θεοὶ, *That according to the Laws of Cities and Countries, one God was Best for one thing, and another for another*) *Antisthenes* here declared concerning these also, that they were indeed *Many Popular* or *Civil Gods*, but all really *One* and the same *Natural God*.

Cic. De N.D. L. 1.

Lact. De Ira D. c. 11.

To *Antisthenes* might be added *Diogenes Sinopensis*, of whom it is recorded by *Laertius*, that observing a Woman too superstitiously worshipping the Statue or Image of a God, endeavouring to abate her Superstition, he thus bespake her, ὦ γύναι, μή ποτε θεὸν ὄπισθεν ἑστῶτα (πάντα γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πλήρη) ἀχθομονήσῃς; *Take you not care, O Woman, of not behaving your self unseemly, in the sight of that God, who stands behind you? for all things are full of him:* Thereby giving her occasion, more to mind and regard, that Supreme and Universal *Numen*, that filleth the whole World, and is every where.

XXIII. It hath been frequently affirmed, that *Socrates* died a *Martyr for One only God*, in opposition to those *Many Gods* of the *Pagans*; and *Tertullian* for one, writeth thus of him, *Propterea damnatus est* Socrates, *quia Deos destruebat*; Socrates *was therefore condemned to die, because he destroyed the Gods.* And indeed that *Socrates* asserted one Supreme God, the Maker and Governour of the whole World

World, is a thing not at all to be doubted. In his discourse with *Aristodemus* in *Xenophon*'s first Book of Memoirs, he convinced him, that the things of this world were not made by Chance, but by Mind and Counsel, ὅτῳ γε σπαπερμιμένῳ πάνυ ἔοικε ταῦτα σοφῶ τινος δημιεργῶ, καὶ φιλοζώε τεχνήμαπι, *I am now convinced from what you say, that the things of this world, were the workmanship of some wise Artificer, who also was a Lover of animals.* And so he endeavoured to perswade him, that that Mind and Understanding which is in us, was derived from some Mind and Understanding in the Universe, as well as that Earth and Water which is in us, from the Earth and Water of the Universe, σὺ δ' σαυτῷ φρόνιμόν τι δοκεῖς ἔχειν, ἄλλοθι δ' ὁδαμοῦ ὀδὲν φρόνιμον εἶναι, εἰδὼς ὅτι γῆς τε μικρὸν μέρος ἐν τῷ σώματι πολλῆς ὅσης ἔχεις, καὶ ὑγροῦ βραχύ, πολλοῦ ὄντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσπερ μεγάλων ὄντων ἑκάστου μικρὸν μέρος λαβόντι τὸ συνήρμοσαί σοι; νῦν δ' μόνον ἄρα ὁδαμοῦ ὄντα σε δύτυχῶς πως δοκεῖς συναρπάσαι· *Do you think that you only have Wisdom in your self, and that there is none any where else in the whole World without you? though you know that you have but a small Part in your Body, of that vast Quantity of Earth which is without you; and but a little of that Water and Fire, and so of every other thing that your Body is compounded of, in respect of that great Mass and Magazine of them which is in the World. Is Mind and Understanding therefore the only thing, which you fancy you have some way or other luckily got and snatch'd unto your self, whilest there is no such thing any where in the world without you; all those infinite things thereof being thus orderly disposed by Chance.* And when *Aristodemus* afterward objected, that he could not see any Artificer that made the World, as he could those Artificers which made all other humane things, *Socrates* thus replies, ὀδὲ γὰρ τὴν σαυτοῦ σύγε ψυχὴν ὁρᾷς, ἣ τοῦ σώματος κυρία ἐστίν· ὥστε κατάγε τοῦτο ἔξεστί σοι λέγειν, ὅτι ὀδὲν γνώμῃ ἀλλὰ τύχῃ πάντα πράττεις· *Neither do you see your own Soul, which rules over your Body; so that you might for the same reason conclude, your self to do nothing by Mind and Understanding neither, but all by Chance, as well as that all things in the World are done by Chance.* Again when he further disputed in this manner, against the necessity of Worshipping the Deity, ὀχ ὑπερορῶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡγοῦμαι, ἢ ὡς τ' ἐμῆς θεραπείας προσδεῖσθαι· *I despise not the Deity, O* Socrates, *but think him to be a more magnificent Being, than that he should stand in need of my worship of him. Socrates* again answers, ὅσῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἀξιοῖ σε θεραπεύειν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τιμητέον αὐτῷ, *How much the more Magnificent and Illustrious that Being is, which takes care of you, so much the more in all reason ought it to be Honoured by you.* Lastly, *Aristodemus* discovering his disbelief of Providence, as a thing which seemed to him Incredible if not Impossible, that one and the same Deity should be able to mind all things at once, *Socrates* endeavours to cure this disbelief of his in this manner; ὦ φίλε, καταμάθε, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σὸς νοῦς ἐνὸν τὸ σὸν σῶμα ὅπως βούλεται μεταχειρίζεται· οἴεσθαι δεῖ χρὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν παντὶ φρόνησιν τὰ πάντα ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ ἡδὺ ἦ οὕτω τίθεσθαι· καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν μὲν ὄμμα δύνασθαι, ὅτι πολλὰ σάδια ἐξικνεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾶν· *Consider, Friend, I pray you, if that Mind which is in your Body does order and dispose it every way as it pleases; why should not that Wisdom which is in the Universe, be able to order all things therein also, as seemeth best to it? and if your*

your Eye can discern things several miles distant from it, why should it be thought impossible for the Eye of God, to behold all things at once? Lastly, if your Soul can mind things both here and in Egypt, *and in* Sicily; *why may not the Great Mind or Wisdom of God, be able to take care of all things in all places?* And then he concludes, that if *Aristodemus* would diligently apply himself to the worship of God, he should at length be convinced, ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, ὥστ' ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾶν, καὶ πάντα ἀκούειν, καὶ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι, καὶ ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· *That God is such and so great a Being, as that he can at once see all things, and hear all things, and be present every where, and take care of all affairs.* Moreover *Socrates* in his discourse with *Euthydemus* in *Xenophon*'s Fourth Book, speaks thus concerning that invisible Deity which governs the whole world; οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι θεοὶ ἡμῖν τἀγαθὰ διδόντες, ἀδήλων τούτων εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἰόντες διδάσκουσιν, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον συνταττων τε καὶ συνέχων, ἐν ᾧ πάντα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά ἐστι, &c. ἔστω τὰ μέγιστα μὲν πρᾶττων ὁρᾶται, τάδε δὲ οἰκονομῶν ἀόρατός ἐστιν ἡμῖν· ἐννοεῖ δ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ πᾶσι φανερὸς δοκῶν εἶναι ἥλιος, ὃν ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἑαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ἀναιδῶς ἐγχειρῇ θεᾶσθαι, τὼ ὄψιν ἀφαιρεῖται· *The other Gods giving us good things, do it without visibly appearing to us; and that God who Framed and Containeth the whole world (in which are all good and excellent things) and who continually supplieth us with them, He though he be seen to do the Greatest things of all, yet notwithstanding is himself Invisible and Unseen. Which ought the less to be wondred at by us, because the Sun, who seemeth manifest to all, yet will not suffer himself to be exactly and distinctly viewed, but if any one boldly and impudently gaze upon him, will deprive him of his sight: As also because the Soul of Man, which most of all things in him partaketh of the Deity, though it be that which manifestly rules and reigns in us, yet is it never seen,* ἃ χρὴ καταφρονοῦντα μὴ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ ἀοράτου, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γινομένων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, καταμανθάνοντα τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, *Which Particulars he that considers, ought not to despise Invisible Things, but to honour the Supreme Deity, taking notice of his Power from his Effects.* Where we have Τὸ Δαιμόνιον, as also before Τὸ θεῖον, plainly put for the *Supreme Deity.* And we did the rather set down these passages of *Socrates* here, concerning *God* and *Providence*, that we might shame those who in these latter days of ours are so Atheistically inclined, if at least they have any *Pudor* or Shame left in them.

But notwithstanding *Socrates* his thus clear acknowledging *One Supreme* and *Universal Numen*, it doth not therefore follow, that he rejected all those other *Inferiour Gods* of the Pagans, as is commonly conceived. But the contrary thereunto appeareth, from these very passages of his now cited, wherein there is mention made of *other Gods* besides the *Supreme.* And how conformable *Socrates* was to the Pagan Religion and Worship, may appear from those Last Dying words of his (when he should be most serious) after he had drunk the poison, wherein he required his friends to offer a *Votive Cock* for him to *Æsculapius*: For which *Origen* thus perstringeth him, καὶ τηλικαῦτα φιλοσοφήσαντες περὶ τ ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ διαγωγῷ τ καλῶς βεβιωνίας διεξελθόντες, καταλιπόντες τὸ μέγεθος ὧν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐφανέρωσεν, δύτελῆ φρονήσει καὶ σμικρολογίᾳ ἀλεκτρυόνα τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἀποδιδόντες· *And they who had Philosophized*

Cont. Celf. l. 6. p. 277

ſophized ſo excellently concerning the Soul, and diſcourſed concerning the happineſs of the future ſtate to thoſe who live well, do afterward ſink down from theſe Great, High and Noble things, to a ſuperſtitious regard of Little, Small and Trifling Matters, ſuch as the Paying of a a Cock to Æſculapius. Where notwithſtanding, *Origen* doth not charge *Socrates* with ſuch groſs and downright Idolatry, as he doth elſewhere, for his ſacrificing to the Pythian *Apollo*, who was but an Inferiour Demon. And perhaps ſome may excuſe *Socrates* here, as thinking that he look'd upon *Æſculapius* no otherwiſe, than as the *Supreme Deity*, called by that Name, as exerciſing his Providence over the *Sickneſs* and *Health* or *Recovery* of Men, and that therefore he would have an Euchariſtick Sacrifice offered to him in his behalf, as having now cured him at once of all diſeaſes by Death. However *Plato* informs us, that *Socrates* immediately before he drunk his Poyſon, did, Ἀρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, τῶν μεταβαινειν τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε εὐτυχῆ εἶναι· *pray* (not to *God*, but to *the Gods*, that is, to the *Supreme and Inferiour Gods both together*, as in *Plato's Phædrus* he did to *Pan* and the other *Tutelar Gods* of that place) *that his Tranſlation from hence into the other world might be happy to him.* And *Xenophon* in his Memoirs, informs us, that *Socrates* did both in his Words and Practice, approve of that Doctrine of the Pythian *Apollo*, *That the Rule of Piety and Religion, ought to be the Law of every Particular City and Country; he affirming it to be a Vanity for any man to be ſingular herein.* Laſtly, in his own Apology, as written by *Plato*, he profeſſes to acknowledge, the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, for *Gods*; condemning the contrary Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, as *Irrational* and *Abſurd.* Wherefore we may well conclude this Opinion, of *Socrates* his being Condemned for denying the *Many Gods* of the Pagans, or of his being a *Martyr for One only God*, to be nothing but a *Vulgar Errour.*

But if you therefore demand, what that accuſation of Impiety really was, which he was charged with, *Socrates* himſelf in *Plato's Euthyphro*, will inform you, that it was for his free and open condemning thoſe Traditions concerning the Gods, wherein Wicked, Diſhoneſt and Unjuſt Actions, were imputed to them. For when *Euthyphro* having accuſed his own Father, as guilty of Murther (meerly for committing a Homicide into priſon who hapned to die there) would juſtifie himſelf from the examples of the *Gods*, namely *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, becauſe *Jupiter* the Beſt and Juſteſt of the Gods, had committed his Father *Saturn* to Priſon for devouring his ſons; as *Saturn* himſelf alſo had caſtrated his Father *Cælius* for ſome miſcarriages of his, *Socrates* thus beſpeaks him, Ἆρ' ἔστιν, ὦ Εὐθύφρον, τοῦτ' ἔξ ὧν ἕνεκα τῶν γραφῶν φεύγω, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπειδάν τις περὶ θεῶν λέγῃ, δυσχεραῖς πᾶς ἀποδέχομαι, &c. *Is not this the very thing*, O Euthyphro, *for which I am accuſed? namely becauſe when I hear any one affirming ſuch matters as theſe concerning the Gods, I am very loath to believe them, and ſtick not Publickly to declare my diſlike of them? And can you*, O Euthyphro, *in good earneſt think, that there are indeed Wars and Contentions amongſt the Gods, and that thoſe other things were alſo done by them, which Poets and Painters commonly impute to them? ſuch as the* Peplum *or Veil of* Minerva, *which in the* Panathenaicks *is with great pomp and ceremony brought*

brought into the Acropolis, *is embroidered all over with?* Thus we see, that *Socrates* though he asserted one *Supreme Deity*, yet he acknowledged notwithstanding other *Inferiour created Gods*, together with the rest of the Pagans, honouring and worshipping them; only he disliked those *Poetick Fables* concerning them (believed at that time by the Vulgar) in which all manner of Unjust and Immoral Actions were Fathered on them; which together with the Envy of many, was the only true reason, why he was then accused of *Impiety* and *Atheism*.

It hath been also affirmed by many, that *Plato* really asserted *One only God* and no more, and that therefore whensoever he speaks of *Gods Plurally*, he must be understood to have done this, not according to his own Judgment, but only in a way of Politick Compliance with the Athenians, and for fear of being made to drink poyson in like manner as *Socrates* was. In confirmation of which opinion, there is also a Passage cited out of that Thirteenth Epistle of *Plato*'s to *Dionysius*, wherein he gives this as a Mark, whereby his *Serious Epistles*, and such as were written according to the true sence of his own mind, might by his friends be distinguished from those which were otherwise; τ μὲν γὲ σπεδαίας ἐπισολῆς Θεὸς ἄρχει, Θεοὶ δ τ ἥτ[τ]ον, *When I begin my Epistles with God, then may you conclude I write seriously, but not so when I begin with Gods.* And this place seems to be therefore the more Authentick, because it was long since produced by *Eusebius* to this very purpose, namely to prove that *Plato* acknowledged *One Only God*; δῆλο δέ ἐςιν ἕνα Θεὸν εἰδὼς, εἰ μὴ συνήθως Ἕλλησι, τῇ τῶν πλειόνων ἔιωθε χρῆσθαι προσηγορίᾳ, μὴ ἀπὸ τ πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπισολῆς, ἐν ᾗ σύμβολα διδὸς, τῶν τε διὰ σπεδῆς αὐτῶν γεγραμμένων, μὴ τῶν ἄλλως ἀπερρίμμενων· *It is manifest, that* Plato *really acknowledged One only God, however in compliance with the Language of the Greeks, he often spake of Gods Plurally; from that Epistle of his to* Dionysius, *wherein he gives this Symbol or Mark, whereby he might be known to write seriously, namely, when he began his Epistles with God, and not with Gods.*

Præp. Ev. l. 11. c. 13.

Notwithstanding which, we have allready manifested out of *Plato*'s *Timæus*, that he did in good earnest assert a *Plurality of Gods*; by which *Gods* of his are to be understood, Animated or Intellectual Beings Superiour to Men, to whom there is an Honour and Worship from men due. He therein declaring, not only the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, but also the Earth it self (as Animated) to be *a God* or Goddess. For though it be now read in our Copies, πρεσβυτάτω σωμάτων, *that the Earth was the Oldest of all the Bodies within the Heavens*, yet it is certain that anciently it was read otherwise, πρεσβυτάτω Θεῶν, *The Oldest of the Gods*; not only from *Proclus* and *Cicero*, but also from *Laertius* writing thus: γῆν δὲ πρεσβυτάτω μὲν ἔναι τῶν ἐν τῷ ὁρατῷ Θεῶν, γενέσθαι δ δημίεργημα, ὡς νύκτα μὴ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, ὅσαν δ' ὅτι τὸ μέζον, κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον, *Though* Plato's *Gods were for the most part Fiery, yet did he suppose the Earth to be a God or Goddess too, affirming it to be the Oldest of all the Gods within the Heavens, Made or Created to distinguish day and night, by its Diurnal Circumgyration*

P. 40. Sir.

tion upon its own Axis, in the Middle or Centre of the World. For *Plato* when he wrote his *Timæus*, acknowledged only the *Diurnal Motion* of the Earth, though afterwards he is ſaid to have admitted its *Annual* too. And the ſame might be further evinced from all his other writings, but eſpecially his Book of Laws (together with his *Epinomis*) ſaid to have been written by him in his old age, in which he much inſiſts upon the *Godſhips* of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, and complains that the young Gentlemen of *Athens*, were then ſo much infected with that Anaxagorean Doctrine, which made them to be nothing but Inanimate Stones and Earth, as alſo he approves of that then vulgarly received Cuſtom of Worſhipping the Riſing and Setting Sun and Moon, as Gods, to which in all probability he conformed himſelf; Ἀνατέλλοντός τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἰόντων, προσκυλίσεις ἅμα καὶ προσκυνήσεις Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων, ἐν συμφοραῖς παντοίαις ἐχομένων καὶ ἐν εὐπραγίαις, ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ὄντων, καὶ ἀδαμῆ ὑποψίαν ἐνδιδόντων ὡς οὐ θεοί· *The Proſtrations and Adorations that are uſed both by the Greeks, and all Barbarians, towards the Riſing and Setting Sun, and Moon (As well in their Proſperities as Adverſities) declare them to be unqueſtionably eſteemed Gods.* Wherefore we cannot otherwiſe conclude, but that this Thirteenth Epiſtle of *Plato* to *Dionyſius*, though extant it ſeems before *Euſebius* his time, yet was Suppoſititious and counterfeit by ſome Zealous but Ignorant Chriſtian. As there is accordingly, a Νοθεύεται, or Brand of Baſtardy prefixed to it in all the Editions of *Plato*'s Works.

De Leg. 10. p.

However though *Plato* acknowledged and worſhiphed *Many Gods*, yet is it undeniably evident, that he was no *Polyarchiſt*, but a *Monarchiſt*, an aſſertor of One Supreme God, the only αὐτοφυὴς, or *Self-originated Being*; the maker of the Heaven and Earth, and of all thoſe *other Gods*. For firſt it is plain that according to *Plato*, the *Soul of the whole World* was not it ſelf *Eternal*, much leſs *Self-exiſtent*, but Made or produced by God in time, though indeed before its *Body*, the *World*, from theſe words of his; τὸν ψυχὸν δὴ ὡς νῦν ὑστέραν ὀπτέον ἐπιχειροῦντες μυθολογεῖν, ὅπως ἐμηχανήσατο ὁ θεὸς νεωτέραν, ὁ δὲ ἡγήσατο καὶ ἀρετῇ πρεσβυτέραν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν ψυχὴ σώματος, ὡς δεσπότην καὶ ἄρξοντα ἀρχομένου συνεστήσατο· *God did not fabricate, or make the Soul of the world, in the ſame order, that we now treat concerning it, that is After it, as Junior to it; but that which was to rule over the world as its Body, being more excellent, he made it Firſt, and Seniour to the ſame.* Upon which account *Ariſtotle* quarrels with *Plato* as contradicting himſelf, in that he affirmed the *Soul* to be a Principle, and yet ſuppoſed it not to be *Eternal*, but Made together with the Heaven: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ πλάτωνί γε οἷόν τε λέγειν, ἣν οἴεται ἀρχὴν εἶναι εἰλοτε αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ κινοῦν, ὕστερον γὲ καὶ ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡ ψυχή· *Neither is it poſſible for* Plato, *here to extricate himſelf, who ſometimes declares the Soul to be a Principle, as that which Moves it ſelf, and yet affirms it again not to be Eternal, but made together with the Heaven.* For which cauſe ſome Platoniſts conclude, that *Plato* aſſerted a Double *Pſyche*, one the *Third Hypoſtaſis of his Trinity*, and *Eternal*, the other *Created in Time* together with the World, which ſeems to be a Probable Opinion. Wherefore ſince according to *Plato*, the *Soul of the World*, which is the chief of all his *Inferiour Gods*, was not Self-exiſtent but Made or Pro-

Plat. Tim. p. 34.

Ariſt. Met. L. 14. c. 6.

duced by God in time, all those other *Gods* of his, which were but Parts of the World, as the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Stars* and *Demons*, must needs be so too. But lest any should suspect, that *Plato* might for all that, suppose the World and its Gods not to have been made by One only Unmade God, but by a Multitude of Co-ordinate Self-existent Principles, or Deities conspiring; we shall observe that the contrary hereunto, is plainly declared by him, in way of answer to that *Quære*, Whether or no there were Many and infinite Worlds (as some Philosophers had maintained) or only One? he Resolving it thus,

Tim. p. 31. πότερον οὖν ὀρθῶς ἕνα οὐρανὸν προσῆκαμεν, ἢ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπείρους λέγειν ἦν ὀρθότερον; ἕνα, εἴπερ κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα δεδημιουργημένος ἔσται· τὸ γὰρ περιέχον πάντα ὁπόσα νοητὰ ζῶα, μεθ' ἑτέρου δ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ποτ' εἴη, &c. ἵνα οὖν τόδε κατὰ τὸ μόνωσιν, ὅμοιον ᾖ τῷ παντελεῖ ζώῳ, διὰ ταῦτα ἕν τε δύο, ὅτ' ἀπείρους ἐποίησεν ὁ ποιῶν κόσμους, ἀλλ' εἷς ὅδε μονογενὴς οὐρανὸς γεγονὼς, ἔστι τε καὶ ἔσεται· *Whether have we rightly affirmed, that there is only One Heaven,* (or World) *or is it more agreeable to reason to hold Many or Infinite? We say there is but One, if it be made agreeable to its Intellectual Paradigm, conteining the Ideas of all Animals and other things in it; For there can be but One Archetypal Animal, which is the Paradigm of all created Beings; wherefore that the World may agree with its Paradigms in this respect of Solitude or Onliness, therefore is it not Two nor Infinite, but One-only-begotten.* His meaning is, that there is but *One Archetypal Mind*, the *Demiurgus* or Maker of all things, that were produced; and therefore but One World.

And this One God which according to *Plato*, was the Maker of the whole World, is frequently called by him in his *Timæus* and elsewhere, ὁ θεὸς, *God* or *The God*, by way of Excellency; sometimes ὁ δημιουργὸς, *The Architect or Artificer of the World*; sometimes ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς, *the Maker and Father of this Universe, whom it is hard to find out, but impossible to declare to the Vulgar*; again, ὁ ὑπὲρ πᾶσι θεὸς, *the God over all*; τῆς φύσεως ἴδρυσις, *the Creator of Nature*; τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ, *the sole Principle of the Universe*; πάντων αἴτιον, *the Cause of all things*; νοῦς πάντων βασιλεὺς, *Mind the King of all things*; νοῦς αὐτοπερᾶτος πάντα κοσμῶν διὰ πάντων ἰὼν, *that Sovereign Mind, which orders all things and passes through all things*; τοῦ παντὸς κυβερνήτης, *The Governour of the Whole*; τὸ ὂν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον, *that which always is and was never made*; ὁ πρῶτος θεὸς, *the First God*; ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων, and ὁ μέγιστος θεῶν, *The Greatest God, and the Greatest of the Gods*; ὁ ἥλιον γεννήσας, *He that Generated or Produced the Sun*; ὁ γῆν,

*De Rep. L.*10. οὐρανὸν καὶ θεοὺς, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν ἅιδου, καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς, ἅπαντα ἐργάζεται, *He that makes Earth, and Heaven, and the Gods; and doth all things both in Heaven, and Hell, and under the Earth:* Again, he by

In Sophist. whose Efficiency the Things of the World, ὕστερον ἐγένετο, πρότερον δὲ ὄντα, *were afterwards made when they were not Before; or from an Antecedent Non-existence brought forth into Being.* This Philosopher somewhere intimating, that it was as easie for God to produce *those Real Things, the Sun, Moon, Stars and Earth*, &c. *from himself, as it*

*De Rep. L.*18. *is for us to produce the Images of our selves and whatsoever else we please, only by interposing a Looking-glass.* Lastly he is called ὃς πάντα τάττει ἄλλα ἐργάζεται, καὶ ἑαυτὸν, *He that Causeth or produceth both All other things, and*

even

even Himself; the meaning whereof is this, He that is αὐτοφυὴς, (as the same *Plato* also calls him) *a Self-originated Being, and from no other Cause besides Himself, but the Cause of All other things.* Neither doth *Lactantius Firmianus* himself refuse, to speak of God after this very manner; that *Seipsum fecit*, and that he was, *Ex Seipso procreatus, & propterea Talis, Qualem se esse voluit*; *that He made Himself*, and that, *being Procreated from Himself, He therefore was every way such, as he Willed himself to be.* Which unusual and bold strain of Theology, is very much insisted upon by *Plotinus* in his Book, Περὶ τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ ἑνὸς, *Concerning the Will of the First One, or Unity.* He there writing thus of the Supreme God, αἴτιον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ αὐτὸς; *He is the Cause of himself, and he is from Himself, and Himself is for Himself.* And again αὐτὸς ἄρα ἦν ὅτος ὁ ποιῶν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ὠφελος ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ὡς τις ἕτερος ἐθέλησε γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς θέλει αὐτός· *This is He, who is the Maker of himself; and is Lord over himself;* (in a certain sence) *for he was not made that, which Another willed him to be, but he is that which he willeth himself to be.* Moreover, αὐτὸς ὢν τοῦτο ὅπερ ἠγάπησε, τοῦτο καὶ ἦν ὑποστήσας αὐτὸν, οἷον ἐνέργεια μᾶλλον· ὥστε ἐνέργημα αὐτός, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος μᾶλλον ὢν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρα ἐνέργημα αὐτός, καὶ ἄρα ὡς συμβέβηκεν ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνεργεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐθέλει, &c. *The Supreme Deity loving himself as a Pure Light, is himself what he loved; Thus as it were begetting and giving subsistence to himself, he being a standing Energy. Wherefore since God is a Work or Energy, and yet he is not the Work or Energy of any other Being, he must needs be* (in some sence) *his own Work or Energy; so that God is not, that which he happened to be; but that which he willeth himself to be.* Thus also a little before, ἀνακτέον εἰς ἓν τὸ βούλησιν καὶ τὸ οὐσίαν· τὸ δὲ θέλειν παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι αὐτὸν, ὁ λόγος ἀνδύεται· εἰ γὰρ ἡ βούλησις παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἷον ἔργον αὐτοῦ, αὕτη ὁ ταυτὸν τῇ ὑποστάσει αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ἂν ὅτως ὑποστήσας ἂν εἴη αὐτὸ, ὥστε οὐχ ὅπερ ἐτύχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐβούλήθη αὐτός· *We must of necessity make Will and Essence the same in the First Being. Wherefore since his Willing is from himself, his Being must needs be from himself too; the consequence of which Ratiocination is this, that He made himself. For if his volition be from himself, and his own work, and this be the same with his* Hypostasis *or Substance; he may be then said to have given subsistence to himself. Wherefore he is not what he happen'd to be, but what he willed himself to be.* But because this is so unusual a Notion, we shall here set down yet one or two passages more of this Philosophers concerning it; ὅτι ἔξω τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία, ἀλλὰ σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἷον οὐσίαν ἡ θέλησις· καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, ἄνευ τοῦ θέλειν ἑαυτὸν ὅπερ ἦν· καὶ συνδρομῶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ, θέλων αὐτὸς εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο ὢν ὅπερ θέλει· καὶ ἡ θέλησις καὶ αὐτὸς ἓν· καὶ τούτῳ οὐχ ἕτερον, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλο αὐτὸς ὅπερ ἐτύχεν, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ὡς ἐβουλήθη ἂν τί γαρ ἂν καὶ ἐθέλησε, ἢ τοῦτο ὅ ἦν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὑποθοίμεθα ἐλέσθαι αὐτῷ ὅτι θέλοι γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄξιναι αὐτῷ ἀλλάξασθαι τὸ αὐτοῦ φύσιν εἰς ἄλλο, μήτε ἂν ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι βουληθῆναι, μήτ' ἂν ἑαυτῷ τι μέμφασθαι, ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τοῦτο ὂν ὃ ἦν, τῷ αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ ἠθέλησε καὶ θέλει, ἦν γὰρ οὕτως ἡ ἀγαθοῦ φύσις, θέλησις αὐτοῦ· *The Essence of the Supreme God, is not without his Will, but his Will and Essence are the same; so that God concurreth with Himself, himself willing to be as he is, and being that which he willeth; and his Will and Himself being one and the same. For Himself is not One thing* (as happening to be that which he is) *and that he would will to be Another: For what could God will to be, but*

En. 6. L. 8. P. 749.

P. 751.

P. 748.

P. 747.

that which he is? And if we should suppose, that it were in his own choice, to be what he would, and that he had liberty to change his Nature into whatsoever else he pleased, it is certain that he would neither will to be any thing else, besides what he is, nor complain of himself as being now that which he is, out of necessity, he being indeed no other but that, which himself hath willed and doth always will to be. For his Will is his Essential Goodness, so that his Will doth not follow his Nature but concurr with it; in the very Essence of this Good there being contained his Choice, and Willing of himself to be such. Lastly, P. 755. Πᾶν ἄρα βούλησις, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ μὴ βουλόμενον, οὐδὲ τὸ πρὸ βουλήσεως ἄρα· πρῶτον ἄρα ἡ βούλησις αὐτὸς, ἢ τὸ ὡς ἐβούλετο ἄρα ἢ οἷον ἐβούλετο, ἢ τὸ τῇ βουλήσει ἑπόμενον· ὃ ἦ τοιαύτη βούλησις ἐγχύνα· ἐγχύνα δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐν αὐτῇ· *God is all Will, nor is there any thing in him which he doth not Will, nor is his Being before his Will, but his Will is Himself, or he Himself the first Will. So that he is as he would himself, and such as he would, and yet his will did not Generate or Produce any thing, that was not before.* And now we may in all Probability conclude, that *Lactantius* derived this Doctrine from *Plato and Plotinus*; which how far it is to be either allowed of or excused, we leave others to judge; only we shall observe, that as the word αὐτοχθὼν, frequently attributed to God by Christians as well as Pagans, seems to imply as much; so the Scope and Drift of *Plotinus* in all this, was plainly no other, than partly to set forth the Self-existence of the Supreme Deity after a more lively manner; and partly to confute that odd Conceit, which some might possibly entertain of God, as if he either Happened by Chance, to be what he is; or else were such by a Certain Necessity of Nature, and had his Being imposed upon him: whereas, he is as much every way, what he would *Will* and *Chuse* to be, as if he had *Made himself* by his own *Will* and *Choice*. Neither have we set down all this, only to give an account of that one Expression of *Plato*'s, *That God causeth Himself and all things*, but also to show how punctually precise, curious and accurate, some of these Pagans were, in there Speculations concerning the Deity.

To return therefore to *Plato*; Though some have suspected that *Trinity*, which is commonly called *Platonick*, to have been nothing but a meer Figment and Invention of some later Platonists, yet the contrary hereunto seems to be unquestionably evident, that *Plato* himself really asserted such a Trinity of *Universal* and *Divine Hypostases*, which have the nature of *Principles*. For first, whereas in his Tenth Book of Laws, he professedly opposing Atheists, undertakes to prove the Existence of a Deity, he does notwithstanding there ascend no higher than to the *Psyche*, or *Universal Mundane Soul*, as a Self-moving Principle, and the immediate or proper Cause of all that Motion which is in the World. And this is all the God, that there he undertakes to prove. But in other places of his Writings he frequently asserts, above the *Self-moving Psyche* an *Immovable* and *Standing Nous* or *Intellect*, which was properly the *Demiurgus*, or *Architectonick Framer of the whole World*. And lastly, above this *Multiform Intellect*, he plainly asserts yet a higher *Hypostasis*, One most Simple and most absolutely Perfect Being; which he calls τὸ ἓν,

in

in oppoſition to that *Multiplicity* which ſpeaks ſomething of Imperfection in it, and τ'αγαθὸν, *Goodneſs it ſelf*, as being above *Mind* and *Underſtanding*; the *Firſt Intelligible*, and an Infinite *Fecundity* together with overflowing *Benignity*. And accordingly in his Second Epiſtle to *Dionyſius*, does he mention a *Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes*, all together. Now the words ὁ θεὸς and τὸ θεῖον, *God* and *the Divinity* in *Plato*, ſeem ſometimes to comprehend this whole *Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes*, as they are again ſometimes ſeverally applied to Each of them, accordingly as we have already obſerved, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* in *Plato*, is not always taken for the *Firſt* and *Higheſt Hypoſtaſis* in his *Trinity*, but ſometimes the *Second Hypoſtaſis* of *Mind* or *Intellect* is meant thereby, and ſometimes again his *Third Hypoſtaſis* of the Univerſal and Eternal *Pſyche*; nevertheleſs the Firſt of theſe Three *Hypoſtaſes*, is that which is properly called by the Platoniſts, πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος, *the Fountain of the Godhead*, and by *Plato* himſelf, ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς ὃν πάντα ἔστι, καὶ ἕνεκα πάντα, καὶ ὃ αἴτιον πάντων τοῦ καλῶν· *The King of All things, about whom are All things, and for whoſe ſake are All things, and the Cauſe of all Good and Excellent Things.*

And this *Firſt Divine Hypoſtaſis*, which in *Plato*'s Theology, is properly αὐτόθεος, *the Original Deity*, is largely inſiſted upon by that Philoſopher in the Sixth of his Politicks, under the Name and Title of τ'αγαθὸν, *The Good*; but principally there illuſtrated by that Reſemblance of the Sun, called by that Philoſopher alſo, *a Heavenly God*, and ſaid to be the Off-ſpring of this Higheſt Good, and ſomething Analogous to it in the Corporeal World, ὅ, τι περ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ, πρὸς τε νοῦν καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τοῦτο τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ὁρατῷ πρός τε ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα; *This is the ſame in the Intelligible World, to Intellect (or Knowledge) and Intelligibles, that the Sun is in the Senſible World, to Sight and Viſibles. For, as the Sun is not Sight, but only the Cauſe of it; nor is that Light, by which we ſee, the ſame with the Sun it ſelf, but only* ἡλιοειδὲς, *a Sun-like Thing; ſo neither is the Supreme and Higheſt Good* (properly) *Knowledge, but the Cauſe of Knowledge; nor is Intellect* (preciſely conſidered as ſuch) *the Beſt and Moſt Perfect Being, but only* ἀγαθοειδὲς, *a Boniform Thing*. Again, *As the Sun gives to things not only their Viſibility, but alſo their Generation; ſo does that Higheſt Good; not only cauſe the Cognoſcibility of things, but alſo their very Eſſences and Beings.* οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος, *This Higheſt Good being not it ſelf properly Eſſence, but above Eſſence, tranſcending the ſame, both in reſpect of Dignity and Power.* Which Language and Conceit of *Plato*'s, ſome of the Greek Fathers ſeem to have entertained, yet ſo as to apply it to the whole Trinity, when they call God ὑπερούσιον, or *Super-eſſential*. But the meaning of that Philoſopher, was as we conceive, no other than this, that this Higheſt Good, hath no Particular Characteriſtick upon it, limiting and determining of it, it being the Hidden and Incomprehenſible Sourſe of all things. In the Laſt place, we ſhall obſerve, that this Firſt Divine *Hypoſtaſis* of the Platonick Trinity, is by that Philoſopher called, τοῦτο ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίου πάντων πατρὸς, *The Father of the Prince and Cauſe of All things*. Wherein we cannot but take notice of an

Admirable

Admirable Correspondency, betwixt the Platonick Philosophy and Christianity, in that the Second *Hypostasis* of both their Trinities (called also sometimes λόγος by the Platonists, as well as νοῦς) is said to be the Immediate Cause of All things; and the *Demiurgus*, the Architect, Maker or Artificer of the Whole World.

Now to *Plato* we might here joyn *Xenophon*, because he was his Equal, and a Socratick too; (though it seems there was not so good Correspondence betwixt them) which *Xenophon*, however in sundry places of his Writings, he acknowledge *a Plurality of Gods*, yet doth he give plain Testimony also of *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, as this particularly, ὁ πάντα σείων καὶ ἀτρεμίζων, ὡς μὲν μέγας τις, καὶ δυνατὸς φανερός, ὁποῖος δ' ὅτι μορφὴν ἀφανής· *He that both agitates all things, and establisheth the Frame of the whole world, though he be manifest to be great and powerful, yet is he, as to his Form Inconspicuous.*

XXIV. In the next place we come to *Aristotle*: Who that he acknowledged more Gods than *One* (as well as the other Pagans) appears from his using the word so often *Plurally*. As particularly in this Passage of his Nicomachian Ethicks, ἡ δὴ τελεία εὐδαιμονία, ὅτι θεωρητική τίς ἐστιν ἐνέργεια, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἂν φανείη· τοῖς γὰρ μάλιστα ὑπειλήφαμεν μακαρίους καὶ εὐδαίμονας εἶναι· πράξεις δὲ ποίας ἀπονεῖμαι χρεὼν αὐτοῖς; πότερα τὰς δικαίας; ἢ γελοῖοι φανήσονται συναλλάττοντες καὶ παρακαταθήκας ἀποδιδόντες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; ἄλλα τὰς ἀνδρείας; ὑπομένοντας τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ὅτι καλόν· ἢ τὰς ἐλευθερίους; τίνι δὲ δώσουσι; ἄτοπον δ' εἰ καὶ ἔσαι αὐτοῖς νόμισμα, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον· εἰ δὲ σώφρονες τί ἂν εἶεν; ἢ φορτικὸς ὁ ἔπαινος, ὅτι ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἔχουσι φαύλας· διεξιοῦσι δὲ πάντα φαίνοιτ' ἂν τὰ περὶ τὰς πράξεις μικρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια θεῶν· ἀλλὰ μὴν ζῆν γε πάντες ὑπειλήφασιν αὐτούς· καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἄρα, ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καθεύδειν, ὥσπερ Ἐνδυμίωνα· τῷ δὲ ζῶντι τὸ πράττειν ἀφῃρημένον, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ποιεῖν, τί λείπεται πλὴν θεωρίας· *Lib. 10. c. 8.* *That Perfect Happiness is a Speculative or Contemplative Energy, may be made manifest from hence; because we account the Gods most of all Happy. Now what Moral Actions can we attribute to them? Whether those of Justice amongst one another; as if it were not ridiculous to suppose the Gods to make Contracts and Bargains among themselves, and the like. Or else those of Fortitude and Magnanimity? As if the Gods had their Fears, Dangers and Difficulties to encounter withal. Or those of Liberality? as if the Gods had some such thing as Money too, and there were among them Indigent to receive Alms. Or Lastly, shall we attribute to them the Actions of Temperance? but would not this be a Reproachful Commendation of the Gods, to say, that they conquer and master their vitious Lusts and appetites? Thus running through all the Actions of Moral Virtue, we find them to be small and mean and unworthy of the Gods. And yet we all believe the Gods to live, and consequently to Act; unless we should suppose them perpetually to sleep as* Endymion *did. Wherefore if all Moral Actions, and therefore much more Mechanical Operations be taken away from that which Lives and Understands, what is there left to it besides Contemplation?* To which he there adds a further Argument also of the same thing. *Because other Animals, who are depriv'd of Contemplation, partake not of Happiness. For to the Gods all*

all their Life is Happy; to men so far forth, as it appoacheth to Contemplation; but brute Animals, that do not at all contemplate, partake not at all of Happiness. Where *Aristotle* plainly acknowledges a *Plurality of Gods*, and that there is a certain Higher Rank of Beings above Men. And by the way we may here observe, how from those words of his, ζῆν τε πάντες ὑπειλήφασι θεὸς, *All men suppose the Gods to live*; and from what follows in him; that Opinion of some late Writers may be confuted, that the Pagans generally worshipped, the Inanimate Parts of the World as true and proper Gods: *Aristotle* here telling us, that they Universally agreed in this, that the Gods were Animals, Living and Understanding Beings, and such as are therefore capable of Contemplation. Moreover *Aristotle* in his Politicks, *L. 5. c. 11.* writing of the means to conserve a Tyranny, as he calls it; sets down this for one amongst the rest. ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως, ἧττόν τε γὰρ φοβοῦνται, τὸ παθεῖν τι ἀδίκημα ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐὰν δ' εὐσεβεῖν νομίζωσιν εἶναι ἢ ἄρχοντα καὶ φρονίζειν τῶν θεῶν· καὶ ὑπερεπιβουλεύσουσιν ἧττον, ὡς συμμάχους ἐχοντι καὶ τοὺς θεούς· *For a Prince or Monarch, to seem to be always, more than ordinarily sedulous about the Worship of the Gods: because men are less afraid of suffering any Injustice from such Kings or Princes, as they think to be Religiously disposed, and devoutly affected towards the Gods. Neither will they be so apt to make conspiracies against such, they supposing that the Gods will be their Abettors and Assistants.* Where the word εὐσεβεῖν, seems to be taken in a good sence, and in way of Commendation, for a *Religious* Person; though we must confess, that *Aristotle* himself, does not here write so much like a εὐσεβὴς, as a Meer Politician. Likewise in his First Book *De Cœlo*, he writeth thus, πάντες ἄνθρωποι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀνωτάτω τῷ θείῳ τόπον ἀποδιδόασι, καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἕλληνες, ὡς τῷ ἀθανάτῳ τὸ ἀθάνατον συνηρτημένον, ἔστιν ἂν ἔχῃ τι θεῖον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔστι, &c. *All men have an Opinion or Perswasion That there are Gods. And they who think so, as well Barbarians as Greeks, attribute the Highest place to that which is Divine, as supposing the Immortal Heavens, to be most accommodate to Immortal Gods. Wherefore if there be any Divinity, as unquestionably there is, the Body of the Heavens must be acknowledged to be of a different kind from that of the Elements.* And in the following Book he tells us again, *That it is most agreeable* τῇ μαντείᾳ περὶ τῶν θεῶν, *to that Vaticination, which all men have in their minds concerning the Gods, to suppose the Heaven to be a Quintessence, distinct from the Elements, and therefore Incorruptible.* Where *Aristotle* affirmeth, that men have generally μαντείαν, *a Vatitination* in their Minds, concerning Gods; to wit, that Themselves are not the Highest Beings, but that there is a Rank of Intellectual Beings, superiour to men; the chief of which is the Supreme Deity; concerning whom there is indeed, the Greatest μαντεία or *Vaticination* of all. *C. 3.*

We acknowledge it to be very true, that *Aristotle* does not so much insist upon Demons, as *Plato* and the generality of Pagans in that Age did, and probably he had not so great a Belief of their Existence: though he doth make mention of them also, as when in his Metaphysicks, speaking of Bodies compounded of the Elements,

he

he inſtanceth in ζῶα τε καὶ δαιμόνια, *Animals and Demons*, and elſewhere he inſinuates them to have Airy Bodies, in theſe words, *De An. L. 1.* ὑπιζητήσαι γὰρ ἄν τις, καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν, ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ψυχὴ, τῆς ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις βελτίων ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀθανατωτέρα, *ſome perhaps would demand a Reaſon, why the Soul that is in the Air, is better and more immortal than that in Animals.* However, whether *Ariſtotle* believed theſe Lower Demon-Gods or no, it is certain that he acknowledged a Higher kind of Gods, namely the *Intelligences*, of all the Several Spheres, if not alſo the Souls of them and the Stars; which Spheres being according to the Aſtronomy then received, *Forty Seven* in number, he muſt needs acknowledge at leaſt ſo many Gods. Beſides which, *Ariſtotle* ſeems alſo to ſuppoſe another ſort of *Incorporeal Gods*, without the Heavens, where according to him, there is neither Body, nor Place, nor *Vacuum*, nor Time; in theſe words, *De Cœl. L. 1. c. 9.* ὅτ' ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ πέφυκεν, ὅτε χρόνῳ αὐτὰ ποιεῖ γηράσκειν, ὐδ' ἔστιν ὐδενὸς ὐδεμία μεταβολὴ, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐσχατάτω τεταγμένων φορὰν, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ, τὸν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα καὶ αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα· *They who exiſt there, are ſuch as are neither apt to be in a Place, nor to wax old with Time, nor is there any change at all in thoſe things above the Higheſt Sphere, but they being impaſſible and unalterable, lead the beſt and moſt ſelf-ſufficient Life, throughout all Eternity.* But this Paſſage is not without ſuſpicion of being Suppoſititious.

Notwithſtanding all which, that *Ariſtotle* did aſſert *One Supreme and Univerſal Numen*, is a thing alſo unqueſtionable. For though it be granted that he uſeth the Singular θεὸς, as likewiſe τὸ θεῖον and τὸ δαιμόνιον, many times Indefinitly, for a *God in General*, or any Divine Being; and that ſuch places as theſe have been oftentimes miſtaken by Chriſtian Writers, as if *Ariſtotle* had meant the Supreme God in them; yet it is nevertheleſs certain, that he often uſeth thoſe words alſo Emphatically, for *One only Supreme God*. As in that of his Metaphyſicks, ὅ, τε γὰρ θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή τις· *L. 1.* *God ſeemeth to be a Cauſe and certain Principle to all things.* And alſo in his *De Anima*, where he ſpeaks of the *Soul of the Heavens*, and its *Circular Motion*: *L. 1. c. 3.* ἀλλὰ μὴν ὐδ' ὅτι βέλτιον λέγεται γ' ἐχρῆν τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦτο κινῆσαι ποιεῖν φέρεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅτι βέλτιον αὐτῇ τὸ κίνεσθαι τοῦτο μᾶλλον, κινεῖσθαι ἢ ὅπως ἢ ἄλλως· *Neither is that a good Cauſe of the Circular Motion of the Heavens, which they* (that is the Platoniſts) *call the* τὸ βέλτιον, *becauſe it is Better, that it ſhould be ſo than otherwiſe; as if God therefore ought, to have made the Soul of the World ſuch, as to move the Heaven circularly, becauſe it was better for it to move ſo than otherwiſe; but this being a Speculation that properly belongs to ſome other Science, we ſhall no further purſue it in this place.* Thus afterwards again in the ſame Book, συμβαίνει δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γε καὶ ἀφρονέστατον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν, μόνον γὰρ τῶν στοιχείων ἓν ὂ γνωρίζει, τὸ Νεῖκος, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ πάντα, ἐκ πάντων γὰρ ἕκαστον· *It follows from* Empedocles *his Principles, that God muſt needs be the Moſt Unwiſe of all, he alone being ignorant of that* (out of which all other things are compounded) νεῖκος, *or Contention* (becauſe himſelf is nothing but φιλία, *Unity and Friendſhip*) *whereas Mortal Animals may know or conceive all things, they being compounded of all.* Which

ſame

same Passage, we have again also in his Metaphysicks, from whence it was before cited to another purpose. To these might be added another place out of his Book, *of Generation and Corruption*, τὸ ὅλον συνεπλήρωσεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐντελεχῆ ποιήσας γένεζιν· *God hath filled up the Whole or Universe, and constantly supplies the same, having made a Continual Successive Generation.* Lastly, τὸ δαιμόνιον is sometimes plainly used by *Aristotle* also, not for *The Divinity* in general, or *Any thing that is Divine*, but for that *One Supreme Deity*, the Governour of the whole World. Thus in that Passage of his Rhetorick to *Alexander*, τοῦτό ἐζιν ᾧ διαφέρομεν τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων, ἡμεῖς οἱ μεγίζης τιμῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τετυχηκότες· *This is that wherein we Men differ from other Animals having recieved the greatest honour from God, that though they be endued with Appetite and Anger and other Passions, as well as we, yet we alone are furnished with Speech and Reason.* [Cap. 1. p. 609. P.]

Over and besides which, *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysicks* (as hath been already observed) professedly opposeth that *Imaginary Opinion* of *Many Independent Principles* of the Universe, that is, *of Many Unmade Self-existent Deities*; he confuting the same from the *Phænomena*, because ἅπαντα πρὸς ἓν συντέτακται, *All things are plainly Coordered to One*, the whole world conspiring into One agreeing *Harmony*; whereas if there were many Principles or Independent Deities, the System of the World must needs have been ἐπεισοδιώδης, *Incoherent and Inconspiring*, like an Ill-agreeing *Drama*, botch'd up of Many Impertinent Intersertions. Whereupon *Aristotle* concludes after this manner, [Lib. 14. c. 10. Par.]

τὰ ὄντα ἂ βέλεται κακῶς πολιτεύεσθαι,

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος·

But Things will not be ill administred (which was then it seems a kind of Proverbial Speech) *and according to* Homer, *the Government of Many is not Good*, (nor could the affairs of the World be evenly carried on under it) *wherefore there is One Prince or Monarch over all.* From which Passage of *Aristotle*'s, it is evident, that though he asserted πολυθεΐαν, *a Multiplicity of Gods* in the Vulgar Sence, as hath been already declared, yet he absolutely denied πολυκοιρανίαν, and πολυαρχίαν, *a Polyarchy* or *Mundane Aristocracy*, that is, *a Multiplicity of First Principles* and *Independent-Deities.* Wherefore though *Aristotle* doted much upon that Whimsey of his, of as many *Intelligibles*, or Eternal and Immovable Minds (now commonly called *Intelligences*) as there are Movable Spheres of all kinds in the Heavens (which he sticks not also sometimes to call *Principles*;) yet must he of necessity be interpreted to have derived all these, from *One Supreme* Universal Deity, which, as *Simplicius* expresseth it, is ἀρχὴ ἀρχῶν, *the Principle of Principles*; and which comprehends and contains those Inferiour Deities under it, after the same manner, as the *Primum Mobile* or Highest Sphere, contains all the Lesser Spheres within it. Because otherwise there would not be εἷς κοίρανος, *One Prince* or *Monarch* over the whole; but the Government of the World would be *a Polychœrany* or *Aristocracy* of Gods, concluded to be an Ill Government. Moreover as *Plotinus* represents *Aristotle*'s sence, it is not conceivable that, so ma- [*Enn.* 5. *L.* 1. *c.* 7.]

ny Independent Principles, ſhould thus conſtantly Conſpire, πρὸς ἓν ἔργον τιὼ τῆ παντὸς ὀρανῦ συμφωνίαν, *into one Work, that Agreeable Symphony, and Harmony of the Whole Heaven.* As there could not be any reaſon neither, why there ſhould be juſt ſo many of theſe *Intelligences*, as there are *Spheres* and no more; and it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, κατὰ συντυχίαν τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶναι, *that the Firſt Principles of the Univerſe happened by Chance.*

Now this Higheſt Principle, as it is ἀκίνητος οὐσία, *An Immovable Eſſence*, is by *Ariſtotle* in the Firſt place, ſuppoſed to be ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, *the Principle of Motion in the Univerſe*, or at leaſt of that *Chiefeſt Motion* of the *Primum Mobile* or *Higheſt Sphere* (which according to the Aſtronomy of thoſe times ſeems to have been the *Sphere of Fixed Stars*) by whoſe Rapid Circumgyration, all the other Spheres and Heavens, were imagined to be carried round, from Eaſt to Weſt. And accordingly the Supreme Deity, is by *Ariſtotle* called,

Met. L. 14. c. 8. p. 1003. P. τὸ πρῶτον κινῦν ἀκίνητον, *The Firſt Immovable Mover*, or the *Mover* of the *Primum Mobile*, and whole Heaven. Which *Firſt Mover* being concluded by him to be but *One*, he doth from thence infer the *Singularity* of the Heaven or World,

Met. L. 14. c. 8. ἓν μὲν ἄρα τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ, τὸ πρῶτον κινῦν ἀκίνητον ὄν· καὶ τὸ κινούμενον ἄρα ἀεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἓν μόνον· εἷς ἄρα ὀρανὸς μόνος· *There is One Numerically, Firſt Immovable Mover and no more; and therefore there is but One Movable neither, that is, but One Heaven or World.* In which Doctrine of *Ariſtotles*, there ſeems to be a Great Difference, betwixt his Philoſophy and that of *Plato's*; in that *Plato* makes the *Principle of Motion* in the Heavens and Whole World, to be a *Self-moving Soul*, but *Ariſtotle* ſuppoſeth it to be an *Immovable Mind* or *Intellect*. Nevertheleſs, according to *Ariſtotle's* Explication of himſelf, the Difference betwixt them is not great, if any at all; *Ariſtotle's Immovable Mover* being underſtood by him, not to move the Heavens *Efficiently*, but only *Objectively* and *Finally*, ὡς ἐρώμενον, *as being Loved.* Which Conceit of his, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, perſtringeth after this manner,

P. 167. τῆ παλαιῶν οἱ μὲν τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐπὶ τὸν νῶν, καὶ διὰ τῦτο ἐρῶντος, τῦ δὲ πρῶτον ὀρεκτοῦ, δόντες αὐτῷ τιὼ κίνησιν, ὐδὲν ἔφασαν ἀπὸ τῦ νοῦ καθήκειν εἰς αὐτὸν, ἐν ἴσῳ προστάξαντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐρασμίοις μὲν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, μηδὲν δὲ γεννητικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν φύσει· *Some of the ancients converting the World, to Mind (or Intellect) and making it move, only by Love of that firſt Deſirable; acknowledged nothing at all to deſcend down from Mind (or God) upon the World; but equalized the ſame with other Amiable things, amongſt Senſibles, that have nothing Generative in their Nature.* Where *Proclus* ſeems to ſuppoſe *Ariſtotle* to have attributed to *God*, no *Efficiency* at all upon the World; the Contrary whereunto, ſhall be evidently proved afterwards. In the mean time it is certain, that *Ariſtotle*, beſides his *Immovable Mover* of the Heavens, which moveth only *Finally*, or as *Being Loved*, muſt needs ſuppoſe another *Immediate Mover* of them, or *Efficient Cauſe* of that *Motion*; which could be nothing but *A Soul*, that enamoured with this *Supreme Mind*, did as it were in Imitation of it, continually Turn round the Heavens. Which ſeems to be nothing but *Plato's* Doctrine diſguiſed; that Philoſopher affirming likewiſe, the Circular Motions of the Heavens, cauſed *Efficiently*

ficiently, by a *Soul of the World* in his *Timæus* to be, τῷ ϖερὶ νῶν καὶ φρόνησιν μάλιστα ἕπεσθαι, *a Motion that is moſt agreeable to that of Mind or Wiſdom*: And again in his Laws, τῷ τῆς νοῦ ϖερίόδῳ πάντως ὡς δυνατὸν, οἰκειοτάτην καὶ ὁμοίαν, *that which of all Corporeal Motions only reſembles the Circuit of Intellect*. Which Platonick Conceit found entertainment with *Boetius*, who writing of *the Soul of the World*, repreſents it thus, *De Conſol. L. 3. Met. 9.*

Quæ cum Secta Duos motum glomeravit in Orbes,
In ſemet reditura meat, Mentemque Profundam
Circuit, & ſimili convertit Imagine Cœlum.

Wherefore as well according to *Plato*'s *Hypotheſis* as *Ariſtotle*'s, it may be affirmed of the *Supreme Deity*, in the ſame *Boetius* his Language, that,

——Stabiliſque manens dat cuncta Moveri,

Being it ſelf Immovable, it cauſeth all other things to Move. The Immediate *Efficient Cauſe* of which Motion alſo, no leſs according to *Ariſtotle* than *Plato*, ſeems to have been a *Mundane Soul*; however *Ariſtotle* thought not ſo fit to make this *Soul*, a *Principle*; in all Probability, becauſe he was not ſo well aſſured, of the *Incorporiety* of *Souls*, as of *Minds* or *Intellects*.

Nevertheleſs this is not the only thing, which *Ariſtotle* imputed to his *Firſt and Higheſt Immovable Principle*, or the *Supreme Deity*, its turning Round of the *Primum Mobile*, and that no otherwiſe than *as being Loved*, or as the *Final Cauſe* thereof, as *Proclus* ſuppoſed; but he as well as *Anaxagoras*, aſſerted it to be alſo, τῆς οὗ ἕνεκα καλῶς αἰτίαν, *The Cauſe of Well and Fit*, or τὸ οὗ ἐστι ἄνευ τὸ οὗ, *that without which, there could be no ſuch thing as Well*; that is, no *no Order, Aptitude, Proportion* and *Harmony* in the Univerſe. He declaring excellently, that εἰ μὴ ἔσται ϖαρὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἄλλα, οὐκ ἔσται ἀρχὴ οὐδὲ τάξις, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ ἀρχῆς ἀρχὴ, *Unleſs there were ſomething elſe in the world beſides Senſibles, there could be neither Beginning nor Order in it, but one thing would be the Principle of another infinitly, or without end*: and again in another place already cited, τῆς οὗ ἕνεκα καλῶς; ἴσως ὅτε ϖῦρ ὅτε γῆν, &c. ὅτ' αὐτῷ αὐτομάτῳ ἐκ τύχης τοιοῦτον ὑπάρξαι ϖράγμα καλῶς ἔχει, *It is not at all likely, that either Fire or Earth or any ſuch Body, ſhould be the Cauſe of that Well and Fit that is in the World; nor can ſo Noble an Effect as this, be reaſonably imputed to Chance or Fortune.* *Met. L. 14. c. 7. P.* Wherefore himſelf agreeably with *Anaxagoras* concludes, that it is νοῦς or *Mind*, which is properly αἴτιον τῆς καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς, *The Cauſe of Well and Right*, and accordingly does he frequently call the Supreme Deity by that Name. He affirming likewiſe that the *Order, Pulchritude* and *Harmony* of the whole World, dependeth upon that One Higheſt and Supreme Being in it, after the ſame manner as the Order of an Army dependeth upon the General or Emperour; who is *not for the Order*, but *the Order for him*. Which Higheſt Being of the Univerſe, is therefore called by him alſo, conformably to *Pla-*

to τὸ ἀγαθὸν κεχωρισμένον, *The Separate Good of the World*, in way of distinction from that Intrinsick or Inherent Good of it, which is the Order and Harmony it self: Ἐπισκεπτέον ἦ πότερος ἔχει ἡ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ ἄριστον; πότερον κεχωρισμένον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό; ἢ τινὶ τάξιν; ἢ ἀμφοτέρως ὥσπερ στράτευμα; καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τάξει τὸ εὖ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ μᾶλλον οὗτος, οὐ γὰρ οὗτος διὰ τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη διὰ τοῦτον ὄξιν· πάντα γὰρ συντέτακταί πως· *It is to be considered also, What is the Good, and Best of the Universe; Whether its own Order only? or Something Separate and existing by it self? Or rather Both of them together? As the Good of an Army, consisteth both in its Order, and likewise in its General or Emperor, but principally in this Latter; because the Emperor is not for the Order of the Army, but the Order of the Army is for him; for all things are coordered together with God, and respectively to him.* Wherefore since *Aristotle*'s Supreme Deity, by what name soever called, whether *Mind* or *Good*, is the proper *Efficient Cause* of all that *Well and Fit*, that is in the Universe, of all the *Order*, *Pulchritude* and *Harmony* thereof; it must needs be granted, that besides its being the *Final Cause* of *Motion*, or its Turning round the Heavens by *being Loved*, it was also the *Efficient Cause* of the Whole *Frame of Nature* and *System of the World*. And thus does he plainly declare his Sence, where he applauds *Anaxagoras* for maintaining, Νοῦν εἶναι ἢ τοῦ κόσμου ἢ τῆς τάξεως πάσης αἴτιον, *that Mind is the Cause not only of all Order, but also of the whole World*: and when himself positively affirms, ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς ἢ ἡ φύσις, *that from such a Principle as this depends the Heaven, and Nature.* Where by Heaven is meant the whole World, and by Nature, that Artificial Nature of his before insisted on, which *doth nothing in vain*, but always acteth *for Ends Regularly*, and is the *Instrument* of the *Divine Mind*. He also somewhere affirmeth, that if the Heavens or World were *Generated*, that is, *Made in Time*, so as to have had a Beginning, then it was certainly Made, not by *Chance* and *Fortune*, but by such an *Artificial Nature*, as is the Instrument of a *Perfect Mind*. And in his Physicks, where he contends for the Worlds Ante-Eternity, he concludes nevertheless, ἀνάγκη νοῦν αἴτιον ἢ φύσιν εἶναι τοῦδε παντός, *That Mind together with Nature must of necessity be the Cause of this Whole Universe.* For though the World were never so much Coeternal with Mind; yet was it in order of Nature after it and Juniour to it as the Effect thereof, himself thus generously resolving, εὐλογώτατόν ἐστιν εἶναι νοῦν προηγούμενον, ἢ κρεῖττον κατὰ φύσιν· τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖά φασι πρῶτα τῶν ὄντων εἶναι, *that though some*, (that is, the Atheists) *affirm the Elements to have been the First Beings; yet it was the most reasonable thing of all to conclude, that Mind was the Oldest of All things, and Seniour to the World and Elements; and that according to Nature, it had a Princely and Sovereign Dominion over all.* Wherefore we think it now sufficiently evident; that *Aristotle*'s Supreme Deity, does not only move the *Heavens as being Loved*, or is the *Final Cause of Motion*, but also was the *Efficient Cause*, of this *Whole Mundane System*, framed according to the *Best* Wisdom, and after the *Best* manner Possible.

Met. l. 14. cap. 10.

Met. L. 1. c. 3.

Met. L. 14. f. 7.

De Part. An. L. 1.

Lib. 2. c. 6.

Arist. de An. L. 1. c. 7.

For perhaps it may not be amiss here to observe, That God was not called *Mind*, by *Aristotle* and those other ancient Philosophers, according

according to that Vulgar Sence of many in theſe days of ours; as if he were indeed an *Underſtanding* or *Perceptive Being*, and that perfectly *Omniſcient*, but yet nevertheleſs ſuch, as acted all things *Arbitrarilily*, being not determined by any *Rule* or *Nature of Goodneſs*, but only by his own *Fortuitous Will*. For according to thoſe ancient Philoſophers, that which acts without reſpect to *Good*, would not ſo much be accounted *Mens* as *Dementia*, *Mind*, as *Madneſs* or *Folly*; and to impute the Frame of Nature or Syſtem of the World, together with the Government of the ſame, to ſuch a Principle as this, would have been judg'd by them all one, as to impute them to *Chance* or *Fortune*. But *Ariſtotle* and thoſe other Philoſophers, who called the *Supreme God*, Νοῦς or *Mind*, underſtood thereby, that which of all things in the whole world, is moſt oppoſite to *Chance*, *Fortune*, and *Temerity*; that which is regulated by the τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς, *The Well and Fit* of every thing, if it be not rather the very *Rule*, *Meaſure* and *Eſſence* of *Fitneſs it ſelf*; that which acteth all for *Ends and Good*, and doth every thing after the *Beſt manner*, in order to the *Whole*. Thus *Socrates* in that place before cited out of *Plato*'s *Phædo* interprets the Meaning of that Opinion, *That Mind made the World, and was the Cauſe of all things*: ἡγησάμην, εἰ τοῦτο ὅτως ἔχει, ὁ νοῦν πάντα ποιῶν, καὶ ἕκαστον τιθέναι ταύτη ὅπη ἂν βέλτιστα ἔχῃ· *That therefore every thing might be concluded to have been diſpoſed of after the Beſt Manner poſſible*. And accordingly *Theophraſtus*, *Ariſtotle*'s Scholar and Succeſſor, deſcribeth God after this manner, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ θειότατον, πάντα τὰ ἄριστα βουλόμενον, *That Firſt and Divineſt Being of all, which willeth all the Beſt things*. Whether of theſe Two *Hypotheſes* concerning God, One of the ancient Pagan Philoſophers, that God is as eſſentially *Goodneſs* as *Wiſdom*, or as *Plotinus* after *Plato* calls him *Decency and Fitneſs it ſelf*; the Other of ſome late Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, that he is nothing but *Arbitrary Will*, *Omnipotent* and *Omniſcient*, I ſay whether of theſe Two is more agreeable to *Piety* and *True Chriſtianity*, we ſhall leave it to be conſidered:

Laſtly, it is not without Probability, that *Ariſtotle* did, beſides the *Frame of Nature*, and *Fabrick of the World*, impute even the very Subſtance of Things themſelves alſo, to the Divine Efficiency (nor indeed can there well be any doubt of any thing ſave only the Matter;) partly from his affirming God *to be a Cauſe and Principle to all things*; and partly from his Commending this Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, ἅμα τῷ καλῶς, αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων νοῦν, *That Mind was together with Well and Fit, the Cauſe and Principle of Things themſelves*. However that *Ariſtotle*'s Inferiour Gods at leaſt, and therefore his *Intelligences of the Leſſer Spheres*, which were *Incorporeal Subſtances*, were all of them Produced or Created by *One Supreme*, may be further confirmed from this Definition of his in his Rhetorick, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἢ θεὸς, ἢ θεοῦ ἔργον, *The Divinity is nothing but either God or the Work of God*. Where θεὸς is unqueſtionably uſed in way of Eminency, for the Supreme Deity, as in thoſe other places of *Ariſtotle*'s before cited, to which ſundry more might be added, as, πάντα ἔχει τἀγαθὰ ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτάρκης, *God poſſeſſeth*

Met. L. 1. c. 3.

L. 2. c. 23.

Mag. Mor. L. 2. c. 15.

eth all Good things, and is Self-sufficient; and again where he speaks of things that are more than praise-worthy, τοιοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τ' θεὸν καὶ τ'αγαθὸν, πρὸς ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τ'άλλα ἀναφέρεσθαι, *such are God and Good, for to these are all other things referred.* But here *Aristotle* affirming, *that there is nothing Divine, but either God himself, or the Work and Effect of God*, plainly implies, that there was no *Multitude of Self-existent Deities*, and that those *Intelligences* of the Lesser Stars or Spheres, however Eternal, were themselves also Produced or Caused by One Supreme Deity.

Eth.Nic. L.1. c.12.

Met.L.6.c.1. Furthermore *Aristotle* declares, that this *Speculation* concerning the *Deity*, does constitute a *Particular Science* by it self, distinct from those other *Speculative Sciences* of *Physiology*, and the *Pure Mathematicks*, so that there are in all, *Three Speculative Sciences*, distinguished by their several *Objects*, *Physiology*, the *Pure Mathematicks*, and *Theology* or *Metaphysicks*: The Former of these, that is, Physiology, being conversant, περὶ ἀχώρισα μὲν, ἀλλ' ὐκ ἀκίνητα, *about Things both Inseparable from Matter, and Movable*; the Second (*viz. Geometry* or the *Pure Mathematicks*) περὶ ἀκίνητα μὲν ἀλλ' ὐ χωρισὰ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὕλῃ, *About things Immovable indeed, but not really separable from Matter, so as to exist alone by themselves*; but the Third and Last, περὶ χωρισὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα, *Concerning things both Immovable and Separable from Matter*, that is, *Inorporeal Substances Immovable*: This Philosopher there adding, εἰ μὲν ὄῤῥι τις ἑτέρα ὐσία παρὰ τὰς φύσει συνεστηκυίας ἡ φυσικὴ ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἐπιστήμη, εἰ δ' ὄῤῥι τις ὐσία ἀκίνητος, αὕτη πρότερα, καὶ φιλοσοφία πρώτη· *That if there were no other Substance besides these Natural things, which are Material and Movable; then would Physiology be the First Science; but if there be any Immovable Substance, the Philosophy thereof must needs in order of Nature be before the other.* Lastly he concludes, that as the *Speculative Sciences* in General, are more Noble and Excellent than the other, so is *Theology* or *Metaphysicks the most Honourable of all the Speculatives.* Now the chief Points of the *Aristotelick Theology*, or *Metaphysical Doctrine* concerning *God*, seem to be these *Four* following. First, That though all things be not *Ingenit* or *Unmade*, according to that in his Book against *Xenophanes*, ἆρ' ἀνάγκη ἀγένητα πάντα εἶναι, ἢ ὀδὲν κωλύει γενέσθαι ἕτερα ἐξ ἑτέρων; *There is no necessity that all things should be Unmade, for what hinders but that some things may be Generated from other things?* Yet there must needs be something *Eternal and Unmade*; as likewise *Incorruptible*, because εἰ πᾶσαι ὐσίαι φθαρταὶ, πάντα φθαρτά· *If all Substances were Corruptible, then All might come to nothing.* Which *Eternal, Unmade* (or *Self-existent*) and *Incorruptible Substance*, according to *Aristotle* is not *Senseless Matter*, but a *Perfect Mind.* Secondly, that God is also an *Incorporeal Substance*, κεχωρισμένη τῆ αἰσθητῆ, *Separate from Sensibles*, and not only so, but according to *Aristotle*'s Judgment likewise, ἀδιαίρετος, and ἀμερὴς, and ἀμεγέθης, *Indivisible*, and *Devoid of Parts*, and *Magnitude.* Nor can it be denied, but that besides *Aristotle*, the Generality of those other Ancients who asserted *Incorporeal Substance*, did suppose it likewise to be *Unextended*, they dividing Substances (as we learn from *Philo*) into διαστηματικαὶ, καὶ ἀδιάστατοι ὐσίαι, *Distant and Indistant*, or *Extended and Unextended Substances.* Which Doctrine whether

Met.L.14.c.6.

Met.L.14 c.7

True

True or no, is not here to be discussed. Thirdly, τ'ὠὴ νὸς ἃ νοητὸν, *That in God Intellect is really the same thing with the Intelligibles.* Because the *Divine Mind* being (at least in order of Nature) *Seniour to All things*, and *Architectonical of the World*, could not look abroad for its Objects, or find them any where without it self, and therefore must needs contain them all within it self. Which Determination of *Aristotle's*, is no less agreeable to *Theism*, than to *Platonism*; whereas on the contrary, the Atheists, who assert *Mind* and *Understanding* as such, to be in order of Nature *Juniour to Matter and the World*, do therefore agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, suppose all *Intellection* to be by way of *Passion* from Corporeal things without, and no *Mind* or *Intellect*, to contain its *Intelligibles*, or *Immediate Objects* within it self. Lastly, That God being an *Immovable Substance*, his οὐσία is ἐνέργεια, *His Essence* and *Act or Operation* the same, δεῖ ἄρα εἶναι οὐσίαν τοιαύτην ἥτις ἡ οὐσία ἐνέργεια, *There must therefore needs be some such Principle as this, whose Essence is Act or Energy.* From which Theorem *Aristotle* indeed endeavours to establish the *Eternity of the World*, that it was not made ἐκ νυκτὸς, καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντων, καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος, *from Night, and a Confused Chaos of things, and from Nothing*; that is, from an Antecedent Non-existence, brought forth into being; Because God who is *an Immovable Nature*, and whose *Essence is Act or Energy*, cannot be supposed to have rested or Slept from Eternity, doing nothing at all, and then after Infinite Ages, to have begun to move the Matter, or make the World. Which Argumentation of *Aristotle's*, perhaps would not be Inconsiderable, were the *World*, *Motion* and *Time*, capable of Existing from *Eternity*, or without Beginning. Of which more elsewhere. However, from hence it is undeniably evident, that *Aristotle*, though asserting the *Worlds Eternity*, nevertheless derived the same from God, because he would prove this *Eternity* of the World, from the *Essential Energy* and *Immutability* of the Deity.

Met. L.14. c.7. & c.9.

Met. Lib. 14. c.6.

We shall now conclude all concerning *Aristotle*, with this short Summary, which himself gives us of his own *Creed* and *Religion*, agreeably to the *Tradition* of his Pagans Ancestors; παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παλαιῶν, ὅτι θεοί τε εἶναν ὅσοι; καὶ περέχει τὸ θεῖον τὸν ὅλον φύσιν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ὕστερον προσῆφθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθὼ τοῦ τε πολλοῦ, καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χρῆσιν· ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τε γὰρ τούτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁμοίους τινὰ λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα ἀκόλουθα καὶ παραπλήσια· *It hath been delivered down to us from very ancient Times, that the Stars are Gods also; besides that Supreme Deity which contains the Whole Nature. But all the other things, were Fabulously added hereunto; for the better Perswasion of the Multitude, and for Utility of Humane Life and Political Ends, to keep men in Obedience to Civil Laws. As for example, that these Gods are of Humane Form, or like to other Animals; with such other things as are consequent hereupon.* In which words of *Aristotle*, these *Three Things* may be taken notice of. *First*, That this was the General Perswasion of the Civilized Pagans from all known Antiquity downwards, that there is One τὸ θεῖον, *which comprehends the whole Nature.* Where τὸ θεῖον is by *Aristotle* plainly taken for the Supreme Deity. And his own sence concerning this Particular, is elsewhere thus

Met. L.14. c.8.

In Polit. thus declared after the same manner, where he speaks of Order Harmony and Proportion, θείας γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο δυνάμεως ἔργον, ἥτις καὶ τόδε συνέχει τὸ πᾶν, *This is the Work of the Divine Power, which also conteins this Universe.* Which Divinity *Conteining and Comprehending the Whole Nature and Universe*, must needs be a *Single* and *Solitary Being*; according to that Expression of *Horace* before cited,

Nec viget quicquam Simile aut Secundum,

That which hath nothing Like it, nor Second to it. The next thing is, That according to the *Pagan Tradition*, besides this *Universal Numen*, there were certain other *Particular and Inferiour Deities* also, that is, *Understanding Beings Superiour to Men*; namely the *Animated Stars* or *Spheres*, according to the Vulgar Apprehension, though *Aristotle*'s Philosophy would interpret this chiefly of their *Immovable Minds* or *Intelligences*. Lastly, that all the rest of the *Pagan Religion* and *Theology*, those Two Things only excepted, were *Fabulous* and *Fictitious*, invented for the better Perswasion of the Vulgar to Piety, and the conserving of them in Obedience to Civil Laws; amongst which this may be reckoned for one, that those Gods are all like Men or other Animals; and therefore to be worshipped in Images and Statues of those several Forms; with all that other Fabulous *Farrago* which dependeth hereupon. Which being separated from the rest, the πάτριος δόξα, or *ancient Tradition of their Pagan Progenitors*, would remain comprized within those *Two Particulars* above mentioned, namely, that there is *One Supreme Deity* that *Conteins the whole Universe*, and that besides it, the *Animated Stars* or their *Minds*, are certain *Inferiour Gods* also.

To *Aristole* may be here subjoyned *Speusippus* and *Xenocrates* his Equals and Corrivals, they being *Plato*'s Successors; together with *Theophrastus* his own Scholar and Successor. Concerning the former of which it is recorded in *Cicero*, that agreeably with *Plato*, he asserted *Vim quandam, quâ omnia regantur, eamque Animalem, One Animal and Intellectual Force by which all things are governed*; by reason whereof, *Velleius* the Epicurean complains of him, as thereby endeavouring, *Evellere ex animis cognitionem Deorum, To pluck out of the minds of men the Notion of Gods*, as indeed both he and *Plato* did destroy those *Epicurean Gods*, which were all supposed to be *Independent* and to have no Sway or Influence at all upon the *Government* of the World; whereas neither of them denied a *Plurality* of *Subordinate and Dependent Deities, Generated or Created* by *One Supreme*, and by him Employed as his Ministers in the Oeconomy of the Universe: For had they done any such thing as this, they would certainly have been then condemned for Atheists. And *Xenocrates* his Theology, is thus represented in *Stobæus*, τὸν Μονάδα καὶ τὸν Δυάδα θεὸς, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἀρρένα πατρὸς ἔχοσαν τάξιν, ἥτινα προσαγορεύει καὶ Ζῆνα, καὶ Πέρατον, καὶ Νοῦν, ὅσις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πρῶτος θεός· τὸν δὲ Δυάδα μητρὸς θεῶν λέγω, τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν λήξεως ἡγεμονεύουσαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ

De N.D. L. 1.

Ecl. Phys. L. 1. c. 3.

ψυχὴ

ψυχὴ τὸ παντὸς, &c. *That both a Monad and Dyad, were Gods, the one Maſculine, having the order of a Father, which he calleth* Zen *and Mind, and which is alſo to him the Firſt God; the other Feminine, as it were the Mother of the Gods, which is to him, the Soul of the Univerſe*; beſides which he acknowledgeth the Heaven to be Divine, that is, Animated with a Particular Soul of its own, and the Fiery Stars, to be *Celeſtial Gods*, as he aſſerted alſo certain *Sublunary Gods*, viz. *the Inviſible Demons*. Where inſtead of the *Platonick Trinity*, *Xenocrates* ſeems to have acknowledg'd only a *Duality* of *Divine Hypoſtaſes*; the Firſt called a *Monad* and *Mind*, the Second a *Dyad* and *Soul of the Univerſe*. And laſtly, we have this Teſtimony of *Theophraſtus*, beſides others, cited out of his Metaphyſicks, θεὸς γὰρ πάντων ἀρχὴ, δι' ἧς ἅπαντα ἔστι καὶ διαμένει, *There is one Divine Principle of all things, by or from which all things ſubſiſt and remain.*

XXV. The Stoicks and their chief Doctors, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes* and *Chryſippus*, were no better *Naturaliſts* and Metaphyſicians, than *Heraclitus*, in whoſe footſteps they trode: they in like manner admitting no other Subſtance beſides *Body*, according to the true and proper Notion thereof, as that which is, not only διαστατὸν; *Diſtant* and *Extended*, but alſo ἀντίτυπον, *Reſiſting* and *Impenetrable*. So that according to theſe Stoicks, the Souls not only of other Animals, but of Men alſo, were properly *Corporeal*, that is, Subſtances *Impenetrably Extended*; and which differ'd from that other part of theirs, commonly called *their Body*, no otherwiſe, than that they were, σῶμα ἀραιότερον καὶ λεπτομερέστερον, *a more Thin and Subtil Body*, and πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον, *a Hot and Fiery Spirit*: it being ſuppoſed by theſe Philoſophers, that *Cogitation*, *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding*, are lodged only in the *Fiery Matter* of the Univerſe. And though the Generality of theſe Stoicks, acknowledged Humane Souls, to have a certain Permanency after Death, and ſome of them till the next *Conflagration* (unleſs perhaps they ſhould be cruſhed and broken all to pieces, in their Paſſage out of the Body, by the down-fall of ſome Tower, Steeple, or the like, upon them) yet did they all conclude againſt their *Immortality*, there being nothing at all *Immortal* with them (as ſhall be afterwards declared) ſave only *Jupiter*, or *the One Supreme Deity*. And as for the *Puniſhment* of Wicked Souls after death, though ſome of them ſeem to have utterly exploded the ſame, as a meer Figment of Poets, (inſomuch that *Epictetus* himſelf denies, there was any *Acheron*, *Cocytus* or *Phlegethon*) yet others granted, that as the better Souls after Death, did mount up to the Stars, their Firſt Original, ſo the Wicked wandred up and down here, in certain Dark and Miry Subterraneous Places, till at length they were quite extinct. Nevertheleſs, they ſeem to have been all of this Perſwaſion, that the Frightning of men with puniſhments after Death, was no Proper nor Accommodate means to promote Virtue, becauſe that ought to be purſued after for its own ſake, or the *Good of Honeſty*, as Vice to be avoided, for that *Evil of Turpitude* which is in it, and not for any other External Evil conſequent thereupon. Wherefore *Chryſippus* reprehended *Plato* for ſubjoyning to his Republick ſuch affrightful Stories of Puniſhments after death, φησὶν ἂν ὀρθῶς ἀποτρέπειν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν *Plut. Stoic. Rep. p. 1040.*

θεῶν φόβῳ, τ̃ ἀδικίας, τ̃ κέφαλον· ὐδιάβλητον τ' εἶναι ἢ πρὸς τ̀ναντίον ἐξ-
άγονῖα πολλὰς ῳ̃ιζπασμὰς ἢ πιθανότητας ἀνῖιπιπτ́ουσας, τ̃ ῳ̃ὶ ἅ̓ὶδ ὑπὸ τ̃ῦ
θεῦ πολάσεων λόγον, ὡς ὐδὲν διαφέρῳ̃α τ̃ Ἀκκῦς ἢ τ̃ Ἀλφιτῦς, δι' ὧν τὰ
παιδάρια τ̃ῦ κακοχολεῖν αἱ γυνᾶικες ἀνέργ̃ζι· Chryſippus *affirmeth, that* Plato (*in the Perſon of* Cephalus) *does not rightly deterr men from Injuſtice, by the Fear of Divine Puniſhments and Vengeance after Death; ſince this opinion* (*of Torments after death*) *is liable to much Exception, and the contrary is not without Probabilities; ſo that it ſeems to be but like to Womens frighting of Children from doing unhappy tricks, with thoſe Bugbears of* Accho *and* Alphito. But how fondly theſe Stoicks, doted upon that *Hypotheſis, That all was Body*, may appear from hence, that they maintained even *Accidents* and *Qualities* themſelves to be *Bodies*; for *Voice* and *Sound*, *Night* and *Day*, *Evening* and *Morning*, *Summer* and *Winter*; nay, *Calends* and *Nones*, *Months* and *Years*, were Bodies with them. And not only ſo, but alſo the *Qualities* of the Mind it ſelf, as *Virtue* and *Vice*, together with the *Motions* and *Affections* of it, as *Anger* and *Envy*, *Grief* and *Joy*; according to that paſſage in *Seneca*, *Corporis Bona ſunt Corpora, Corpora ergo ſunt & quæ animi, nam & hic Corpus eſt; The Goods of a Body are Bodies, now the Mind is a Body, and therefore the Goods of the Mind are Bodies too.* And with as good Logick as this did they further infer, that all the *Actions*, *Paſſions*, and *Qualities* of the *Mind*, were not only *Bodies* but alſo *Animals* likewiſe. *Animam conſtat Animal eſſe, cum ipſa efficiat, ut ſimus Animalia; Virtus autem nihil aliud eſt quàm Animus taliter ſe habens, ergo Animal eſt; It is manifeſt, that the Soul is an Animal, becauſe it is that by which we are made Animals; now Vertue and Vice are nothing elſe but the Soul ſo and ſo affected or modified, and therefore theſe are Animals too.* Thus we ſee what fine Concluſions, theſe Doters upon Body (though accounted great *Maſters* of Logick) made; and how they were befooled in their Ratiocinations and Philoſophy.

Nevertheleſs though *theſe Stoicks* were ſuch *Sottiſh Corporealiſts*, yet were they not for all that *Atheiſts*: they reſolving that *Mind* or *Underſtanding*, though always lodged in Corporeal Subſtance, yet was not firſt of all begotten out of *Senſleſs Matter*, ſo or ſo *Modified*; but was an *Eternal Unmade* thing, and the *Maker* of the whole Mundane Syſtem. And therefore as to that Controverſie ſo much agitated amongſt the Ancients, Whether the World were made by *Chance*, or by the *Neceſſity of* Material Motions, or by *Mind*, *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding*; they avowedly maintained that it was neither by Chance nor by Material Neceſſity, but *Divinâ Mente, by a Divine and Eternal Mind* every way perfect. From which *One Eternal Mind*, they alſo affirmed *Humane Souls* to have been derived, and not from *Senſleſs Matter*; *Prudentiam & Mentem à Diis ad Homines perveniſſe, that Mind and Wiſdom deſcended down to Men from the Deity.* And that, *Ratio nihil aliud eſt, quàm in Corpus humanum Pars Divini Spiritus merſa*; *Reaſon is nothing elſe but Part of the Divine Spirit merg'd into a Humane Body*; ſo that theſe Humane Souls were to them, no other than μόρια θεῦ ἢ ἀποσπάσματα, *certain Parts of God, or Decerptions and Avulſions from him.* Neither were the Reaſons by which theſe

these Stoicks would prove, the World to have had a *Divine Original*, at all Contemptible, or much inferiour to those which have been used in these Latter days; they being such as these: First, That it is no more likely, this Orderly System of the World, should have been made by Chance, than that *Ennius* his *Annals*, or *Homer*'s *Iliads* might have resulted from the Fortuitous Projection or Tumbling out of so many Forms of Letters, confounded all together. There being as much continued and coherent Sence and as many several Combinations, in this *Real Poem* of the World, as there is in any *Phantastick Poem* made by men. And since we see no Houses or Cities, no Books or Libraries any where made by the fortuitous Motions of Matter, it is a madness to think that this Admirable Compages of the whole World should first have resulted from thence. Again, There could not possibly be such an Agreeing and Conspiring *Cognation* of things, and such a *Universal Harmony* throughout the whole World, as now there is, *nisi ea Uno Divino & Continuato Spiritu continerentur, were they not all conteined by One and the same Divine Spirit:* Which is the most obvious Argument, for the Unity or *Onelyness* of the Deity. They reasoned also from the *Scale of Nature*, or the Gradual Perfection of things in the Universe, one above another; That therefore there must be something *Absolutely Perfect*, and that either the World it self, or something presiding over it, was *à Principio Sapiens, Wise from the Beginning*, or rather without Beginning and from Eternity. For as in the Growth of Plants and Animals, *Natura suo quodam Itinere ad Ultimum pervenit, Nature by a Continual Progress and Journeying forwards, arrives at length to the greatest Perfection, which those things are respectively capable of:* And as those Arts of Picture and Architecture, aim at Perfection; *ita in omni Naturâ necesse est Absolvi aliquid & Perfici, so in the Nature of the whole Universe, there must needs be something Absolutely Perfect, reach'd unto. Necesse est præstantem aliquam esse Naturam qua nihil est Melius*; Since there is such a Gradual Ascent and Scale of Perfections in Nature one above another, *there must needs be some most Excellent and Perfect Being, than which nothing can be Better*, at the Top of all, as the Head thereof. Moreover they disputed *Socratically* after this manner, *Unde arripuit Homo Vitam, Mentem & Rationem? Whence did man snatch Life, Reason, or Understanding? Or from what was it Kindled in him? For is it not plain, that we derive the Moisture and Fluidity of our Bodies, from the Water that is in the Universe, their Consistency and Solidity from the Earth, their Heat and Activity from the Fire, and their Spirituosity from the Air*; *Illud autem quod vincit hæc omnia, Rationem, Mentem & Consilium, &c. Ubi invenimus? unde sustulimus? An cætera Mundus habebit omnia? Hoc unum quod plurimi est non habebit? But that which far transcendeth all these things, our Reason, Mind and Understanding, where did we find it? or from whence did we derive it? Hath the Universe all those other things of ours in it, and in a far greater proportion? and hath it nothing at all of that which is the most excellent thing in us? Nihil quod Animi, quodque Rationis est expers, id generare ex se potest Animantes, compotesque Rationis, Mundus autem generat Animantes compotes Rationis: Nothing that is devoid of Mind and Reason can Generate things Ani-*

mant and Rational, but the World Generateth ſuch, and therefore it ſelf (or that which conteins it and preſides over it) muſt needs be Animant, and Rational or Intellectual. Which Argumentation is further ſet home by ſuch Similitudes as theſe; *Si ex Oliva modulatè canentes Tibiæ naſcerentur, non dubitares quin eſſet in Oliva Tibicinis quædam Scientia. Quid ſi Platani Fidiculas ferrent numerosè ſonantes, idem ſcilicet cenſeres in Platanis ineſſe Muſicam. Cur igitur Mundus non Animans Sapienſque judicetur, cum ex ſe procreet Animantes atque Sapientes? If from the Olive-Tree ſhould be produced Pipes ſounding Harmoniouſly, or from the Plain-Tree Fiddles, playing of their own accord Muſically, it would not at all be doubted, but that there was, ſome Muſical either Skill or Nature, in thoſe Trees themſelves; Why therefore ſhould not the World be concluded, to be both Animant and Wiſe (or to have ſomething in it which is ſo) ſince it produceth ſuch Beings from it ſelf?* And though perhaps ſome may think that of *Cotta*'s here, to have been a ſmart and witty Repartie, *Quærit* Socrates *unde Animam arripuerimus, ſi nulla fuerit in mundo? Et ego quæro unde Orationem? unde Numeros? unde Cantus? niſi verò loqui Solem cum Luna putemus, cum propius acceſſerit: aut ad harmoniam canere Mundum ut* Pythagoras *exiſtimat.* Socrates *demandeth, whence we ſnatch'd Soul, Life, and Reaſon, if there were none in the world? and I demand* (ſaith he) *whence did we ſnatch Speech, Muſick, and Numbers? Unleſs perhaps you will ſuppoſe the Sun to confabulate with the Moon, when he approaches near her in the* Syzygiæ; *or the World to ſound Harmonically as* Pythagoras *conceited.* Yet this how ſmart ſoever it may ſeem, was really but an Empty Flaſh of *Academick Wit*, without any Solidity at all in it, as ſhall be manifeſted afterward. Laſtly the Stoicks endeavoured to prove the Exiſtence of a God after this manner, *Ut nulla pars Corporis noſtri eſt quæ non ſit minor quam Noſmetipſi ſumus, ſic Mundum Univerſum pluris eſſe neceſſe eſt quam Partem aliquam Univerſi; As there is no Part of our Body which is not Inferiour in perfection to Our ſelves, ſo muſt the Whole Univerſe needs be ſuppoſed, to be Better and more Perfect than any of the Parts thereof.* Wherefore ſince it is Better to be endued with *Life* and *Underſtanding*, than to be devoid thereof, and theſe are Pure Perfections; they being in ſome meaſure in the Parts, muſt needs be much more in the Whole. *Nullius ſenſu carentis Pars, poteſt eſſe Sentiens, No Part of that which is utterly dead and ſtupid, can have Life and Underſtanding in it.* And it is a Madneſs for any man to ſuppoſe, *Nihil in omni Mundo Melius eſſe quam ſe, that there is nothing in the whole World Better than himſelf, or than Mankind*; which is but a Part thereof. Now *Cotta* here again exerciſes his jeering Academick Wit after the ſame manner as before; *Hoc ſi placet, jam efficies, ut Mundus optimè Librum legere videatur, &c. Iſto modo etiam Diſertus, Mathematicus, Muſicus, omni denique doctrina refertus, poſtremo Philoſophus erit Mundus. By this ſame Argument you might as well prove, That the World is alſo Book-learned, an Orator, a Mathematician, a Muſician, and laſt of all a Philoſopher.* But neither this Objection of his nor that Former, have any Firmitude at all in them: Becauſe though an *Effect* cannot be Better or more Perfect than its *Cauſe*, nor a *Part* than the *Whole*; and therefore whatſoever there is

of

of *Pure Perfection* in any *Effect*, it must needs be more in the *Cause*; yet as to those things there mentioned by *Cotta* (which have all a plain Mixture of Imperfection in them) as they could not therefore *Formally* exist in that which is *Absolutely Perfect*, so is it sufficient, that they are all *Eminently* and *Vertually* contein'd therein.

By such Argumentations as these (besides that taken from the Topick of Prescience and Divination) did the ancient Stoicks endeavour to Demonstrate the Existence of a God, or a Universal Numen, the Maker and Governour of the whole World; and that such a one, as was not a meer *Plastick* or *Methodical* and *Sensless*, but a *Conscious* and *Perfectly Intellectual Nature*. So that the World to them, was neither a meer *Heap* and *Congeries* of Dead and Stupid Matter, fortuitously compacted together; nor yet a Huge *Plant* or *Vegetable*, that is, endued with a *Spermatick Principle* only; but *an Animal* enformed and enlivened by an *Intellectual Soul*. And though, being Corporealists, they sometimes called, the *Whole World* it self or *Mundane Animal*, God; and sometimes the *Fiery Principle* in it, as *Intellectual*, and the *Hegemonick of the Mundane Soul*; Yet was the *God of the Stoicks* properly, not the very *Matter* it self, but that *Great Soul, Mind and Understanding*, or in *Seneca*'s Language, that *Ratio Incorporalis*, that Rules the Matter of the whole World. Which *Stoical God* was also called, as well Τ'αγαθὸν as Νοῦς, *Good* as *Mind*; as that which is a *Most Moral, Benign*, and *Benificent Being*; according to that excellent Cleanthean Description of him, in *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

Τ'αγαθὸν ἐρωτᾶς μ' οἷόν ἐξι ἄνακτ δε,
Τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, εὐσεβὲς,
Κρατῆν ἑαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δέον, &c.

But this Maker and Governour of the Whole World was most commonly named by the Stoicks *Zeus* and *Zen*, or *Jupiter*; some of them concluding that therefore there was but one *Zeus* or *Independent Deity*, because the Whole World was but *One Animal*, governed by *One Soul*; and others of them endeavouring on the contrary to prove the *Unity* and *Singularity* of the World, from the Onelines of this *Zeus* or the *Supreme Deity*, supposed and taken for granted, and because there is but *One Fate* and Providence. Which Latter Consequence, *Plutarch* would by no means allow of, he writing thus concerning it, where he pleads for a Plurality of Worlds, καὶ μὴν τά- *D. Def. Or. p. 425.*
γε ἄλλα τῆ Στωικῶν τίς ἂν φοβηθείη, πυνθανομένων πῶς εἱμαρμένη μία μέν καὶ Πρόνοια, καὶ ὁ πολλοὶ Δίες καὶ Ζῆνες ἔσονται, πλειόνων ὄντων κόσμων; τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη πολλὸς εἶναι Δίας, ἂν πλείονες ὦσι κόσμοι, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἕκασον ἄρχοντα πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν ὅλε Θεὸν, οἷος ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κόσμε πάντων καὶ πατὴρ ἐπονομαζόμενος, &c. *Neither is it at all considerable, what the Stoicks here object against a Plurality of Worlds, they demanding how there could be but One Fate, and One Providence, and One* Jove *(or Independent Deity) were there many Worlds? For what Necessity is there, that there must be more* Zen's *or* Joves *than One, if there were More Worlds? and why might not that One and the same God of this Universe,*

Universe called by us, the Lord and Father of all, be the First Prince, and Highest Governour in all those Worlds? Or what hinders but that a Multitude of Worlds, might be all Subject to the Fate and Providence of one Jupiter *or Supreme God, himself inspecting and ordering them every one; and imparting Principles and Spermatick Reasons to them, according to which all things in them might be Governed and Disposed. For can many distinct Persons in an Army or* Chorus, *be reduced into One Body or Polity? and could not Ten, or Fifty, or a Hundred Worlds in the Universe; be all Governed by One Reason, and be ordered together in Reference to One Principle?* In which Place these Two things are plainly conteined; *First*, that the *Stoicks* unquestionably asserted, *One Supreme Deity*, or *Universal Monarch* over the whole World; and *Secondly*, that *Plutarch* was so far from giving any entertainment to the Contrary Opinion; that he concluded, though there were *Ten*, or *Fifty*, or *a Hundred* worlds, yet they were all Subject to *One Supreme, Solitary, and Independent Deity.*

But however though these Stoicks thus unquestionably asserted One *Sole Independent* and *Universal Numen*, the Monarch over the whole World: yet did they notwithstanding, together with the other Pagans, acknowledge a *Plurality of Gods*: they concluding, πάντα μεσὰ εἶναι θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων, *That all things were full of Gods and Demons.* And so far were they from falling short of the other Pagans, as to this Polytheism or Multiplicity of Gods, that they seem rather to have surpassed and outstripped them therein. *Plutarch*, making mention of their τοσοῦτον πλῆθος θεῶν, *their So great Multitude of Gods*; and affirming them, ἐμπεπλησθέναι τᾶς λόγῳ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν, τὰν γᾶν, τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν θάλατταν, *to have filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air, and Sea with Gods.* Nevertheless they plainly declare, that all this their Multiplicity of Gods (*One* only excepted) was *Generated* or *Created* in time by that *One*, called *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, who was not only the *Spermatick Reason*, but also the *Soul* and *Mind* of the whole Universe; and who from Himself produced the World and those *Gods*, out of Non-existence into Being. And not only so, but that also in the *Successive Conflagrations*, they are all again Resolved and Swallowed up into that One. Thus *Plutarch* in his Defect of Oracles, writing of the *Mortality of Demons*, Τὸς Στωικὸς γινώσκομεν, ὁ μόνον οὐ δαιμόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν, ὄντων τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος· ἑνὶ κεφαλαίῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ, τὸς δ' ἄλλος καὶ γεγονέναι καὶ φθαρήσεσθαι νομίζοντας· *We know the Stoicks to maintain this Opinion, not only concerning Demons, but also the Gods themselves, that they are Mortal. For though they own such a Multitude of Gods, yet do they acknowledge only one of them Eternal and Incorruptible; affirming concerning all the rest, that as they were made in time, so they shall be again Corrupted and Destroyed.* *Plutarch* himself, there defends the Mortality of *Dæmons*, but this only as to their Corporeal Part, that they die to their present Bodies, and transmigrate into others, their Souls in the mean time remaining Immortal and Incorruptible; but the Stoicks maintain'd the same as well concerning *Gods* as *Dæmons*; and that in such a manner, as that their very *Souls*, *Lives* and *Personalities*, should be utterly extinguish'd and Destroyed. To the same pur-

P. 420.

pose

poſe *Plutarch* again writeth, in his Book of *Common Notions* againſt the Stoicks, Χρύσιππος ἢ Κλεάνθης ἐμπεπληκότες (ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν) τὸν λόγον Θεῶν, τὸν οὐρανὸν, τὸν γῆν, τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν θάλατταν, οὐδένα τῶν τοσούτων ἄφθαρτον, οὐδὲ ἀΐδιον ἀπολελοίπασι, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Διός· εἰς ὃν πάντας καταναλίσκουσι τοὺς ἄλλους, &c. ταῦτα δ' οὐχ ὡς ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν ἀτόπων συλλογιζόμενα ἔχει τὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτῶν, ἢ τοῖς δόγμασιν ἕπεται, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μέγα βοῶντες ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θεῶν, ἢ προνοίας, εἱμαρμένης, τε ἢ φύσεως γράμμασι, διαῤῥήδην λέγουσι, τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας, εἶναι γεγονότας ἢ φθαρησομένους ὑπὸ πυρὸς, πάντας ἢ αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ ἐκείνους ἢ κατακεκλυσμένους ὕδασι· Chryſippus *and* Cleanthes, *having filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea with Gods, leave not One of theſe their ſo Many Gods Incorruptible nor Eternal, ſave* Jupiter *only, into whom they conſume all the reſt; thereby making him to be a Helluo and Devourer of Gods; which is as bad, as if they ſhould affirm him to be Corruptible, it arguing as much Imperfection for one to be Nouriſhed and Preſerved by the Conſumption of other things into him, as for himſelf to die. Now this is not only gathered by way of Conſequence, from the other Principles of the Stoicks, but it is a thing which they expreſly aſſert, and with a loud voice proclaim, in all their writings concerning the Gods, Providence, Fate and Nature; that all the Gods were Generated (or Made in time) and that they ſhall be all deſtroyed by Fire; they ſuppoſing them to be Meltable, as if they were Waxen or Leaden things.* This indeed is Eſſential to the *Stoical Doctrine*, and from their Principles Inſeparable and Unavoidable; foraſmuch as they held all to be *Body*, and that in the Succeſſive Conflagrations, all Corporeal Syſtems and Compages ſhall be diſſolved by Fire; ſo that no other Deity, can then poſſibly remain ſafe and Untouch'd, ſave *Jupiter* alone, the *Fiery Principle* of the Univerſe, *Animated or Intellectual.* Here therefore there is a conſiderable Difference to be obſerved, betwixt theſe *Stoicks* and the other *Pagan Theiſts*; that whereas the others for the moſt part acknowledged their Gods to have been made in Time, by *One Supreme Univerſal Numen*, but yet nevertheleſs to be *Immortal* and to continue to Eternity; The Stoical Pagans maintained, that all their other Gods, ſave *Jupiter* alone, were not only γεγονότες but alſo φθαρησόμενοι, ſuch as ſhould be as well *Corrupted*, as they were *Generated*, and this ſo alſo, as that their very *Perſonalities* ſhould be utterly aboliſhed and annihilated: all the Stoical Gods in the Conflagration being as it were *Melted and Confounded into One.* P. 1075.

Wherefore during the Intervals of the Succeſſive Conflagrations, the Stoicks all agreed, that there is no more than *One God* (*Zeus* or *Jupiter*) left alone (there being then indeed nothing elſe beſides himſelf) who afterwards produceth the whole *Mundane Syſtem*, together with *All the Gods* out of himſelf again. *Chryſippus* in *Plutarch* affirmeth, ἐοικέναι τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν κόσμον, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὅταν ἐν ἐκπυρώσεσι γένηται, μόνον ἄφθαρτον ὄντα τὸν Δία τῶν Θεῶν, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν, εἶτα δυσὶ γενομένους, ἐπὶ μιᾶς τοῦ αἰθέρος οὐσίας διατελεῖν ἀμφοτέρους, *That as* Jupiter *and the World may be reſembled to a Man, ſo may Providence be to the Soul; When therefore there ſhall be a Conflagration,* Jupiter *of all the Gods, being alone Incorruptible and then remaining, will retire and withdraw himſelf into* P. 1077.

into Providence; and ſo both together remain in that ſame Ethereal Subſtance. Where notwithſtanding *Jupiter* and *Providence* are really but *One* and the ſame thing. And *Seneca* writeth thus concerning the Life of a Wiſe man in Solitude, *Qualis futura eſt Vita Sapientis, ſi ſine amicis relinquatur, in cuſtodiam conjectus, aut in deſertum littus ejectus? Qualis eſt* Jovis, *cum Reſoluto mundo, & DIIS IN UNUM CONFUSIS, pauliſper ceſſante Natura, acquieſcit ſibi, Cogitationibus ſuis traditus; If you ask what would be the Life of a Wiſe man either in a Priſon, or Deſert? I anſwer, the ſame with that of* Jupiter, *when the World being reſolved, and the GODS all CONFOUNDED into ONE, and the Courſe of Nature ceaſing, he reſteth in himſelf, converſing with his own Cogitations.* *Arrianus* his *Epictetus* likewiſe, ſpeaking of the ſame thing, Ironically introduces *Jupiter*, bemoaning himſelf in the Conflagration, as now left quite alone, after this manner, Τάλας ἐγώ, ὅτε τὴν Ἥραν ἔχω, ὅτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὅτε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὅτε ὅλως ἢ ἀδελφον, ἢ υἱὸν, ἢ ἔγγονον, ἢ συγγενῆ· *Alas, I am now left all alone I have neither* Juno, *nor* Minerva, *nor* Apollo *with me; neither Brother nor Son, nor Nephew nor Kinſman (neither God nor Goddeſs) to keep me company.* He adding alſo according to the ſence of the Stoicks, that in all theſe ſucceſſive Conflagrations, ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ σύνεσι, καὶ ἡσυχάζει ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐννοεῖ τὴν διοίκησιν ἑαυτοῦ, οἵα ἔξωθεν, καὶ ἐν ἐπινοίαις γίνεται πρεπούσαις ἑαυτῷ, Jupiter *being left alone, converſeth only with himſelf, and reſteth in himſelf, conſidering his own Government, and being entertained with thoughts becoming himſelf.* And thus have we made it unqueſtionably evident, that the Stoicks acknowledged, only *One Independent* and *Self-exiſtent Deity*, One *Univerſal Numen*, which was not only the *Creator* of all the other Gods, but alſo in certain Alternate Viciſſitudes of time, the *Decreator* of them; he then ſwallowing them up, and devouring them all into himſelf, as he had before produced them together with the World, out of himſelf.

Ep. 6.

Arr. L. 3 c. 13.

It is granted, that theſe Stoicks as well as the other Pagans, did *Religiouſly Worſhip More Gods* than *One*, that is, *More Underſtanding Beings Superiour to Men.* For it was *Epictetus* his own Exhortation, Εὔχου θεοῖς, *Pray to the Gods.* And the ſame Philoſopher thus deſcribeth the Diſpoſition of a Perſon Rightly Affected, Θέλω εἰδέναι τί μοι καθῆκον πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, *I would willingly know what is my Duty, Firſt to the Gods, and then to my Parents, and other Relations.* And they are *M. Antoninus* his Precepts, Αἰδοῦ θεούς, *Revere the Gods*, and ἐν ἅπασι θεοὺς ἐπικαλοῦ, *In every thing implore the Aid and Aſſiſtance of the Gods.* And accordingly in that Cloſe of his Firſt Book, himſelf does thankfully aſcribe many Particular Benefits to *The Gods* in common; ὀφείλω τῷ θεῶν τὸ ἀγαθοὺς πάππους, &c. *I owe to the Gods, that I had good Progenitors and Parents, &c.* Where amongſt the reſt, he reckons up this for One, That he never was any great Proficient, either in Poetry or Rhetorick; becauſe theſe would probably (had he ſucceeded in his Purſuit of them) have hindred him from the attainment of far better things: and after all his Enumeration, he concludeth thus, πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα θεῶν βοηθῶν καὶ τύχης δεῖται, *For all theſe things need the Aſſiſtance of the Gods and Fortune, viz.* becauſe they are not in our own power. Neither

Neither can it be denied, but that they did often derogate from the Honour of the *Supreme God*, by attributing such things to the *Gods* in common, (as the Donors of them) which plainly belong to the *Supreme God* only. As when *Epictetus* makes *Reason* in Men to be a gift of the *Gods*, ἡμῖν ἔν λόγῳ ὅτι ἀτυχίᾳ καὶ κακοδαιμονίᾳ δέδοται ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν; *Is Reason therefore given us by the Gods, meerly to make us Miserable and Unhappy?* And when he again imputes *Vertue* to them; Hast thou overcome thy Lust, thine Intemperance, thine Anger? πόσῳ μείζων αἰτία θυσίας, ἢ ὑπατείας ἢ ὑπαρχίας, ταῦτα ἐκ σοῦ αὐτῷ γίνεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν; *how much greater Cause then hast thou of offering Sacrifice, than if thou hadst got a Consulship or Prætorship? for those things come only from thy Self, and from the Gods.* Though the Reason of these Speeches of theirs seems to have been no other, than this, because they took it for granted, that those Understanding Beings Superiour to men, called by them *Gods*, were all of them the Instruments and Ministers of the Supreme God in the Government of the World; and had therefore some kind of Stroke or Influence more or less, upon all the Concernments of Mankind. Whence it came to pass also, that they often used those Words *God* and *Gods promiscuously* and *Indifferently*. As one and the same Celebrated Speech of *Socrates*, is sometimes expressed *Singularly*, εἰ ταύτῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, *If God will have it so, let it be so*, (*Arr. Epict. L.* 1. *c.* 29. and *L.* 4. *c.* 4.) and sometimes again *Plurally*, εἰ ταύτῃ φίλον τοῖς θεοῖς, *If the Gods will have it so.*

L. 3. *c.* 24.

L. 4. *c.* 3.

Wherefore notwithstanding the *Many Gods* of those Stoicks, they worshipped for all that One Supreme, that is, *One Universal Numen, that conteins and comprehends the whole World.* Who was variously described by them, sometimes as the *Nature and Reason* of the whole World; ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις πρεσβυτάτη θεῶν, *The Nature of the whole, the Oldest of all the Gods*; and ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦσα φύσις, *That Nature which governs all things*; ὁ τὴν τῶν ὅλων οὐσίαν διοικῶν λόγος, *that Reason which governs the Substance of all*; ὁ διὰ τῆς οὐσίας διήκων λόγος, ὃς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος κατὰ περιόδους τεταγμένας οἰκονομῶν τὸ πᾶν, *that Reason which passes through the Substance of the Universe, and through all Eternity, orders and dispenses all according to appointed Periods.* Sometimes is he called ἡ τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, *the Cause of all things*, sometimes τὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἡγεμονικόν, *the Hegemonick and Ruling Principle of the whole World*, and ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ κόσμου, *the Prince of the World.* Again, ὁ διοικῶν τὰ ὅλα, *The Governour of the Whole*, as in this of *Epictetus*, ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τῷ αὐτοῦ γνώμῃ ὑποτέταχε τῷ διοικοῦντι τὰ ὅλα, καθάπερ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ πολῖται νόμῳ τῆς πόλεως; *A Good man submits his Mind to the Governour of the whole Universe; as good Citizens do theirs to the Law of the City.* Also ὁ διατάξων, *The Orderer of all*, in this other Religious Passage of the same Philosophers, τὸ παιδεύεσθαι, τοῦτέστι μανθάνειν ἔχασα ὅπως θέλειν ὡς γίνεται· πῶς δὲ γίνεται; ὡς διέταξεν αὐτὰ ὁ διατάξας, *To be Instructed is to Will things to be as they are Made: and how are they made? As that Great Disposer of all hath appointed.* Again the *Supreme God* is sometimes called by them, τὸ περιέχον τὰ ὅλα νοερόν, *That Intellectual Principle which conteins the whole*, as in this Instruction of

Anton. L. 9.
Ant. l. 7. §§. 18
Ant. L. 6. §§. 1.
Ant. l. 5 §§ 24
Anton. L. 9.
Ant l. 7. §§. 47
L. 1. *c.* 12.
Ep. p. 119. *Cant.*

L. 8. §. 45. *M. Antoninus*, μὴ μόνον συμπνεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι ἀέρι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφρονεῖν τῷ περιέχοντι πάντα νοερῷ, *That as our Bodies breath the common Air, so should our Souls suck and draw in Vital Breath, from that Great Mind that comprehends the Universe, becoming as it were One Spirit with the same.* He is also called by them ὁ τοῦ ὅλου νοῦς καὶ διάνοια, *The Mind and Understanding of the whole World*, μία πάντων πήγη νοερά, *One Intellectual Fountain of all things*; and lastly, to name no more, θεὸς εἷς διὰ πάντων, καὶ οὐσία μία, καὶ νόμος εἷς, *One God through all, one Substance, and one Law.* Which Supreme God was commonly called also by the Stoicks, together with the Generality of the other Pagans, ὁ θεὸς, or *God*, Emphatically and in way of Eminency, as in this of *Epictetus*, μηδὲν ἄλλο θέλε, ἢ ἃ ὁ θεὸς θέλει, καὶ τίς σε κωλύσει; *Will nothing but what God Willeth, and then who can be able to hinder thee?* And again, θέλησον καλὸς φανῆναι τῷ θεῷ, ὄπτησον καθαρὸς μετὰ καθαροῦ σαυτοῦ χρήσθαι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, *Affect to seem fair to God, desire to be Pure with thy Pure self, and with God.* Also where he speaks of the Regular Course of things in Nature, τεταγμένως, καθάπερ ἐπὶ περστάγματι θεοῦ, ὅταν ἐκεῖνος εἴπῃ τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀνθεῖν ἀνθεῖ, ὅταν εἴπῃ βλαστάνειν βλαστάνει· *That it proceedeth orderly, every thing as it were obeying the Command of God; when he bids the Plants to blossom they blossom; and when to bring forth fruit, they bring forth fruit.* To which Innumerable other Instances might be added. And *Zeus* or *Jupiter* was the Proper Name of this *Supreme God* amongst the Stoicks also; whence the Government of the Whole World is called by them Διὸς διοίκησις, *the Government or Oeconomy of* Jupiter. Lastly, this *Supreme God*, is sometimes distinguished by them, from the other *Gods*, expressly and by name, as in this of *Epictetus*, ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω τίνι ὑποτετάχθαι, τίνι πειθεσθαι, τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον, *I have whom I ought to be subject to, whom to obey, God and those who are next after him*, that is, the Supreme and Inferior Gods. So likewise, where he exhorteth not to desire things out of our own power, ἀλλὰ τῷ Διὶ χάρισαι αὐτὰ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἐκείνοις ἅπαντα, ἐκεῖνοι κυβερνάτωσαν, *Let* Jupiter *alone with these things, and the other Gods, deliver them up to be ordered and governed by them.* And so again, where he personates one that places his happiness in those things without him, καθήμαι καὶ στένω, καὶ ὃν δύναμαι λοιδορῶ, τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας, *I then shall sit lamenting, and speaking evil of every one, even* Jupiter *himself and the other Gods.*

Anton. p. 125. Ant. p. 257. Anton. L. 7. §. 7. L. 2. c. 18. Epict. p. 251. L. 4. c. 12. L. 2. c. 17.

And it must in reason be supposed, that *this Jupiter* or *Universal Numen* of the World, was honoured by these Stoicks far above all their other Particular Gods; he being acknowledged by them to have been the *Maker* or *Creator* of them as well as the whole World; and the only Eternal and Immortal God: all those other Gods, as hath been already declared, being as well Corruptible, Mortal, and Annihilable; as they were *Generated* or *Created.* For though *Cicero*'s *Lucilius Balbus*, where he pretends to represent the Doctrine of the Stoicks, attribute the Very First Original of the World to a *Plurality of Gods*, in these words, *Dico igitur* Providentiâ Deorum, *Mundum & omnes Mundi partes, & initio constitutas esse, & omni tempore administrari*, yet unquestionably *Cicero* forgat himself herein, and

De N. D. l. 2. p. 225. Lamb.

and rather ſpake the Language of ſome other Pagans, who together with the Generation of the World, held indeed a Plurality of *Eternal* (though not *Independent*) Deites, than of the Stoicks; who aſſerted One only *Eternal God*, and ſuppoſed in the Reiterated Conflagrations, all the Gods to be Melted and Confounded into *One*, ſo that *Jupiter* being then left alone, muſt needs make up the World again, as alſo all thoſe other Gods, out of himſelf. And thus does *Zeno* in *Laertius* deſcribe the *Coſmopœia*, τ̀ θεὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς, καθ' αὑτ̀ ὄντα, *That God at Firſt, being alone by himſelf, converted the Fiery Subſtance of the World by degrees into Water*, that is, into a Craſſer *Chaos*; *out of which Water, himſelf afterwards as the Spermatick Reaſon of the World, formed the Elements and whole Mundane Syſtem.* And *Cicero* himſelf elſewhere, in his *De Legibus*, attributes the firſt Original of Mankind cautiouſly, not to the Gods in Common, but to the Supreme God only, *Hoc Animal Providum, &c. quem vocamus Hominem, præclara quadam conditione Generatum eſſe, à SUMMO DEO:* and this, rather according to the Sence of the Stoicks than of the Platoniſts, whoſe Inferiour Generated Gods alſo (being firſt made) were ſuppoſed to have had a ſtroke in the Fabrefaction of Mankind, and other Animals. Thus *Epictetus* plainly aſcribes, the making of the whole World to *God*, or the One *Supreme Deity*, where he mentions the Galileans, that is, the Chriſtians; their Contempt of Death, though imputing it only to Cuſtom in them, and not to right Knowledge, (as *M. Antoninus* likewiſe aſcribes the ſame to ψιλὴ παράταξις, *meer Obſtinacy of Mind*) ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύναταί τις ἅπαξ διατεθῆναι, καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ καὶ ἀποδείξεως ἆρ' ἐᾶς δύναται μαθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποίηκε τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτ̀ τ̀ κόσμον; *Can ſome be ſo affected out of Madneſs, and the Galileans out of Cuſtom? and can none attain thereunto by Reaſon and true Knowledge, namely becauſe God made all things in the World, and the whole World it ſelf Perfect and Unhinderable; but the parts thereof, for the uſe of the Whole, ſo that the Parts ought therefore to yield and give place to the whole.* Thus does he again elſewhere demand, τ̀ ἥλιον τίς πεποίηκε, καρπὸς δὲ τίς; &c. *Who made the Sun? Who the Fruits of the Earth? Who the Seaſons of the Year? Who the agreeable Fitneſs of things? Wherefore thou having received all from another, even thy very ſelf, doſt thou murmur and complain againſt the Donor of them, if he take away any one thing from thee? Did he not bring thee into the World? ſhew thee the Light? beſtow Senſe and Reaſon upon thee?* Now the Sun was the chief of the Inferiour Stoical Gods, and therefore he being made by another, all the Reſt of their Gods muſt needs be ſo too. And thus is it plainly expreſſed in this following Citation, εἴ τις τοῖς δόγμασι τούτῳ συμπαθῆσαι κατ' ἀξίαν δύναιτο, ὅτι γεγόναμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντες προηγουμένως, καὶ ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἐστι τοῦ τ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἀγεννὲς, οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν ἐνθυμηθείη περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· *If any one could be throughly ſenſible of this that we are all made by God, and that as Principal Parts of the World, and that God is the Father both of Men and Gods, he would never think meanly of himſelf, knowing that he is the Son of Jupiter alſo.* Where θεὸς is plainly put for the *Supreme God*, and θεοὶ for the *Inferiour Gods only*. Again he thus attributes the Making of Man and Government of the whole World to God or *Jupiter* only. ὁ θεὸς πάντας

L. 11. §. 3.

L. 4. c. 7.

L. 1. c. 3.

L. 3. c. 24. τας ἀνθρώπους ὅτι τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐποίησε, &c. τιὼ ὃ ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, ὥσπερ ἄξιον ἦν κηδόμενον ἡμῶν, καὶ πατρικῶς προϊσάμενον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις· *God made all men to this End, that they might be happy, and as became him who had a Fatherly care of us, he placed our Good and Evil in those things which are in our own power.* And τῷ ὄντι κακῶς διοικεῖται τὰ ὅλα, εἰ μὴ ἐπιμελεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείας, ἵν' ὦσιν ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ εὐδαίμονες, *Things would not be well governed, if* Jupiter *took no care of his own Citizens, that they also might be happy like himself.*

L. 3. c. 24.

And that these Stoicks did indeed Religiously Worship and Honour, the Supreme God above all their other Gods, may appear from sundry Instances. As first, from their acknowledging him to be the Soveraign Legislator, and professing Subjection and Obedience to his Laws, accounting this to be their Greatest Liberty. Thus *Epictetus,*

L. 1. c. 7. εἰς ἐμὲ οὐδεὶς ἐξουσίαν ἔχει, ἠλευθέρωμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔγνωκα αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς, ἕως ἔτι οὐδεὶς δουλαγωγῆσαί με δύναται· *No man hath power over me, I am made free by God* (by becoming his Subject) *I know his Commandments, and no man can bring me under bondage to himself.*

L. 3. c. 5. And again, ταῦτα ὅπως τί οὐ θέλω εὑρεθῆναι, ἵν' ἐπεὶν δύναμαι τῷ Θεῷ, μήτι παρέβην σου τὰς ἐντολὰς; &c. *These things, would I be found employing myself about, that I may be able to say to God; Have I transgressed any of thy Commandments? have I used my Faculties and Anticipations (or Common Notions) otherwise than thou requiredst?*

Again from their acknowledging Him to be the Supreme Governour of the whole World, and the Orderer of all things in it by his Fate and Providence, and their professing to submit their Wills to his Will in every thing; *Epictetus* somewhere thus bespeaks the Supreme God, μήτι ἐμεμψάμην σου τὴν διοίκησιν; ἐνόσησα ὅτι ἐθέλησας, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἑκών· πένης ἐγενόμην σοῦ θέλοντος ἀλλὰ χαίρων· οὐκ ἦρξα, ὅτι σὺ οὐκ ἠθέλησας, ὀδεπότ' ὤρεγόμενος ἀρχῆς· μήτι με τότε ἕνεκα συγνότερον εἶδες; μὴ δ' προσῆλθόν σοι φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, ἕτοιμος ἔτι ἐπιτάσσῃς, ἔτι σημαίνεις; νῦν με θέλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως; ἄπειμι· χάριν σοι ἔχω πᾶσαν, ὅτι ἠξίωσάς με συμπανηγυρίσαι σοι, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἔργα τὰ σά, καὶ τῇ διοικήσει σου συμπαρακολουθῆσαι· ταῦτα με εὑρόντα, ταῦτα γράφοντα, ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκοντα καταλάβοι ἂν θάνατος· *Did I ever complain of thy Government? I was sick when thou wouldst have me to be, and so are others, but I was so willingly. I was poor also at thy appointment, but Rejoycing; I never bore any Magistracy or had any Dignity, because thou wouldst not have me, and I never desired it. Didst thou ever see me the more Dejected or Melancholy for this? Have I appeared before thee at any time with a Discontented Countenance? Was I not always prepared and ready for whatsoever thou requiredst? Wilt thou now have me to depart out of this Festival Solemnity? I am ready to go; and I render thee all thanks, for that thou hast honoured me so far, as to let me keep the Feast with thee, and behold thy works, and observe thy Oeconomy of the world. Let Death seize upon me no otherwise employed, than thus thinking and writing of such things.* He likewise exhorts others after this

L. 2. c. 16. manner, τόλμησον ἀναβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρῶ μοι λοιπὸν εἰς ὃ ἂν θέλῃς, ὁμογνωμονῶ σοι, ἴσος εἰμί· οὐδὲν ἀποδοκιμάζομαι τῶν σοι δοκούντων, ὅπου θέλεις ἄγε, ἵν' θέλῃς εἰσῆλθον ἀπόδες, ἄρχειν με θέλεις, ἰδιωτεύειν, μένειν, φεύγειν,

φεύγειν, πένεσθαι, πλουτεῖν; ἐγὼ σοι ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τούτων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολογήσομαι, λέξω τῷ ἑκάστου φύσιν οἵα ἐστίν. *Dare to lift up thine eyes to God and say, Use me hereafter to whatsoever thou pleaseſt. I agree and am of the ſame mind with thee, indifferent to all things. I refuſe nothing that ſhall ſeem good to thee. Lead me whither thou pleaseſt. Let me act what part thou wilt, either of a Publick or Private perſon, of a Rich man or a Begger. I will apologize for thee as to all theſe things before men. And I will alſo ſhew the Nature of every one of them.*

The ſame is likewiſe manifeſt from their Pretenſions to *look to God*, and *referr all to him*; expecting aid and aſſiſtance from him, and placing their Confidence in him. Thus alſo *Epictetus*, Καλῶ μὲν ἔχω ταύτῃ ὑποβολὴ ἀποτελέσαι ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρους, εὐδαιμονοῦντας, εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀφορῶντας, ἐν παντὶ μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ· *My deſign is this, to render you free and undiſturbed, always looking at God, as well in every ſmall, as greater Matter.* Again the ſame Stoick concludes, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἐκβαλεῖν λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, &c. εἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνον τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέποντα, ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ προσπεπονθότα, τοῖς ἐκείνου προσταγμασι καθωσιωμένον· *A man will never be able otherwiſe to expel Grief, Fear, Deſire, Envy, &c. than by looking to God alone, and being devoted to him, and the obſervance of his Commandments.* And he affirmeth of *Hercules*, that this great piece of Piety was ſo long ſince obſerved by him, ὁ Διὰ αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐκάλει, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀφορῶν ἔπραττε ἃ ἔπραττε· *that as he called* Jupiter, *or the Supreme God, his Father, ſo did he whatſoever he did, looking at him.* Thus *M. Antoninus* ſpeaketh of a Double Relation that we all have; One πρὸς τοὺς συμβιοῦντας, *to thoſe that live with us*, and another πρὸς τὸν θείαν αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς συμβαίνει πᾶσιν πάντα, *to that Divine Cauſe, from which all things happen to all.* As likewiſe he affirmeth ὅτι ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἀνὰ τὸ ὅτι τοῦ θεῖα συναναφορᾶς δεῖται πράξεως, *That no Humane thing is well done without a Reference to God.* And he excellently exhorteth men, ἐνὶ τέρπου, καὶ προσαναπαύου, τῷ ἀπὸ πράξεως κοινωνικῆς μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν κοινωνικὴν σὺν μνήμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ· *To be delighted and ſatisfied with this one thing; in doing one action after another, tending to a Common Good, or the good of Humane Society; together with the Remembrance of God.* Laſtly he declareth his own Confidence in the Supreme Deity in theſe words, θαῤῥῶ τῷ διοικοῦντι, *I truſt and rely upon the Governour of the whole World.*

L. 2. c. 19.

L. 2. c. 16.

L. 3. c. 24.

L. 8. §. 23.

L. 3. §. 11.

L. 6. §. 5.

L. 6. §. 8.

This may be concluded alſo from their *Thanking the One Supreme God for all*, as the Authour of all good, and delightfully Celebrating his Praiſes. *Epictetus* declares it to be the Duty of a Good man, χάριν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ πάντων τῷ θεῷ, *To thank God for all things.* And elſewhere he ſpeaketh thus, εἰ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἀλλό τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, ἢ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, ἢ ὑμνεῖν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ εὐφημεῖν, καὶ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τοὺς χάριτας; οὐκ ἔδει καὶ σκάπτοντας, καὶ ἀρῶντας, καὶ ἐσθίοντας, ἆδειν τὸν ὕμνον τὸν εἰς τὸν θεόν; μέγας ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἡμῖν παρέσχεν ὄργανα ταῦτα, δι' ὧν τὴν γῆν ἐργασόμεθα· μέγας ὁ θεὸς ὅτι χεῖρας ἔδωκεν, &c. ὅτι αὔξεσθαι λελήθοτως, ὅτι καθεύδοντας ἀναπνεῖν· ταῦτα ἐφ' ἑκάστου εὐφημεῖν ἔδει, καὶ τὸν μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον ὕμνον ἐφυμνεῖν, ὅτι τὴν δύναμιν ἔδωκε τὴν συνεργητικὴν τούτων· τί οὖν; &c. εἰ γὰρ ἀηδόνα ἤμην, ἐποίουν τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνος, εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου, νῦν δὲ λογικός εἰμι, ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸν θεόν. *Had we underſtanding, what ſhould we do elſe, but both Publickly*

L. 4. c. 7.

L. 1. c. 16.

publickly and privately praiſe God, bleſs him, and return thanks to him? Ought not they who dig, plow, and eat, continually ſing ſuch a Hymn to God as this; Great is that God, who gave us theſe Organs to cultivate the earth withal; Great is that God who gave us hands, &c. who enabled us to grow undiſcernibly, to breath in our ſleep. But the Greateſt and Divineſt Hymn of all is this, to praiſe God for the Faculty of Underſtanding all theſe things. What then if for the moſt part men be blinded, ought there not to be ſome One, who ſhould perform this office, and ſing a Hymn to God for all? If I were a Nightingale I would perform the office of a Nightingale, or a Swan, that of a Swan; but now being a Reaſonable Creature, I ought to celebrate and ſing aloud the praiſes of God, that is, of the Supreme Deity.

Laſtly the ſame is evident; from their *Invoking the Supreme God* as ſuch, addreſſing their Devotions to him alone without the Con-
L.2.c.18. junction of any other Gods; and particularly imploring his *Aſſiſtance* againſt the Aſſaults of *Temptations*, called by them *Phancies*. To this purpoſe is that of *Epictetus*, μέγας ὁ ἀγών ἐστι, θεῖον τὸ ἔργον, ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, τοῦ θεοῦ μέμνησο, ἐκεῖνον ἐπικαλοῦ βοηθὸν καὶ συλλήπτορα, ὡς τοὺς Διοσκόρους ἐν χειμῶνι οἱ πλέοντες· *This is a great Conflict or Contention, a Divine Enterprize, it is for Liberty and for a Kingdom. Now remember the Supreme God; call upon him as thy Helper and Aſſiſtant, as the Mariners do upon* Caſtor *and* Pollux *in a Tempeſt.* He commends alſo this Form of Devotional Addreſs, or Divine Ejaculation, which was part of *Cleanthes* his Litany, to be uſed frequently upon occaſion, Ἄγε δή με ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σὺ ἡ πεπρωμένη ὅποι ποθ' (ὑμῖν) ἐμὶ διατεταγμένος, ὡς ἕψομαί γε ἀόκνως· ἂν δ' ὀκνῶ γε μὴ θέλων, ἔσθ' ὅτε κακὸς ἕψομαι· *Lead me, O* Jupiter, *and Thou Fate, whitherſoever I am by you deſtin'd: and I will readily and chearfully follow; who though I were never ſo reluctant yet muſt needs follow.* Where *Jupiter* and Fate are really but one and the ſame Supreme Deity, under two ſeveral Names. And therefore the Sence of this Devotional Ejaculation,
*Ep.*106. was no leſs truly and faithfully, than Elegantly thus rendered by *Seneca*;

Duc me Parens, Celſique Dominator Poli,
Quocunque placuit, nulla parendi eſt mora,
Aſſum impiger; fac nolle, comitabor Gemens,
Maluſque patiar, quod pati licuit bono.

But becauſe many are ſo extremely unwilling to believe, that the Pagans ever made any *Religious Addreſs* to the *Supreme God* as ſuch; we ſhall here ſet down an *Excellent* and *Devout Hymn* of the ſame *Cleanthes* to him: the rather becauſe it hath been but little taken notice of. And the more to gratifie the Reader, we ſhall ſubjoyn an Elegant Tranſlation thereof into Latin Verſe; which he muſt owe to the Muſe of my Learned Friend Dr. *Duport*.

*Steph. Poeſ. Philoſ p.*49.

Κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεί,
Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μετὰ πάντα κυβερνῶν,
χαῖρε. σὲ γὰρ πᾶσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαυδᾶν·

Ἐκ

Ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, ἴσχω μίμημα λαχόντες
Μοῦνον, ὅσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει θνητὰ γαῖαν.
Τῷ σε καθυμνήσω καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν ἀείσω.
Σοὶ δὲ πᾶς ὅδε κόσμος ἑλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν
Πείθεται, ἦκεν ἄγῃς, καὶ ἑκὼν ὑπὸ σεῖο κρατεῖται.
Τοῖον ἔχεις ὑπουργὸν ἀνικήτοις ὑπὸ χερσὶν
Ἀμφήκη πυρόεντα, ἀειζώοντα κεραυνόν·
Τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλήγης φύσεως πάντ' ἐρρίγασι,
Ὧ σὺ κατευθύνεις κοινὸν λόγον, ὃς διὰ πάντων
Φοιτᾷ μιγνύμενος·
Ὅς τόσσος μεγαλῶν ὕπατος βασιλεύς διὰ παντὸς·
Οὐδέ τι γίγνεται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ σοῦ δίχα δαίμων,
Οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῖον πόλον, ὅστ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ,
Πλὴν ὁπόσα ῥέξῃσι κακοὶ σφετέρῃσιν ἀνοίαις.
Καὶ κοσμεῖς τὰ ἄκοσμα καὶ οἱ φίλα σοὶ φίλα ἔστιν.
Ὧδε γὰρ εἰς ἓν πάντα συνήρμοκας ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν,
Ὥσθ' ἕνα γίνεσθαι πάντων λόγον αἰὲν ἐόντων.
Ὃν φεύγοντες ἐῶσιν ὅσοι θνητοῖσι κακοί εἰσιν,
Δύσμοροι, ὅσσ' ἀγαθῶν μοῖραν ἀεὶ κτῆσιν ποθέοντες,
Οὔτ' ἐσορῶσι θεοῦ κοινὸν νόμον, ὅττε κλύοντες·
Ὧ κεν πειθόμενοι σὺν νῷ βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν·
Αὐτοὶ δ' αὖ ὁρμῶσιν ἄνδυ καλοῦ ἄλλοσ' ἐπ' ἄλλα
Οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης στασιώδεα δυσερίσιον ἔχοντες,
Οἱ δ' ὅτι κερδοσύνας τετραμμένοι ὀδεινὴ κόσμῳ,
Ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἄνεσιν, καὶ σώματος ἡδέα ἔργα,
Ἀλλὰ Ζεῦ πάνδωρε, κελαινεφὲς, ἀργικέραυνε,
Ἀνθρώπου ῥῦσαι ἀπειροσύνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς,
Ἣν σὺ πάτερ σκέδασον ψυχῆς ἀπὸ, δὸς δὲ κυρῆσαι
Γνώμης, ᾗ πίσυνος σὺ δίκης μετὰ πάντα κυβερνᾷς·
Ὄφρ' ἂν τιμηθέντες ἀμειβώμεθά σε τιμῇ,
Ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκὲς, ὡς ἐπέοικε
Θνητὸν ἐόντα· ἐπεὶ οὔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλοτε μεῖζον,
Οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινὸν ἀεὶ νόμον εὖ δίκῃ ὑμνεῖν.

Magne Pater Divûm, cui Nomina Multa, ſed Una
Omnipotens ſemper Virtus, Tu Jupiter *Autor*
Naturæ, certâ qui ſingula lege gubernas!
Rex ſalve. Te nempe licet Mortalibus ægris
Cunctis compellare; omnes tua namque propago
Nos ſumus, æternæ quaſi Imago vocis & Echo
Tantum, quotquot humi ſpirantes repimus; Ergo
Te cantabo, tuum & robur ſine fine celebrans.
Quippe tuo hic totus, terram qui circuit, orbis
Paret (quoquo agis) imperio, ac obtemperat ultrò.
Invictis Telum manibus tibi tale miniſtrum,
Anceps, ignitum, haud moriturum denique fulmen.
Ictu etenim illius tota & natura tremiſcit;
Illo & Communem Rationem dirigis, & quæ
Mundi agitat Molem, magno ſe corpore miſcens:
Tantus Tu rerum Dominus, Rectorque Supremus.
Nec ſine Te factum in terris, Deus, aut opus ullum,

Æthere

Æthere nec dio fit, nec per cærula ponti,
Errore acta suo, nisi quæ gens impia patrat.
Confusa in sese, Tu dirigis ordine certo;
Auspice Te ingratis & inest sua gratia rebus;
Fælice harmonia, Tu scilicet, omnia in Unum
Sic Bona mixta Malis compingis, ut una resurgat
Cunctorum Ratio communis & usque perennans:
Quam refugit, spernitque hominum mens læva malorum.
Heu Miseri! bona qui quærunt sibi semper & optant,
Divinam tamen hanc Communem & denique Legem,
Nec spectare oculis, nec fando attendere curant:
Cui si parerent poterant traducere vitam
Cum ratione & mente bonam: nunc sponte feruntur
In mala præcipites, trahit & sua quemque voluptas.
Hunc agit ambitio, laudisque immensa cupido,
Illum & avarities, & amor vesanus habendi,
Blanda libido alium, Venerisque licentia dulcis:
Sic aliò tendunt alii in diversa ruentes.
At Tu, Jupiter *alme, tonans in nubibus atris,*
Da sapere, & mentem miseris mortalibus aufer
Insanam, hanc Tu pelle Pater; da apprendere posse
Consilium, fretus quo Tu omnia rite gubernas:
Nos ut honorati pariter, tibi demus honorem,
Perpetuis tua facta hymnis præclara canentes,
Ut fas est homini; nec enim mortalibus ullum,
Nec Superis, majus poterit contingere donum,
Quam canere æterno Communem carmine Legem.

XXVI. It would be endless now to cite all the Testimonies of other Philosophers and Pagan Writers of Latter Times, concerning One Supreme and Universal *Numen*. Wherefore we shall content our selves only to instance in some of the most remarkable, beginning with *M. Tull. Cicero*. Whom though some would suspect to have been a *Sceptick* as to *Theism*, because in his *De Natura Deorum*, he brings in *Cotta* the *Academick*, as well opposing *Q. Lucil. Balbus* the *Stoick*, as *C. Velleius* the *Epicurean*; yet from sundry other places of his writings, it sufficiently appears, that he was a Dogmatick and Hearty Theist, as for example, this in his second Book *De Divin. Esse præstantem aliquam, Æternamque naturam, & eam suspiciendam admirandamque hominum generi, Pulchritudo Mundi, ordoque rerum Cœlestium cogit confiteri*; *That there is some Most Excellent and Eternal Nature, which is to be admired and honoured by mankind, the Pulchritude of the World, and the order of the Heavenly Bodies compell us to confess.* And this in his Oration *De Haruspicum responsis*; *Quis est tam vecors, qui cum suspexerit in Cœlum, Deos esse non sentiat, & ea quæ tanta Mente fiunt, ut vix quisquam Arte ulla, Ordinem rerum ac Vicissitudinem persequi possit, casu fieri putet? Who is so mad or stupid, as when he looks up to Heaven, is not presently convinced that there are Gods? or can perswade himself, that those things which are made with so much Mind and Wisdom, as that no humane skill is able to reach and comprehend the artifice and contrivance of them, did all happen by chance?* To which purpose

poſe more places will be afterwards cited. However in his Philoſophick Writings, it is certain that he affected to follow the way of the New Academy, ſet on foot by *Carneades*, that is, to write Sceptically, partly upon Prudential accounts, and partly for other Reaſons intimated by himſelf in theſe words, *Qui requirunt quid quaque de re ipſi ſentiamus, curioſiùs id faciunt quam neceſſe eſt. Non enim tam Authoritatis in diſputando quam Rationis momenta quærenda ſunt. Quinetiam obeſt plerumque iis qui diſcere volunt, Auctoritas eorum qui ſe docere profitentur. Deſinunt enim ſuum judicium adhibere, idque habent ratum, quod ab eo quem probant, judicatum vident: They who would needs know, what we our ſelves think concerning every thing, are more curious than they ought, becauſe Philoſophy is not ſo much a matter of Authority as of Reaſon; and the Authority of thoſe who profeſs to teach, is oftentimes an hindrance to the Learners, they neglecting by that means to uſe their own Judgment, ſecurely taking that for granted, which is judged by another whom they value.* Nevertheleſs *Cicero* in the Cloſe of this diſcourſe *De Natura Deorum* (as St. *Auſtin alſo obſerveth*) plainly declares himſelf to be more propenſe and inclinable to the Doctrine of *Balbus* than either that of *Velleius* or *Cotta*, that is, though he did not aſſent to the *Stoical Doctrine* or *Theology* in every Point (himſelf being rather a *Platoniſt* than a *Stoick*) yet he did much prefer it before not only the *Epicureiſm* of *Velleius*, but alſo the *Scepticiſm* of *Cotta*. Wherefore *Auguſtinus Steuchus* and other Learned men, quarrel with ſundry paſſages of *Cicero*'s upon another account, not as *Atheiſtical*, but as ſeeming to favour a Multitude of *Independent Gods*; he ſometimes attributing not only the Government of the World, and the making of Mankind, but alſo the firſt *Conſtitution* and *Fabrick* of the *whole World*, to *Gods* Plurally. As when he writeth thus, *Ut perpetuus Mundi eſſet ornatus, magna adhibita cura eſt à Providentia Deorum; For the perpetual adorning of the World, great care hath been taken, by the Providence of the Gods:* And *A Diis Immortalibus Hominibus proviſum eſſe, &c. That the Immortal Gods have provided for the Convenience of Mankind, appears from the very Fabrick and Figure of them:* And that place before cited, *Dico igitur Providentia Deorum, Mundum & omnes Mundi partes initio conſtitutas eſſe, I ſay that the World and all its parts were at firſt conſtituted by the Providence of the Gods.* And Laſtly, where he ſtates the Controverſie of that Book *De N. D.* thus; *Utrum Dii nihil agant, nihil moliantur? An contrà ab His, & à Principio Omnia facta, & conſtituta ſint, & ad infinitum tempus regantur atque moveantur? Whether the Gods do nothing at all, but are void of care and trouble? or whether all things were at firſt Made and Conſtituted, and ever ſince are Moved and Governed by them?* Notwithſtanding which it is Evident that this Learned Orator and Philoſopher, plainly acknowledged the *Monarchy of the Whole*, or *One Supreme and Univerſal Numen* over all. And that firſt from his ſo often uſing the word God in the Singular, Emphatically and by way of Eminency; as *Ipſi Deo nihil minus gratum, quàm non omnibus patere ad ſe Placandum & Colendum viam; Nothing can be leſs grateful to God himſelf, than that there ſhould not be a liberty open to all* (by reaſon of the Coſtlineſs of Sacrifices) *to worſhip and appeaſe him*; And *Niſi juvante Deo, ta-*

De N. D. L. 1.

De N. D. 123.

P. 195. Lamb.

2 Leg. p. 335.

D. N. D. L. 2.

les

les non fuerunt Curius, Fabricius, *&c.* Curius *and* Fabricius *had never been such menas they were, had it not been for the Divine assistance.*
pro S. Ros. Again, *Commoda quibus utimur, Lucemque quâ fruimur, Spiritumque quem ducimus, à Deo nobis dari atque impertiri videmus, We must needs acknowledge that the benefits of this life, the light which we enjoy, and the spirit which we breath, are imparted to us from God.* And to mention no more, in his Version of *Plato's Timæus, Deos alios in Terra, alios in Luna, alios in reliquas mundi partes spargens Deus quasi serebat, God distributing Gods to all the parts of the World, did as it were sow some Gods in the Earth, some in the Moon,* &c. Moreover by his making such descriptions of God as plainly imply his *Oneness*
P. 556. Lamb. *and Singularity,* as in his *Orat. pro Milone, Est, est profectò Illa Vis; neque in his Corporibus atque in hac Imbecillitate nostrâ, inest quiddam quod vigeat & sentiat, & non inest in hoc tanto Naturæ tamque præclaro motu. Nisi fortè idcirco esse non putant, quia non apparet nec cernitur: proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua hæc ipsa agimus & dicimus, videre, aut planè qualis & ubi sit, sentire possumus: There is, there is certainly, such a divine Force in the world; neither is it reasonable to think, that in these gross and frail Bodies of ours, there should be something which hath Life, Sense and Understanding, and yet no such thing in the whole Universe; unless men will therefore conclude, that there is none, because they see it not; as if we could see our own mind (whereby we order and dispose all things and whereby we reason and speak thus) and perceive what kind of thing it is and where it is lodged.* Where, as there is a strong asseveration of the Existence of a *God,* so is his *Singularity* plainly implied, in that he supposes him to be *One Mind* or *Soul* acting and governing the whole World, as our
L. 1. p. 126. Mind doth our Body. Again in his Tusculan Questions, *Nec verò Deus ipse alio modo intelligi potest, nisi Mens Soluta quædam, & Libera, segregata ab omni Concretione mortali, omnia sentiens & movens; Neither can God himself be understood by us otherwise, than as a certain Loose and Free Mind, segregated from all mortal Concretion, which both*
Tusc. Q. L. 1. p. 126. *perceives and moves all things.* So again in the same Book, *Hæc igitur & alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel Effector, si hæc nata sunt ut* Platoni *videtur; vel si semper fuerint ut* Aristoteli *placet, Moderator tanti operis & muneris? When we behold these and other wonderful works of* Nature, *can we at all doubt, but that there presideth over them, either One Maker of all, if they had a beginning as* Plato *conceiveth; or else if they always were as*
P. 343. Aristotle *supposeth, One Moderator and Governour?* And in the Third *De Legibus, Sine Imperio nec Domus ulla, nec Civitas, nec Gens, nec Hominum universum Genus stare, nec rerum Natura omnis, nec ipse Mundus potest. Nam & hic Deo paret, & huic obediunt Maria Terræque, & hominum vita jussis supremæ legis obtemperat: Without Government, neither any House, nor City, nor Nation, nor Mankind in general, nor the whole Nature of things, nor the World it self could subsist. For This also obeyeth God, and the Seas and Earth are subject to him, and the Life of man is disposed of, by the Commands of the Supreme*
Tusc. Q. L 1. *Law.* Elsewhere he speaks of *Dominans ille nobis Deus, qui nos vetat hinc injussu suo demigrare, That God who rules over all Mankind and*
De Div. *forbids them to depart hence without his lieve.* Of *Deus, cujus numini parent*

parent omnia, That God, whose Divine Power all things obey. We read also in *Cicero*, of *Summus* or *Supremus Deus, the Supreme God*, to whom the First making of Man is properly imputed by him; of *Summi Rectoris & Domini Numen, The Divine Power of the Supreme Lord and Governour*; of *Deus præpotens*, and *Rerum omnium præpotens* Jupiter, *The most Powerful God*, and Jupiter *who hath power over all things*; of *Princeps ille Deus, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, sicut Animus humanus id corpus cui præpositus est, That Chief or Principal God, who governs the whole world in the same manner as a Humane Soul governeth that Body which it is set over.* Wherefore as for those Passages before objected, where the Government of the World, as to the concernments of Mankind at least, is ascribed by *Cicero* to *Gods Plurally*, this was done by him and other Pagans, upon no other account but only this, because the Supreme God was not supposed by them to do all things himself immediatly in the Government of the World, but to assign certain Provinces to other *Inferiour Gods*, as Ministers under him, which therefore sharing in the Oeconomy of the World, were look'd upon as *Co-governours* thereof with him. Thus when *Balbus* in *Cicero* to excuse some seeming defects of Providence, in the Prosperities of wicked and the Adversities of good men, pretended, *Non animadvertere omnia Deos, nè Reges quidem, That the Gods did not attend to all things, as neither do Kings*, *Cotta* amongst other things replied thus; *Fac Divinam Mentem esse distentam, Cœlum versantem, terram tuentem, maria moderantem, cur tam multos Deos nihil agere & cessare patitur? Cur non rebus humanis aliquos otiosos Deos præfecit, qui à te* Balbe *Innumerabiles explicati sunt? Should it be granted, that the Divine Mind (or Supreme Deity) were distracted with turning round the Heavens, observing the Earth, and Governing the Seas, yet why does he let so many other Gods to do nothing at all? Or why does he not appoint some of those Idle Gods over Humane affairs, which according to* Balbus *and the Stoicks are innumerable?* Again when the *Immortal Gods* are said by *Cicero* to have *Provided for the convenience of Mankind in their First Constitution*, this doubtless is to be understood according to the *Platonick Hypothesis*, that the *Gods and Demons* being first made, by the *Supreme God*, were set a work and employed by him afterward in the making of man and other mortal Animals. And lastly, as to that which hath the greatest difficulty of all in it, when the whole World is said by *Cicero* to have been made by the *Providence of the Gods*, this must needs be understood also of *those Eternal Gods* of *Plato's*, according to whose *Likeness* or *Image* the World and Man are said to have been made, that is, of the *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, called by *Amelius*, *Plato's Three Minds* and *Three Kings*, and by others of the Platonists, the *First* and *Second* and *Third God*, and the τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον, and τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον, &c. *The First and Second Cause*, &c. And it may be here observed, what we learn from S. *Cyril*, that some Pagans endeavoured to justifie this Language and Doctrine of theirs, even from the Mosaick Writings themselves, θεοῖς ἑτέροις ὑποτοπησαντες τὸν ἐπὶ ὅλων φᾶναι θεὸν, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον καθ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, *they suspecting, that the God of the Universe being about to make man, did there bespeak the other Gods,* (τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν δευτέροις

Somn. Scip. De Leg. De Div.

Somn. Scip.

De N. D. L. 3.

Contra Jul. L. 1.

ἢ ἐν μέσοιν ἔσι, *which were Secondary and Inferiour to him) after this manner, Let Us make man according to Our own Image and likeneſs.* Which S. *Cyril* and other Chriſtian Writers underſtand of the Trinity. Now thoſe *Eternal Gods* of *Plato*, according to whoſe Image, the World and Man is ſaid by him to have been made, and which (though one of them were properly called the *Demiurgus*) yet had all an *Influence* and *Cauſality* upon the making of it, were (as hath been already obſerved) not ſo many *Independent* and *Self-originated Deities*, but all derived from *One Firſt Principle*. And therefore *Cicero* following *Plato* in this, is not to be ſuſpected upon that account, to have been an Aſſerter of *Many Independent Gods*, or *Partial Creators of the World*; eſpecially ſince in ſo many other places of his Writings, he plainly owns a *Divine Monarchy*.

We paſs from *M. Tullius Cicero*, to *M. Terentius Varro* his Equal, a man famous for *Polymathy* or Multifarious Knowledge, and reputed unqueſtionably (though not the moſt Eloquent, yet) the moſt *Learned of all the Romans*, at leaſt as to *Antiquity*. He wrote One and Forty Books concerning the Antiquities of Humane and Divine things; wherein he tranſcended the Roman *Pontifices* themſelves, and diſcovered their Ignorance as to many points of their Religion. In which Books he diſtinguiſhed Three Kinds of Theology, the Firſt *Mythical* or *Fabulous*, the Second *Phyſical* or *Natural*, and the Laſt *Civil* or *Popular*: The Firſt being moſt accommodate to the *Theatre* or Stage; the Second to the *World* or the Wiſer men in it; the Third to *Cities* or the Generality of the Civilized Vulgar. Which was agreeable alſo to the Doctrine of *Scævola* that Learned *Pontifex*, concerning Three Sorts of Gods, *Poetical*, *Philoſophical* and *Political*. As for the *Mythical* and *Poetical Theology* it was cenſured after this manner by *Varro*,

Aug. de Civ. D. L. 6. c. 5.

In eo ſunt multa contra Dignitatem & Naturam immortalium ficta. In hoc enim eſt ut Deus alius ex capite, alius ex femore ſit, alius ex guttis ſanguinis natus. In hoc ut Dii furati ſint, ut adulteraverint, ut ſervierint homini. Denique in hoc omnia Diis attribuuntur, quæ non modo in hominem, ſed etiam in contemptiſſimum hominem cadere poſſunt: That, according to the Literal Sence, it conteined many things contrary to the Dignity and Nature of Immortal Beings. The Genealogy of one God being derived from the Head, of another from the Thigh, of another from drops of Blood: Some being repreſented as Thieves, others as Adulterers, &c. and all things attributed to the Gods therein that are not only incident to men, but even to the moſt contemptible and flagitious of them. And as for the Second, the *Natural Theology* which is the *True*, this *Varro* conceived to be above the capacity of Vulgar Citizens, and that therefore it was expedient, there ſhould be another Theology calculated, more accommodate for them, and of a middle kind betwixt the *Natural* and the *Fabulous*, which is that which is called *Civil*. For he affirmed,

Aug. Civ. D. L. 4. c. 31.

Multa eſſe vera quæ vulgo ſcire non ſit utile, & quædam quæ tametſi falſa ſint, aliter exiſtimare populum expediat; that there were many things true in Religion, which it was not convenient for the Vulgar to know; and again ſome things which though falſe, yet it was expedient they ſhould be believed by them. As *Scævola* the Roman *Pontifex* in like manner, would not have the Vulgar to know,

that

that the True God had neither Sex, nor Age, nor Bodily Members. *Expedire igitur existimat* (saith St. *Austin* of him) *falli in Religione Civitates, quod dicere etiam in Libris Rerum Divinarum, ipse* Varro *non dubitat*, Scævola *therefore judgeth it expedient that Cities should be deceived in their Religion; which also* Varro *himself doubteth not to affirm in his Books of Divine Things.* Wherefore this *Varro* though disapproving the Fabulous Theology, yet out of a pious design as he conceived, did he endeavour to assert as much as he could, the *Civil Theology*, then received amongst the Romans, and to vindicate the same from Contempt: yet nevertheless so, as that, *Si eam Civitatem novam constitueret, ex Naturæ potiùs Formulâ, Deos & Deorum nomina se fuisse dedicaturum, non dubitet confiteri; If he were to constitute a New* Rome *himself, he doubts not to confess, but that he would dedicate Gods and the Names of Gods after another manner, more agreeably to the Form of Nature or Natural Theology.* Now what *Varro*'s own sence was concerning God, he freely declared in those Books of Divine Things; namely, That he was the *Great Soul and Mind* of the whole World: Thus St. *Austin*, *Hi soli* Varroni *videntur animadvertisse quid esset Deus, qui crediderunt eum esse Animam, Motu ac Ratione mundum gubernantem: These alone seem to* Varro *to have understood what God is, who believed him to be a Soul, governing the whole World by Motion and Reason.* So that *Varro* plainly asserted *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, he erring only in this (as St. *Austin* conceives) that he called him *A Soul*, and not the *Creator of Soul*, or a *Pure and Abstract Mind.* But as *Varro* acknowledged *One Universal Numen*, the Whole *Animated World*, or rather the *Soul* thereof, which also he affirmed to be called by several Names, as in the *Earth Tellus*, in the *Sea Neptune*, and the like; so did he also admit (together with the rest of the Pagans) other Particular Gods, which were to him nothing but *Parts* of the World *Animated* with Souls Superiour to men; *A summo Circuitu cœli, usque ad Circulum Lunæ, æthereas Animas esse Astra ac Stellas, eosque cœlestes Deos, non modo intelligi esse sed etiam videri: Inter Lunæ verò gyrum & nimborum Cacumina Aereas esse Animas, sed eas animo non oculis videri; & vocari Heroas & Lares & Genios: That from the highest Circuit of the heavens to the Sphere of the Moon, there are Ethereal Souls or Animals, the Stars, which are not only understood but also seen to be Celestial Gods: And between the Sphere of the Moon and the Middle Region of the Air, there are Aereal Souls or Animals, which though not seen by our Eyes, yet are discovered by our Mind and called* Heroes, Lares, *and* Genii. So that according to *Varro* the only True Natural Gods, were as himself also determined, *Anima Mundi, ac Partes ejus*, First the great Soul and Mind of the whole world which comprehendeth all; and secondly the Parts of the World Animated superiour to men. Which Gods also he affirmed to be worshipped *Castiùs* more *purely*, and *chastly* without Images, as they were by the first Romans for one hundred and seventy years: he concluding, *qui primi simulachra Deorum populi posuerunt, eos civitatibus suis & metum dempsisse & errorem addidisse: prudenter existimans* (saith St. *Austin*) *Deos facilè posse in Simulachrorum stoliditate contemni: That those Nations who first set up Images of the Gods, did both take away Fear from their Cities and add Error*

Civ. D. L. 4. c. 27.

Civ. D. L. 4. c. 31.

Civ. D. L. 4. c. 5

Civ. D. L. 7. c. 6

De Civ. D. L. 4. c. 31.

Errour to them: he wisely Judging, that the Foppery of Images, would easily render their Gods contemptible.

L. Annæus Seneca the Philosopher, was contemporary with our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, who, though frequently acknowledging a *Plurality* of *Gods*, did nevertheless plainly assert *One Supreme*, he not only speaking of him *Singularly*, and by way of Eminency, but also plainly describing him as such; as when he calls him, *Formatorem Universi; Rectorem & Arbitrum & Custodem Mundi; Ex quo suspensa sunt omnia; Animum ac Spiritum Universi; Mundani hujus operis Dominum & Artificem; Cui nomen omne convenit; Ex quo nata sunt omnia; Cujus Spiritu vivimus; Totum suis partibus inditum, & se sustinentem sua vi; Cujus Consilio huic mundo providetur, ut inconcussus eat, & actus suos explicet; Cujus Decreto omnia fiunt; Divinum Spiritum per omnia maxima & minima æquali intentione diffusum; Deum potentem omnium; Deum illum maximum potentissimumque, qui ipse vehit omnia; Qui ubique & omnibus præsto est; Cœli & Deorum omnium Deum, a quo ista Numina quæ singula adoramus & colimus, suspensa sunt*; and the like: *The Framer and Former of the Universe; the Governour, Disposer and keeper thereof; Him upon whom all things depend; The Mind and Spirit of the World; The Artificer and Lord of this whole Mundane Fabrick; To whom every name belongeth; From whom all things spring; By whose Spirit we live; Who is in all his parts and sustaineth himself by his own force; By whose Counsel the World is provided for, and carried on in its Course constantly and uninterruptedly; By whose Decree all things are done; The Divine Spirit that is diffused through all things both great and small with equal Intention; The God whose power extends to all things; The Greatest and most Powerful God who doth himself support and uphold all things; Who is present every where to all things; The God of Heaven and of all the Gods, upon whom are suspended all those other Divine Powers, which we singly worship and adore.*

Nat. Q. L. 2. c. 45.

P. 442. Lips.

Moreover we may here observe from St. *Austin*, that this *Seneca* in a Book of his, against Superstitions (that is now lost) did not only Highly extol the *Natural Theology*, but also plainly censure and condemn the *Civil Theology* then received amongst the Romans, and that with more Freedom and Vehemency, than *Varro* had done the *Fabulous* or *Theatrical* and *Poetical Theology*. Concerning a great part whereof he pronounced, that a wise man would observe such things, *tanquam Legibus jussa, non tanquam Diis grata, only as commanded by the Laws* (he therein exercising Civil Obedience) *but not at all, as Grateful to the Gods.*

Civ. D. L. 6. c. 10.

M. Fabius Quintilianus, though no admirer of *Seneca*, yet fully agreed with him in the same *Natural Theology*, and sets down this, as the generally received Notion or Definition of God, *Deum esse Spiritum omnibus partibus immistum, That God is a Spirit mingled with and diffused through all the parts of the World*; he from thence inferring *Epicurus* to be an Atheist, notwithstanding that he verbally asserted Gods, because he denyed a God according to this Generally received Notion, he bestowing upon his Gods a circumscribed humane form, and placing them between the Worlds. And the Junior *Pliny* though

L. 7. c. 3.

though he were a Persecutor of the Christians, he concluding, *quale-cunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certè & inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri, that whatsoever their Religion were, yet notwithstanding their Stubbornness and Inflexible Obstinacy ought to be punished,* and who compelled many of them to worship the Images of the Emperour, and to sacrifice and pray to the Statues of the Pagan Gods, and lastly to blaspheme Christ; yet himself plainly acknowledged also One Supreme Universal Numen, as may sufficiently appear from his Panegyrick Oration to *Trajan*, where he is called *Deus ille, qui manifestus ac præsens Cœlum ac Sydera insidet; that God who is present with, and inhabits the whole Heaven and Stars**; himself making a Solemn Prayer and Supplication to him, both in the beginning and close thereof, and sometimes speaking of him therein Singularly and in way of Eminency; as in these words, *Occultat utrorumque Semina Deus, & plerumque Bonorum Malorumq; Causæ, sub diversâ specie latent: God hideth the Seeds of good and evil, so that the causes of each often appear disguised to men.* *L. Apuleius* also, whose pretended Miracles the Pagans endeavoured to confirm their Religion by, as well as they did by those of *Apollonius*, doth in sundry places of his writings, plainly assert *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, we shall only here set down one, *Cum Summus Deorum, cuncta hæc non solùm cogitationum ratione consideret; sed Prima, Media, & Ultima obeat; compertaque intimæ Providentiæ ordinationis universitate & Constantia regat; Since the Highest of the Gods, does not only consider all these things in his mind and Cogitation, but also pass through and comprehend within himself the Beginning Middle and End of all things, and constantly Govern all by his occult Providence.* Lastly *Symmachus*, who was a zealous Stickler for the Restitution of Paganism, declared the Pagans to worship One and the same God with the Christians, but in several ways, he conceiving, that there was no necessity God should be worshipped by all after the same manner. *Æquum est, quicquid omnes colunt, UNUM putari: Eadem spectamus Astra; Commune Cœlum est; Idem nos Mundus involvit: Quid interest, qua quisque prudentia Verum requirat? Uno Itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande Secretum: We ought in reason to think, that it is One and the same Thing, which all men worship: As we all behold the same Stars, have the same Common Heaven, and are involved within the same World. Why may not men pursue One and the same thing in different ways? One Path is not enough to lead men to so Grand a Secret.* The Sence whereof is thus elegantly expressed by *Prudentius*.

Ep. 97.

*And *Mundi Parens*, and *Parens Hominum Deorumque.*

De Philos. p. 278. Colo.

P. 306.

Uno omnes sub sole siti, vegetamur eodem
Aere, Communis cunctis viventibus Aura.
Sed quid sit qualisque Deus, diversa secuti
Quærimus; atque Viis longè distantibus Unum
Imus ad Occultum; *suus est mos cuique genti,*
Per quod iter properans, eat ad tam Grande Profundum.

P. 285.

And again afterward,

P. 308.

Secretum sed grande nequit Rationis opertæ

Quæri

Quæri aliter, quàm si ſparſis via multiplicetur
Tramitibus, & centenos terat orbita calles,
Quæſitura Deum variata indage latentem.

And the beginning of *Prudentius* his Confutation is this,

Longè aliud verum eſt. Nam multa ambago viarum
Anfractus dubios habet, & perplexius errat.
Sola errore caret ſimplex via, neſcia flecti
In diverticulum, biviis nec pluribus anceps, &c.

We ſhall now inſtance alſo in ſome of the *Latter Greek Writers.* Though the Author of the Book *De Mundo*, were not *Ariſtotle*, yet that he was a Pagan, plainly appears from ſome paſſages thereof, as where he approves of *Sacrificing to the Gods*, and of *Worſhipping Heroes and Dead men*; as alſo becauſe *Apuleius* would not otherwiſe have tranſlated ſo much of that book, and incorporated it into his *De Mundo.* He therefore does not only commend this of *Heraclitus*, ἐκ πάντων ἓν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντα, *That there is one Harmonious Syſtem made out of all things, and that* All *things are derived from One*; But doth himſelfalſo write excellently, concerning the Supreme God, whom he calleth τὸν ἅπαντων συνεκτικὸν αἰτίαν, *the Cauſe which Containeth all things*, and τὸ τοῦ κόσμου κυριώτατον, *The Beſt and Moſt excellent part of the World*; he beginning after this manner; ἀρχαῖόν μὲν ἔστι λόγον καὶ πατρῷον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ θεοῦ ἡμῖν συνέστηκε· εὐδαιμὼν ἡ φύσις, αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκης, ἐρημωθεῖσα δὲ ἐκ τούτου σωτηρίας, *It is an ancient Opinion or Tradition, that hath been conveyed down to all men from their Progenitors, that all things are from God, and conſiſt by him; and that no Nature is ſufficient to preſerve it ſelf, if left alone, and devoid of the Divine aſſiſtance and influence.* Where we may obſerve, that the Apuleian Latin Verſion, altering the ſence, renders the words thus, *Vetus opinio eſt, atq; in cogitationes omnium hominum penitus incidit, Deum eſſe: Originis non habere auctorem: Deumque eſſe ſalutem & perſeverantiam Earum, quas effecerit, rerum:* So that whereas, in the Original Greek, This is ſaid to be the general Opinion of all mankind, *That all things are from God and ſubſiſt by him, and that nothing at all can conſerve it ſelf in being without him*, *Apuleius* correcting the words, makes the general ſence of mankind to run no higher than this; *That there is a God; who hath no author of his original; and who is the ſafety and preſervation of all thoſe things that were made by himſelf.* From whence it may be probably concluded, that *Apuleius*, who is ſaid to have been of *Plutarch*'s Progeny, was infected alſo with thoſe Paradoxical Opinions of *Plutarch*'s, and conſequently did ſuppoſe, All things not to have been made by God, nor to have depended on him (as the Writer *De Mundo* affirmeth) but that there was ſomething beſides God, as namely *the Matter* and an *Evil Principle*, Uncreated and Self-exiſtent. Afterwards the ſame Writer *De Mundo*, elegantly illuſtrates by Similitudes, how God by One Simple Motion and Energy of his own, without any labour or toil, doth produce and govern all the Variety of Motions in the Univerſe; and how he doth συνέχειν τὸν

c. 6.

τῶν ὅλων ἁρμονίαν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν, *contein the Harmony and Safety of the Whole.* And lastly he concludes, ὅσπερ ἐν νηῒ κυβερνήτης, ἐν ἅρματι δ' ἡνίοχος, ἐν χορῷ κορυφαῖος, ἐν πόλει νόμος, ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἡγεμών, τοῦτο θεὸς ἐν κόσμῳ, *That what a Pilot is to a ship, a Charioteer to a Chariot, the* Coryphæus *to a Quire, Law to a City, and a General to an Army; the same is God to the World.* There being only this difference, that whereas the Government of some of them is toilsom and sollicitous, the Divine Government and Steerage of the World, is most easie and facil: for as this Writer adds, *God being himself Immovable, Moveth all things; in the same manner as Law, in it self Immovable, by Moving the minds of the Citizens, orders and disposes all things.*

Plutarchus Chæronensis (as hath been already declared) was Unluckily engaged in *Two False Opinions*, The First of *Matters* being *Ingenit* or *Uncreated*, upon this Pretence, *Because Nothing could be made out of Nothing*; the Second of *a Positive Substantial Evil Principle*, or an *Irrational Soul* and *Demon Self-existent*, upon this Ground because τῷ καλὰν γεγονέναι κόσμον τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ὥσπερ τὸ φαῦλον ἐπίγραμμα τῷ τοῦ ποιητοῦ βούλησιν, πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν ἀτοπίας ὑπερβάλλει· *There is no greater Absurdity imaginable, than that Evil should proceed from the Providence of God, as a Bad Epigramm from the will of the Poet.* In which respect he was before called by us a *Ditheist*. *Plutarch* was also a Worshipper of the Many Pagan Gods, himself being a Priest of the Pythian *Apollo*. Notwithstanding which, he unquestionably asserted One Sole Principle of All Good, the Cause of all things, (*Evil* and *Matter* only excepted) the *Framer of the Whole World, and Maker of all the Gods in it*; who is therefore often called by him, *God*, in way of Eminency, as when he affirmeth ἀεὶ γεωμετρεῖν τὸν θεὸν *that God doth always act the Geometrician*, that is, do all things in Measure and Proportion; and again πάντα κατ' ἁρμονίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταστηρίζεσθαι, *That all things are made by God according to Harmony*; and that ὁ θεὸς ἁρμονικὸς καλεῖται καὶ μουσικὸς, *God is called a Harmonist and Musician*: And he hath these Epithets given him, ὁ μέγας θεὸς, *The Great God*, and ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεὸς, *The Highest or Uppermost God*, and ὁ πρῶτος θεὸς, *The First God*, and ὁ ἀγένητος θεὸς, *The Unmade Self-existent God*; all the other Pagan Gods, according to him, having been made in *Time*, together with the *World*. He is likewise stiled by *Plutarch*, πέλαγος τοῦ καλοῦ, *The Sea of Pulchritude*: and his Standing and Permanent Duration, without any Flux of Time, is excellently described by the same Writer, in his Book concerning the Delphick Inscription. Lastly *Plutarch* affirmeth, that men generally pray to this Supreme God, for whatsoever is not in their own power, ὅσα μὴ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔξιν, εὐχόμεθα τὸν θεὸν διδόναι.

Dio Chrysostomus, a Sophist, *Plutarch's* Equal, though an acknowledger of *Many Gods*, yet nevertheless asserteth, βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ ὅλον, *that the whole World is under a Kingly Power or Monarchy*, he calling the *Supreme God*, sometime, τὸν κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλέα τε καὶ ἄρχοντα, καὶ πρύτανιν καὶ πατέρα, *the common King of Gods and Men, their Governour, and Father*, τὸν πάντων κρατοῦντα θεὸν, *the God that rules over all*, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν, *The First and Greatest God*, τὸν κορυφαῖον πρὸ-

P. 199.

P. 210.

P. 203.

εσῶτα τ῀ ὅλων, ἡ καϊδυθύνοντα τ ἅπαντα ὀρθὸν ἡ κόζμον, &c. *The chief Preſident over all things, who orders and guides the whole Heaven and*
P. 446. *World, as a wiſe Pilot doth a Ship,* τ τ῀ ξύμπαντ῀ ἡγεμόνα ὀρθ῀, ἡ τ ὅλης δεσπότ῀ ὀζίας, *the Ruler of the whole Heaven, and Lord of the Whole Eſſence*; and the like. And he affirming that there is a Natural *Prolepſis* in the Minds of men concerning him, περὶ
P. 201. δὲ θεῶν τ τε καθόλ῀ φύσεως, καὶ μάλισα τ῀ πάντων ἡγεμόν῀, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ἐν πρώτοις δόξα ἡ ἔμφυτος κοινῆτ῀ ξύμπασι ἀνθρώποις γέγονε· ὁμοίως μὲν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως δ βαρβάρων, ἀναγκαία ἡ ἔμφυτ῀ ἐν παντὶ τ῀ λογικῷ γιγνομένη κ᾽ φύσιν, ἄνευ θνητ῀ διδασκάλ῀ ἡ μυσαγωγ῀· *Concerning the nature of the Gods in general, but eſpecially of that Supreme Ruler over all; there is an opinion in all humane kind, as well Barbarians as Greeks; that is naturally implanted in them as rational Beings, and not derived from any mortal Teacher.* The meaning whereof is this, that men are naturally poſſeſſed with a Perſwaſion, that there is One God, the Supreme *Governour of the whole World*, and that there are alſo below him, but above men, Many other Intellectual Beings, which theſe Pagans called Gods.

That *Galen* was no Atheiſt, and what his Religion was; may plainly appear from this one paſſage out of his third Book *De Uſu*
P. 402. *Partium*, to omit many others, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως εἰ ὅτι πλέον τοιούτων μνημονεύοιμι βοσκημάτων, οἱ σωφρονέστερες ὀρθῶς ἂν μοι μέμψοιντο, ἡ μαίνεσθαι φαῖεν ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃν ἐγὼ τ῀ δημιεργήσαντ῀ ἡμᾶς ὕμνον ἀληθινὸν συντίθημι, ἡ νομίζω τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι τιμὴ ὅπως δύσεβειαν· ἀλλ᾽ εἰ ταύρων ἑκατόμβας αὐτ῀ παμπόλλας καταθύσαιμι, ἡ τὰ ἄλλα μύρα θυμάσαιμι ἡ καζίας, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ γνοίην μὲν αὐτὸς πρῶτ῀, ἔπειτα δ ἡ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξηγησαίμην, οἵ῀ μὲν ἔστι τιμὴ σοφίαν, οἵ῀ δ τιμὴ δύναμιν, ὁποί῀ δ τιμὴ χρηστότητα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐθέλειν κοσμεῖν ἅπαντα τ ἐνδεχόμενον κόζμον ἡ μηδενὶ φθονεῖν τ῀ ἀγαθῶν, τ τελεωτάτης χρηστότητός ἐγὼ δεῖγμα τίθεμαι, ταύτῃ μὲν ὡς ἀγαθὸς ἡμῖν ὑμνείσθω· τὸ δ᾽ ὡς ἂν μάλισα κοσμηθείη, πᾶν ἐξευρεῖν, ἄνεργας σοφίας· τὸ δ ἡ θέσαι πανθ᾽ ὅσα προείλετο, δυνάμεως ἀνῃήτε· *Should I any longer inſiſt upon ſuch Brutiſh Perſons as thoſe, the wiſe and ſober might juſtly condemn me, as defiling this Holy Oration, which I compoſe as a True Hymn to the praiſe of him that made us; I conceiving true Piety and Religion towards God to conſiſt in this, not that I ſhould ſacrifice many Hecatombs, or burn much Incenſe to him, but that I ſhould my ſelf firſt acknowledge, and then declare to others, how great his Wiſdom is, how great his Power, and how great his Goodneſs. For that he would adorn the whole world after this manner, envying to nothing that good which it was capable of, I conclude to be a demonſtration of moſt abſolute Goodneſs, and thus let him be praiſed by us as Good. And that he was able to find out, how all things might be adorned after the beſt manner, is a Sign of the Greateſt Wiſdom in him. And Laſtly to be able to effect and bring to paſs all thoſe things which he had thus decreed, argues an inſuperable Power.*

Maximus Tyrius in the cloſe of his firſt Diſſertation, gives us this ſhort Repreſentation of his own Theology, βέλομαι δέ σοι θεῖξαι τὸ λεγόμενον σαφέστερα εἰκόνι. Ἐννόει μεγάλ῀ ἀρχὴ ἡ βασιλείαν ἐρήμ῀ πρὸς μίαν ψυχὴ βασιλέως τὸ ἀεί τε ἡ πρεσβυτάτε συμπάντων νενοημότων ἐόντων· ὅ-

ες

ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἄλυν ποταμὸν, οὐδὲ ἑλλήσποντον, οὐδὲ τὴν μαιῶτιν, οὐδὲ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ νῦν ὀνομάζω ἀλλὰ θρανὸν καὶ γῆν τὸ μὲν ὑψηλὸν τοῦτο ὀνομάζω, ἔνερθεν· βασιλέα δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ μέγαν ἀτρεμοῦντα, ὥσπερ νόμον παρέχοντα τοῖς πειθομένοις σωτηρίαν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ καινοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν, πολλοὺς μὲν ὁρατοὺς θεοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀφανεῖς· τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸ πρόθυρον αὐτὸ εἱλουμένους, οἷον εἰσαγγελέας τινὰς καὶ βασιλεῖς συγγενεστάτους, ὁμοτραπέζους αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεδρίους· τοὺς δὲ τούτων ὑπηρέτας, τοὺς δὲ ἔτι τούτων καταδεεστέρους· διαδοχὴν ὁρᾷς καὶ τάξιν ἀρχῆς καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι γῆς· *I will now more plainly declare my sence by this similitude. Imagine in your mind, a great and powerful Kingdom or Principality, in which all the rest freely and with one consent conspire to direct their actions, agreeably to the will and command of one Supreme King, the Oldest and the best. And then suppose the bounds and limits of this Empire, not to be the River* Halys, *nor the* Hellespont, *nor the Meotian Lake, nor the Shores of the Ocean; but Heaven above, and the Earth beneath. Here then let that great King sit Immovable, prescribing Laws to all his subjects, in which consists their safety and security: the Consorts of his Empire, being many both Visible and Invisible Gods; some of which that are neerest to him and immediately attending on him, are in the highest Royal dignity, feasting as it were at the same table with him: others again are their Ministers & Attendants; and a Third Sort, inferiour to them both. And thus you see, how the order and chain of this government descends down by steps and degrees, from the Supreme God to the Earth and Men.* In which Resemblance, we have a plain acknowledgment of *One Supreme* God, the Monarch of the whole World, and *Three subordinate ranks* of Inferiour Gods, as his Ministers, in the Government of the World; whom that Writer there also calls, θεοὺς θεοῦ παῖδας, καὶ φίλους, *Gods the Sons and Friends of God.*

Aristides the famous Adrianean Sophist and Orator, in his first Oration or Hymn vowed to *Jupiter*, after he had escaped a great tempest, is so full to the purpose, that nothing can be more; he after his Proeme beginning thus, ζεὺς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησε, καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἔργα ὅσα ἐστὶ πάντα, καὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ γῆ, καὶ θάλαττα, καὶ θρανὸς· καὶ ὅσα τούτων μεταξὺ ἄνω, καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ ταῦτα· καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὅσα ψυχὴν ἔχει, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὅσα δεῖ νοήσαι λαβεῖν. Ἐποίησε δὲ πρῶτον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν· ὃν Κρῆτες ἐν δώδεσιν ἄντροις τραφεὶς· ὅτ' ἐμέλλησεν αὐτὸν Κρόνος καταπιεῖν· ὅτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνου λίθον καταπίεν, ὅτ' ἐκινδύνευσε ζεὺς, ὅτε μήποτε κινδυνεύσῃ· ὅτ' ἔστι πρεσβύτερον ὅτεν Διός· ὃ μᾶλλόν γε ἢ ὑεῖς τε πατέρων πρεσβύτεροι γένοιτ' ἄν, καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα τοῦ ποιοῦντος· ἀλλ' ὅδε ἐστὶ πρῶτός τε καὶ πρεσβύτατος, καὶ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν πάντων· αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ θρυόμενος· ὁπότε δ' ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ἦντε ἄρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔσται εἰσαεὶ, αὐτοπάτωρ τε καὶ μείζων ἢ ἐξ ἄλλου γεγονέναι. Καὶ ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄρα οὐκ τὴ κεφαλῆς ἔφυσε, καὶ γάμου οὐδὲν προσεδεήθη εἰς αὐτὸν, ὅτως ἔτι πρότερον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίησε, καὶ οὐδὲν προσεδεήθη ἑτέρου εἰς τὸ εἶναι· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοὐναντίον πάντα εἶναι ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἤρξατο, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι χρόνον εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ χρόνου ἦν πω τότε ὅτε μηδὲ ἄλλο μηδὲν· δημιουργὸν γὰρ ἔργον οὐδὲν ὄντι πρεσβύτερον· ὅτου δὴ ἀρχὴ μὲν ἁπάντων ζεὺς καὶ ἐκ Διὸς πάντα, ἅτε δὲ ὢν χρόνου τε πρεσβύτερος, καὶ οὐδένα ἔχων τὸν ἀντιπολοῦντα, αὐτός τε ὁμῶς καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἦν, ὅτου ταχὺ πάντα ἐποίησε, ἐποίησε δὲ ὧδε, &c. Jupiter *made all things, and all things whatsoever exist are the works of* Jupiter, *Rivers, and Earth and Sea and Heaven, and what*

are between these, and Gods and Men and all Animals, whatsoever is perceivable either by sense or by the mind. But Jupiter *first of all made himself; for he was not Educated in the flowery and odoriferous Caves of* Crete, *neither was Saturn ever about to devour him, nor instead of him did he swallow down a stone. For* Jupiter *was never in danger, nor will he be ever in danger of any thing. Neither is there any thing older than* Jupiter, *no more than there are sons older than their parents, or works than their Opificers. But he is the First and the Oldest, and the Prince of all things, he being made from himself; nor can it be declared when he was made, for he was from the beginning, and ever will be, his own Father, and greater than to have been begotten from another. As he produced* Minerva *from his brain and needed no wedlock in order thereunto, so before this did he produce himself from himself, needing not the help of any other thing for his being. But on the contrary, all things began to be from him, and no man can tell the time; since there was not then any time when there was nothing else besides; and no work can be older than the maker of it. Thus was* Jupiter *the beginning of all things and all things were from* Jupiter, *who is better than Time, which had its beginning together with the World.* And again, ὡς ὁ μὲν θεῶν ὅσα φῦλα ἀποῤῥοιὼ τ Διὸς τᾶ πάντων πατρὸς δυνάμεως ἔκασα ἔχει, μὲν ἀτεχνῶς κ τιὼ Ὁμήρε σφρᾶν, ἅπαντα εἰς αὐτ διήρτηται, καὶ πάντα ἐξ αὐτᾶ ἤρτηται· ἐρωτά τε μὲν ἀνάγκαν δύο τότω συναγωγοτάτω μὲν ἰσχυροτάτω ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐμηχάνησεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα συνέχοιεν, &c. ἐποίει θεὸς μὲν, ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελητάς, ἀνθρώπες δ θεῶν θεραπόντας τε μὲν ὑπηρέτας, &c. πάντα δ παντᾶχᾶ Διὸς μεστά, μὲν ἁπάντων θεῶν δύεργεσθαι, Διὸς εἰσὶν ἔργον, &c. *All the several kinds of Gods, are but a Defluxion and Derivation from* Jupiter, *and according to* Homer's *Chain all things are connected with him and depend upon him. He amongst the first produced Love and Necessity, Two the most powerful Holders of things together, that they might make all things firmly to cohere. He made Gods to be the Curators of men, and he made men to be the Worshippers and Servers of those Gods. All things are every where full of* Jupiter, *and the Benefits of all the other Gods, are his work, and to be attributed to him, they being done in compliance with that order which he had prescribed them.*

How God was said to be Self-made: See p. 405 and 406.

It is certain that all the Latter Philosophers after Christianity, whether Platonists or Peripateticks, though for the most part they asserted *the Eternity of the World*, yet Universally agreed in the acknowledgment of *One Supreme Deity, the Cause of the whole World, and of all the other Gods.* And as *Numenius, Plotinus, Amelius, Porphyrius, Proclus, Damascius* and others, held also a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, so had some of those Philosophers excellent Speculations concerning the Deity, as particularly *Plotinus*; who notwithstanding that he derived *Matter* and All things, from *One Divine Principle*, yet was a Contender for Many Gods. Thus in his Book inscribed, against the Gnosticks: χρὴ ὡς ἄρειον μὲν αὐτ πειρᾶσθαι γίνεσθαι, μὴ μόνον ὃ αὐτ νομίζειν ἄρειον δύνασθαι γίνεσθαι, ὅτω γ ὅπω ἄρειος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπες ἄλλες ἀρείες, ἔτι μὲν δαίμονας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· πολὺ δ μᾶλλον θεὸς, τὸς τε ἐν τᾷδε ὄψας κακεῖ βλέποντας· πάντων δ μάλιστα τ ἡγεμόνα τᾶδε τᾶ παντὸς, ψυχὼ μακαριωτάτω· ἐντεῦθεν δ ἤδη μὲν τὸς νοητὸς ὑμνεῖν θεὸς, ὑφ' ἅπασι δ ἤδη,

ἓν μέγαν ἓν ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἢ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μᾶλλον τὸ θεῖον, τὸ μέγα αὐτὸ ἐν-δεικνυμένους. οὐ γὰρ τὸ συνελαύνειν εἰς ἕν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δεῖξαι πολὺ τὸ θεῖον ὅσον ἔδει-ξεν αὐτὸς, τοσῷδε δύναμιν θεὸς ἀδόητον, ὅταν μένων ὃς ἔστι, πολλοὺς ποιῇ, πάν-τας εἰς αὑτὸν ἀνηρτημένους, ἢ δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ὄντας· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅδε δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔστι κἀκεῖ βλέπει, καὶ πᾶς, ἢ θεῶν ἕκαστος· *Every man ought to endeavour with all his might, to become as Good as may be, but yet not to think himself to be the only thing that is good, but that there are also other Good men in the World, and Good Demons, but much more Gods: who though inhabiting this inferiour world, yet look up to that Superiour; and most of all, the Prince of this Universe, that most Happy Soul. From whence he ought to ascend yet higher, and to praise those Intelligible Gods, but above all that great King and Monarch; declaring his Greatness and Majesty by the Multitude of Gods which are under him. For this is not the part of them who know the power of God, to contract all into one, but to shew forth all that Divinity which himself hath displayed, who remaining One makes Many depending on him; which are by him and from him. For this whole World is by him, and looks up perpetually to him, as also doth every one of the Gods in it.* And *Themistius* the Peripatetick, (who was so far from being a Chri-stian, that as *Petavius* probably conjectures, he perstringes our Savi-our Christ under the Name of *Empedocles*, for making himself *a God*) doth not only affirm, that one and the same *Supreme God*, was worshipped by Pagans, and the Christians, and all Nations, though in different manners; but also, that God was delighted with this Variety of Religions: ταύτῃ νόμιζε χαίνυσθαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ ἢ τὸ παντὸς Orat. 12. ἀρχηγέτης· ἄλλως Σύρους ἐθέλει πολιτεύεσθαι, ἄλλως Ἕλληνας, ἄλλως Αἰγυπτί-ους, καὶ αὐδ' αὐτοὺς Σύρους ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἤδη κατακεκερμάτισαι εἰς μικρά· *The Author and Prince of the Universe, seems to be delighted with this Variety of Worship; He would have the Syrians worship him One way, the Greeks another, and the Egyptians another; neither do the Syrians* (or Christians) *themselves all agree, they being subdivided into many Sects.*

We shall conclude therefore with this full Testimony of St. *Cyril*, in his First Book against *Julian*, ἅπασιν ἐναργὲς, ὅτι ἢ τοῖς τὰ Ἑλλήνων φιλο-σοφεῖν ἐωθόσιν, ἕνα μὲν ἐδόκει θεὸν εἶναι συνωμολογεῖν, τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν, ἢ πάντων ἐπέκεινα ἢ φύσιν, πεποιῆσθαι δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρῆχθαι πρὸς γένεσιν ἑτέρους τινὰς θεοὺς, καθὰ φασὶν αὐτοὶ, νοητούς τε καὶ αἰσθητούς· *It is manifest to all, that amongst those who Philosophize in the Greek way, it is Universally acknowledged, that there is One God, the Maker of the Universe, and who is by Nature above all things; but that there have been made by him, and produced into generation, certain other Gods (as they call them) both Intelligible and Sensible.* P. 23.

XXVII. Neither was this the Opinion of Philosophers and Learned Men only, amongst the Pagans, but even of the Vulgar also. Not that we pretend, to give an account of all the most sottish Vulgar amongst them, who as they little considered their Religion, so probably did they not understand that Mystery of the Pagan The-ology (hereafter to be declared) that Many of their Gods, were no-thing but several *Names* and *Notions* of one Supreme Deity, accord-ing to its various *Manifestations* and *Effects*: but because, as we con-ceive,

ceive this Tradition of One Supreme God, did run currant amongſt the Generality of the Greek and Latin Pagans at leaſt, whether Learned or Unlearned. For we cannot make a better judgment concerning the *Vulgar* and *Generality* of the ancient Pagans, than from the Poets and Mythologiſts, who were the chief Inſtructers of them. Thus *Ariſtotle* in his Politicks, writing of Muſick, judgeth of mens Opinions concerning the Gods, from the Poets, σκοπεῖν δ' ἔξεστι τῷ ὑπόληψιν ἣν ἔχομεν περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὁ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἄδων ἢ κιθαρίζων τοῖς ποιηταῖς· *We may learn what opinion men have concerning the Gods, from hence, becauſe the Poets never bring in* Jupiter, *Singing or Playing upon an Inſtrument.* Now we have already proved from ſundry Teſtimonies of the Poets, that (however they were Depravers of the Pagan Religion, yet) they kept up this Tradition of one Supreme Deity, one *King and Father of Gods:* To which Teſtimonies many more might have been added, as of *Seneca* the Tragedian, *Statius*, *Lucan*, *Silius Italicus*, *Perſius*, and *Martial*, but that we then declined them to avoid tediouſneſs. Wherefore we ſhall here content our ſelves only to ſet down this Affirmation of *Dio Chryſoſtomus*, concerning the Theology of the Poets, ἔστι δ' ἓν πάντες οἱ ποιηταὶ περὶ ταῦτα, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν πατέρα καλεῖσι συλλήβδην ἅπαντι τῷ λογικῷ γένει, καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα· οἷς πειθόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι Διὸς βασιλέως ἱδρύονται βωμούς· καὶ δὴ καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ὀνόσι προσαγορεύειν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς· *All the Poets call the Firſt and Greateſt God, the Father, univerſally, of all the Rational Kind; as alſo the King thereof. Agreeably with which of the Poets, do men erect Altars to* Jupiter *King, and ſtick not to call him Father in their Devotions.*

L.8.c.5.

Orat.36.p.447

Moreover *Ariſtotle* himſelf hath recorded this in his Politicks, πάντες λέγουσι θεοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι, *That all men affirmed the Gods to be under a Kingly power,* or *that there is one Supreme King and Monarch over the Gods.* And *Maximus Tyrius* declareth, that as well the Unlearned as the Learned, throughout the whole Pagan world, univerſally agreed in this, that there was one *Supreme God, the Father of all the other Gods:* Εἰ συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν τεχνῶν τούτων, καλλύνας ἅπαντας ἀθρόους διὰ ψηφίσματος ἑνὸς ἀποφήναιτο περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, οἴει ἄλλο μὲν ἂν τὸν γραφέα εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο δὲ τὸν ἀγαλματοποιόν, καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ἄλλο, καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἄλλο; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὰ Δία τὸν Σκύθην, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἕλληνα, οὐδὲ τὸν Πέρσην, ἢ τὸν Ὑπερβόρειον· ἀλλὰ ἴδοις ἂν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὸν δὲ ταῦτα ψηφιζομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, πάντας δὲ πᾶσι διαφερομένους· τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσιν, τὸ δὲ κακὸν ὅμοιον, τὸ δὲ αἰσχρὸν, τὸ δὲ καλόν· νόμος μὲν γὰρ δὴ καὶ δίκη ἄνω καὶ κάτω φέρεται διασπώμενα καὶ σπαραττόμενα· μὴ γὰρ ὅτι γένος γένει ὁμολογεῖ ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πόλις πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἶκος οἴκῳ, οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὑτῷ· ἐν τοιούτῳ δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει καὶ διαφωνίᾳ, ἕνα ἴδοις ἂν ἐν πόλει γῇ ὁμόφωνον νόμον καὶ λόγον, ὅτι ΘΕΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΗΡ, καὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες, συνάρχοντες θεῷ· ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἕλλην λέγει καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος λέγει, καὶ ὁ ἠπειρώτης καὶ ὁ θαλάττιος, καὶ ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ὁ ἄσοφος· *If there were a meeting called of all theſe ſeveral Trades and Profeſſions, a Painter, a Statuary, a Poet, and a Philoſopher, and all of them were required to declare their ſence concerning God, do you think that the Painter would ſay one thing, the Statuary another, the Poet another, and the Philoſopher another? No nor the Scythian neither, nor the Greek, nor*

Diſſ.1.p.4,5.

nor the Hyperborean. In other things, we find men ſpeaking very diſcordantly to one another, all men as it were differing from all. The ſame thing is not Good to all nor Evil, Honeſt nor Diſhoneſt. For Law and Juſtice it ſelf, are different every where, and not only one Nation doth not agree with another therein, but alſo not one City with another City, nor one Houſe with another Houſe, nor one man with another man, nor laſtly any one man with himſelf. Nevertheleſs, in this ſo great war, contention, and diſcord, you may find every where throughout the whole world, One agreeing Law and Opinion, That THERE IS ONE GOD THE KING AND FATHER OF ALL, and Many Gods, the Sons of God, Coreigners together with God. Theſe things both the Greek and the Barbarian alike affirm, both the Inhabitants of the Continent and of the Sea-coaſt, both the Wiſe and the Unwiſe. Nothing can be more full than this Teſtimony of *Maximus Tyrius*, that the Generality of the Pagan world, as well *Vulgar* and *Illiterate*, as Wiſe and Learned, did agree in this, that there was *One Supreme God, the Creator and Governour of all.* And to the ſame purpoſe was that other Teſtimony before cited out of *Dio Chryſoſtomus*, ᾧ δὲ θεῶν τ' τε καθόλε φύσεως, καὶ μάλισα τ̃ πάντων ἡγεμόν@, δόξα μ̀ ἐπίνοια κοινὴ τ̃ ξύμπαν@ ἀνθρωπίνε γένες, ὁμοίως δὲ Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ βαρβάρων, &c. *That concerning the nature of the Gods in General, but eſpecially concerning that Prince of all things, there was One agreeing Perſwaſion in the minds of all Mankind, as well Barbarians as Greeks.* Where *Dio* plainly intimates alſo, that there was a more univerſal conſent of Nations, in the belief of *One God*, than of *Many Gods*. *Orat.* 12. *p.* 201

It hath been already obſerved, that the ſeveral Pagan Nations had vulgarly their peculiar Proper Names for the *One Supreme God*. For as the Greeks called him *Zeus* or *Zen*, the Latins *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, ſo did the Egyptians, Africans and Arabians, *Hammon*. Which *Hammon* therefore was called by the Greeks the *Zeus* of the Africans, and by the Latins their *Jupiter*. Whence is that in *Cicero's De Natura Deorum*, Jovis *Capitolini Nobis alia ſpecies, alia Afris* Ammonis Jovis, *the form of the Capitoline* Jupiter *with us Romans, is different from that, of* Jupiter Ammon *with the Africans*. The Name of the Scythian *Jupiter* alſo, as *Herodotus* tells us, was *Pappæus* or *Father*. The Perſians likewiſe had their ζεὺς πάτρ@ος, as *Xenophon* ſtiles him, their Country-*Zeus* or *Jupiter* (namely *Mithras* or *Oromaſdes*) who in the ſame *Xenophon*, is diſtinguiſhed from the Sun, and called in *Cyrus* his Proclamation in the Scripture, *The Lord God of Heaven, who had given him all the Kingdoms of the Earth.* Thus the *Babylonian Bell* is declared by *Beroſus* (a Prieſt of his) to have been that God, who was the Maker of Heaven and Earth. And Learned men conceive, that *Baal* (which is the ſame with *Bel*, and ſignifies Lord) was firſt amongſt the Phenicians alſo a Name for the *Supreme God*, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, ſometimes called *Beel ſamen, The Lord of Heaven.* As likewiſe that *Molech* which ſignifies *King*, was amongſt the Ammonites, *the King of their Gods*; and that *Marnas* (the chief God of the *Gazites*, who were Philiſtines) and ſignifies *the Lord of men*, was that from whence the Cretians derived their *Jupiter*, called *the Father of Gods and Men.*

Origen

Origen indeed contended, that it was not lawful for Christians, to call the Supreme God by any of those Pagan Names, and probably for these Reasons, because those names were then frequently bestowed upon Idols; and because they were contaminated and defiled by Absurd and Impure Fables. Nevertheless that learned Father does acknowledge the Pagans really to have meant ὁ θεὸν ὅτι πᾶσιν, *The God over all*, by those several Names. Which yet *Lactantius Firmianus* would by no means allow of as to the Roman *Jupiter*, worshipped in the Capitol, he endeavouring to confute it after this manner; *Vana* L. I. c. 11. *est Persuasio eorum qui nomen* Jovis *Summo Deo tribuunt. Solent enim quidam errores suos hac excusatione defendere; qui convicti de Uno Deo, cum id negare non possunt, ipsum colere affirmant, verum hoc sibi placere ut* Jupiter *nominetur, quo quid absurdius?* Jupiter *enim sine Contubernio Conjugis Filiæque, coli non solet. Unde quid sit apparet, nec fas est id nomen eo transferri, ubi nec* Minerva *est ulla nec* Juno: *It is a vain perswasion of those, who would give the name of* Jupiter *to the Supreme God. For some are wont thus to excuse their errours, when they have been convinced of one God, so as that they could not contradict it, by saying that themselves worshipped Him, he being called by them* Jupiter: *Than which, what can be more absurd? since* Jupiter *is not worshipped without the Partnership of his Wife and Daughter. From whence it plainly appears what this* Jupiter *is, and that the name ought not to be transferred thither, where there is neither any* Minerva *nor* Juno. The ground of which argumentation of *Lactantius* was this, because the great Capitoline Temple of *Jupiter*, had three *Sacella* or lesser Chappels in it, all conteined under one roof, *Jupiter*'s in the middle, *Minerva*'s on the right hand, and *Juno*'s on the left; according to that of the Poet.

Trina in Tarpeio fulgent consortia Templo.

Which *Juno*, according to the Poetick Theology, is said to be the *Wife of Jupiter*, and *Minerva* his *Daughter*, begotten not upon *Juno* but from his own Brain. Where it is plain that there is a certain mixture of the *Mythical* or *Poetical Theology*, together with the *Natural*, as almost every where else there was, to make up that *Civil Theology* of the Pagans. But here (according to the more Recondit and Arcane Doctrine of the Pagans) these three Capitoline Gods, *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Juno*, as well as some others, may be understood, to have been nothing else but *Several Names* and *Notions*, of *One Supreme Deity*, according to its several Attributes and Manifestations, *Jupiter* signifying the Divine Power and Sovereignty, as it were seated and enthroned in the Heavens; *Minerva the Divine Wisdom* and *Understanding*; and *Juno the same Deity* acting in these *Lower parts of the world*. Unless we would rather with *Macrobius*, Physiologize them all Three, and make *Minerva* to be the *Higher Heaven*, *Jupiter* the *Middle Ether*, and *Juno* the *Lower Air and Earth*, all Animated; that is, One God, as acting differently in these Three Regions of the world. Which yet seems not so congruous, because it would place *Minerva* above *Jupiter*.

Ne ver-

Nevertheleſs it may juſtly be ſuſpected, as *G. I. Voſſius* hath already obſerved, that there was yet ſome higher and more ſacred Myſtery, in this Capitoline Trinity, aimed at; namely, a *Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes*. For theſe three *Roman* or *Capitoline Gods*, were ſaid to have been Firſt brought into *Italy* out of *Phrygia* by the Trojans, but before that into *Phrygia* by *Dardanus*, out of the Samothracian Iſland; and that within eight hundred years after the Noachian Flood, if we may believe *Euſebius*. And as theſe were called by the Latins, *Dii Penates*, which *Macrobius* thus interprets, *Dii Per quos Penitus ſpiramus, per quos habemus Corpus, per quos rationem animi poſſidemus*, that is, *The Gods by whom we live, and move; and have our being*; but *Varro* in *Arnobius*, *Dii qui ſunt Intrinſecus, atque in Intimis Penetralibus Cœli, the Gods, who are in the moſt Inward Receſſes of Heaven*; ſo were they called by the Samothracians Κάβειροι or *Cabiri*, that is, as *Varro* rightly interprets the word, θεοὶ δυνατοὶ, or *Divi Potes, The Powerful and Mighty Gods*. Which *Cabiri* being plainly the Hebrew גבורים, gives juſt occaſion to ſuſpect, that this Ancient Tradition of *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes* (unqueſtionably entertained by *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* amongſt the Greeks, and probably by the *Egyptians* and *Perſians*) ſprung originally from the Hebrews. The Firſt of theſe Divine *Hypoſtaſes*, called *Jove*, being the Fountain of the Godhead; and the Second of them called by the Latins *Minerva*, (which, as *Varro* interprets it, was that wherein *Ideæ & Exempla rerum, the Ideas and firſt Exemplars or Patterns of things were conteined*) fitly expreſſing the *Divine Logos*; and the Third *Juno*, called *Amor ac Delicium* Jovis; well enough anſwering (as *Voſſius* thinks) to the *Divine Spirit*. *De Theol. Gen. L. 8. c. 12.*

But *Lactantius* hath yet another objection againſt the Roman *Jupiter*'s being the *Supreme God*, *Quid? quod hujus nominis proprietas, non Divinam vim ſed Humanam exprimit?* Jovem *enim* Junonemque *à Juvando eſſe dictos* Cicero *interpretatur*. *Et* Jupiter *quaſi Juvans Pater dicitur. Quod nomen in Deum minimè convenit, quia Juvare hominis eſt, &c. Nemo ſic Deum precatur, ut ſe Adjuvet, ſed ut Servet, &c. Ergo non Imperitus modo, ſed etiam Impius eſt, qui nomine* Jovis *Virtutem Summæ Poteſtatis imminuit. What if we add that the propriety of this word* Jupiter, *does not expreſs a Divine, but only a Humane force? Cicero deriving both* Jove *and* Juno *alike* à Juvando, *that is, from Helping; For* Juvans Pater *or a Helping Father, is not a Good Deſcription of God; foraſmuch as it properly belongeth to men to Help. Neither doth any one pray to God, to Help him only, but to Save him. Nor is a Father, ſaid to help his Son, whom he was the Begetter of, &c. Wherefore he is not only Unskilful but Impious alſo, who by the Name of* Jove *or* Jupiter, *diminiſhes the power of the Supreme God.* But as this of *Lactantius* ſeems otherwiſe weak enough; ſo is the Foundation of it abſolutely ruinous, the true Etymon of *Jupiter* (though *Cicero* knew not ſo much) being without peradventure, not *Juvans Pater*, but *Jovis Pater*, Jove *the Father of Gods and Men*; which *Jovis* is the very Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* (however theſe Romans came by it) only altered by a Latin Termination. Wherefore as there could be *P. 63.*

no impiety at all in calling the Supreme God *Jove* or *Jovis*, it being that very name which God himself chose to be called by: so neither is their any reason why the Latins should not as well mean the Supreme God thereby, as the Greeks did unquestionably by *Zeus*, which will be proved afterwards from irrefragable Authority.

Especially if we consider, that the Roman Vulgar, commonly bestowed these Two Epithets upon that Capitoline *Jupiter* (that is, not the senseless Statue, but that God who was there worshipped in a Material Statue) of *Optimus* and *Maximus*, *the Best* and *the Greatest*, they thereby signifying him to be a Being *Infinitly Good and Powerful.* Thus *Cicero* in his *De Nat. Deorum*, Jupiter *à Poetis dicitur Divum atque Hominum Pater, à majoribus autem nostris Optimus Maximus. That same* Jupiter *who is by the Poets styled, The Father of Gods and Men, is by our ancestors called, The Best The Greatest.* And in his *Orat. pro S. Roscio*, Jupiter *Optimus Maximus, cujus nutu & arbitrio, Cœlum, Terra, Mariaque reguntur*, Jupiter *the Best the Greatest, by whose beck and command, the Heaven, the Earth and the Seas are governed.* As also the Junior *Pliny*, in his Panegyrick Oration, *Parens Hominum Deorumque, Optimi prius, deinde Maximi nomine colitur, The Father of Men and Gods, is worshipped under the Name, first of the Best, and then of the Greatest.* Moreover *Servius Honoratus* informs us, that the *Pontifices* in their publick Sacrifices, were wont to address themselves to *Jupiter* in this Form of words, *Omnipotens* Jupiter, *seu quo alio nomine appellari volueris, Omnipotent* Jupiter, *or by what other name soever thou pleasest to be called.* From whence it is plain, that the Romans under the name of *Jupiter* worshipped the Omnipotent God. And according to *Seneca* the ancient Hetrurians, who are by him distinguished from Philosophers, as a kind of Illiterate Superstitious persons (in these words, *Hæc adhuc Etruscis & Philosophis communia sunt, in illo dissentiunt*) had this very same Notion answering to the word *Jupiter*, namely, of the Supreme Monarch of the Universe. For First he sets down their Tradition concerning Thunderbolts in this manner, *Fulmina dicunt à* Jove *mitti, & tres illi manubias dant. Prima (ut aiunt) monet & placata est, & ipsius consilio* Jovis *mittitur. Secundam quidem mittit* Jupiter, *sed ex Consilii sententiâ; Duodecim enim Deos advocat, &c. Tertiam idem* Jupiter *mittit. sed adhibitis in Consilium Diis quos Superiores & Involutos vocant, quæ vastat, &c. The Hetrurians say, that the Thunder-bolts are sent from* Jupiter, *and that there are three kinds of them; the First Gentle and Monitory and sent by* Jupiter alone; *the Second sent by* Jupiter, *but not without the counsel and consent of the Twelve Gods, which Thunderbolt doth some good, but not without Harm also; the Third sent by* Jupiter *likewise, but not before he hath called a Council of all the Superiour Gods: and this utterly wasts and destroys both private and publick States.* And then does he make a Commentary, upon this old Hetrurian Doctrine, that it was not to be taken literally, but only so as to impress an awe upon men and to signifie that *Jupiter* himself intended nothing but Good, he inflicting evil not alone, but in partnership with others, and when the necessity of the case required. Adding in the last place, *Ne hoc quidem crediderunt (Etrusci)* Jovem *qualem in Capitolio, & in cæteris ædibus*

Nat. Q. L. 2. c. 41.

ædibus colimus, mittere manu ſua fulmina; ſed eundem quem nos, Jovem *intelligunt; cuſtodem rectoremque Univerſi, Animum ac Spiritum, Mundani hujus operis Dominum & Artificem, cui nomen omne convenit.* *Neither did theſe Hetrurians believe, that ſuch a* Jupiter *as we worſhip in the Capitol and in the other Temples, did fling Thunderbolts with his own hands, but they underſtood the very ſame* Jupiter *that we now do, the Keeper and Governour of the Univerſe, the Mind and Spirit of the whole, the Lord and Artificer of this Mundane Fabrick, to whom every name belongeth.* And laſtly, that the vulgar Romans afterwards about the beginning of Chriſtianity, had the ſame Notion of *Jupiter*, as the Supreme God; evidently appears from what *Tertullian* hath recorded in his Book *ad Scapulam*, that when *Marcus Aurelius* in his German Expedition, by the prayers of the Chriſtian Soldiers made to God, had obtained refreſhing ſhowers from Heaven in a great drought, *Tunc Populus adclamans JOVI DEO DEORUM, QUI SOLUS POTENS EST, in* Jovis *nomine Deo noſtro teſtimonium reddidit; That then the people with one conſent crying out thanks be to* JUPITER *THE GOD OF GODS, WHO ALONE IS POWERFUL, did thereby in the name of* Jove *or* Jupiter *give teſtimony to our God.* Where by the way we ſee alſo, that *Tertullian* was not ſo nice as *Lactantius*, but did freely acknowledge the Pagans by their *Jupiter* to have meant the True God.

As nothing is more frequent with Pagan Writers, than to ſpeak of *God Singularly*, they ſignifying thereby the *One Supreme Deity*, ſo that the ſame was very familiar with the *Vulgar Pagans* alſo, in their ordinary diſcourſe and common ſpeech, hath been recorded by divers of the Fathers. *Tertullian* in his Book *De Teſtimonio Animæ*, and his *Apologet.* inſtanceth in ſeveral of theſe Forms of Speech then vulgarly uſed by the Pagans, as *Deus videt, Deo commendo, Deus reddet, Deus inter nos judicabit, Quod Deus vult, Si Deus voluerit, Quod Deus dederit, Si Deus dederit*, and the like. Thus alſo *Minutius Felix*, *Cum ad Cœlum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quàm Deum Dicunt. Et* Magnus *eſt, &* Deus Verus *eſt, &c. vulgi iſte Naturalis ſermo, an Chriſtiani confitentis oratio? When they ſtretch out their hands to Heaven, they mention only God; and theſe forms of ſpeech,* He is Great, *and* God is True, *and* If God grant *(which are the natural language of the vulgar) are they not a plain confeſſion of Chriſtianity.* And laſtly *Lactantius*, *Cum Jurant, & cum Optant, & cum Gratias agunt, non Deos multos, ſed Deum nominant; adeò ipſa veritas, cogente natura, etiam ab invitis pectoribus erumpit: When they ſwear, and when they wiſh, and when they give thanks, they name not Many Gods but God only; the Truth, by a ſecret force of nature, thus breaking forth from them whether they will or no.* And again, *Ad* Deum *confugiunt, à* Deo *petitur auxilium,* Deus *ut ſubveniat oratur. Et ſi quis ad extremam mendicandi neceſſitatem redactus, victum precibus expoſcit,* Deum Solum *obteſtatur, & per ejus divinum atque unicum* Numen *hominum ſibi miſericordiam quærit: They fly to God, Aid is deſired of God, they pray that God would help them; and when any one is reduced to extremeſt neceſſity, he begs for Gods ſake, and by his Divine power alone implores the mercy of men.* Which ſame thing is fully confirmed alſo, by *Pro-*

clus upon *Plato's Timæus*, where he obſerves, that the *One Supreme God*, was more Univerſally believed throughout the World in all ages, than the *Many Inferiour Gods*; τάχα δ' ἂν εἴποις, ὅτι δὴ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῆ ἑαυταῖς προσεχεστέρων θᾶττον ὑπιλανθάνονται, τῆ δ' ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀρχῶν μᾶλλον μνημονεύουσι. Δρῶσι γὰρ μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὰς δι' ὑπεροχὴν δυνάμεως, ἢ δοκοῦσιν αὐταῖς παρεῖναι δι' ἐνέργειαν· ὃ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὸ ὄμμα γίγνεται τὸ ἡμέτερον· πολλὰ γὰρ τῆ ἐν γῆ πεπλεόνων ὄντων ὁρῶντες, ὅμως αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν δοκοῦμεν τὸ ἁπλανῆ, καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀστέρας, διότι καταλάμπουσιν ἡμᾶν τὸ ὄμμα τῆ ἑαυτῆ φωτί. Μᾶλλον δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ ὄμμα τ ψυχῆς, λήθην ἔχει καὶ ἀοργησίαν τῆ προσεχεστέρων, ἢ τῆ ἀνωτέρων καὶ θειοτέρων ἀρχῶν· ὅτω τὴν πρωτίστω ἀρχὴν πᾶσαι θρησκεῖαι καὶ αἱρέσεις συγχωρεῖν εἶναι, καὶ θεὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὑπικαλεῖσθαι βοηθόν· θεὸς δὲ εἶναι μετ' αὐτήν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ἀπ' αὐτῆ ἐν τῆ παντὶ, ὃ πᾶσαι πιστεύουσι· ἐναργέστερον γὰρ αὐταῖς καταφαίνεται τὸ ἓν τοῦ πλήθους· *And perhaps you may affirm, that Souls do ſooner loſe their knowledge of thoſe things which are Lower and Nearer to them, but retein a ſtronger remembrance of thoſe Higher Principles. Becauſe theſe do act more vigorouſly upon them, by reaſon of the Tranſcendency of their Power, and by their Energy ſeem to be preſent with them. And the ſame thing happens as to to our bodily Sight; for though there be many things here upon earth which none of us ſee, yet every one obſerves that Higheſt Sphere, and takes notice of the Fixed ſtars in it; becauſe theſe ſtrongly radiate with their light upon our eyes. In like manner does the Eye of our Soul, ſooner loſe the ſight and remembrance of the Lower than of the Higher and Diviner Principles. And thus all Religions and Sects, acknowledge that One Higheſt Principle of all, and men every where call upon God for their Helper; but that there are Gods, after and below that Higheſt Principle, and that there is a certain providence deſcending down from theſe upon the Univerſe, all Sects do not believe; the reaſon whereof is, becauſe The One or Unity, appears more clearly and plainly to them than The Many or a Multitude.*

P. 286.

Moreover we learn from *Arianus* his *Epictetus*, that that very Form of Prayer which hath been now ſo long in uſe in the Chriſtian Church, *Kyrie Eleeſon, Lord have mercy upon us*, was anciently part of the *Pagans Litany* to the *Supreme God*, either amongſt the Greeks, or the Latins, or Both, ἅ θεὸν ὑπικαλόμενοι (ſaith *Epictetus*) δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, *invoking God we pray to him after this manner, Lord have mercy upon us.* Now this *Epictetus* lived in the times of *Adrian* the Emperour, and that this Paſſage of his, is to be underſtood of Pagans and not of Chriſtians, is undeniably manifeſt from the context, he there ſpeaking of thoſe who uſed *Auguria* or Divination by Birds. Moreover in the writings of the Greekiſh Pagans, the Supreme God is often called Κύριος, or *Lord.* For, not to urge that paſſage of the τέλειος λόγος or Aſclepian Dialogue, cited by *Lactantius*, where we read of ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντων ποιητής, *the Lord and Maker of all. Menander* in *Juſt. Martyr*, ſtileth the Supreme God, ὁ ὕπατα πάντων Κύριον χρηματίζων, *the moſt Univerſal Lord of all.* And *Oſiris* in *Plutarch* is called, ἀπάντων Κύριος, *the Lord of all things.* And this is alſo done Abſolutely, and without any *Adjection*, and that not only by the Seventy, and Chriſtians, but alſo by Pagan Writers; thus in *Plutarch's de Iſide & Oſiride*, we read of τῶ πρώτω, καὶ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ, καὶ

L. 2. c. 7.

νοητῦ γνῶσις, *The knowledge of the first Intelligible, and the Lord*, that is, of the *Supreme God*. And *Oromasdes* is called ὁ Κύριος, *The Lord*, in *Plutarch*'s Life of *Alexander*; as Νοῦς also, Κύριος, by *Aristotle*, that is *the Supreme Ruler over all*. Thus likewise *Plato* in his Sixth Epistle *ad Hermiam, &c.* styles his *First Divine Hypostasis*, or the *Absolutely Supreme Deity*, τὸ ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίας πατρὸς Κύριον, *The Father of the Prince and Cause of the World*, (that is, of the *Eternal Intellect*) *The LORD*. Again *Jamblichus* writeth thus of the *Supreme God*, δεῖν ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς τοῦ περὶ ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖν, *It is confessed that every Good thing ought to be asked of the Lord*, that is, *the Supreme God*; which words are afterwards repeated in him also. *p.* 129. but depraved in the printed Copy thus, δεῖν ὁμολογεῖν περὶ τοῦ περὶ τ' ἀγαθὸν ζῆν. Lastly, *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, that the *Supreme God* was called not by one only name, but by divers diversly, namely, ἤτοι Ἕν, ἢ τ' Ἀγαθόν, ἢ Νοῦν, ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ Ὄν, ἢ Πατέρα, ἢ Θεόν, ἢ Δημιοργόν, ἢ Κύριον, *Either the One, or the Good, or Mind, or the very* Ens, *or the Father, or the* Demiurgus, *or the Lord*. Wherefore we conclude, that this *Kyrie Eleeson*, or *Domine Miserere*, in *Arrianus*, was a *Pagan Litany* or *Supplication* to the *Supreme God*. Though from *Mauritius* the Emperors *Stratagemata* it appears that in his time a *Kyrie Eleeson* was wont to be sung also by the Christian Armies before Battel.

De An. L. 1. c. 7.

Vit. Pyth. p. 89.

Rigalt. Gloss.

And that the most Sottishly Superstitious and Idolatrous of all the Pagans, and the Worshippers of never so many Gods amongst them; did notwithstanding generally acknowledge, *One Supreme Deity* over them all, *One Universal Numen*, is positively affirmed, and fully attested by *Aurelius Prudentius*, in his *Apotheosis*; in these words;

Vers. 254.

Ecquis in Idolio recubans inter sacra mille,
Ridiculosque Deos venerans, sale, cæspite, thure,
Non putat esse Deum Summum, & super omnia Solum?
Quamvis Saturnis, Junonibus, & Cytheræis,
Portentisque aliis, fumantes consecret aras;
Attamen in Cœlum quoties suspexit, in Uno
Constituit jus omne Deo, cui serviat ingens
Virtutum ratio, Variis instructa Ministris.

We are not ignorant that *Plato* in his *Cratylus*, where he undertakes to give the Etymologies of words, and amongst the rest of the word Θεοί, writeth in this manner, concerning the *First and most Ancient Inhabitants of Greece*; *That they seemed to him, like as other Barbarians at that time, to have acknowledged no other Gods, than such as were Visible and Sensible, as the Sun and the Moon, and the Earth, and the Stars, and the Heaven. Which they perceiving to run round perpetually, therefore called them* Θεοὺς, from Θέω; *that signifies to run. But that when afterward, they took notice of other Invisible Gods also, they bestowed the same name of* Θεοὶ *upon them likewise.* Which Passage of *Plato*'s *Eusebius* somewhere would make use of, to prove that the Pagans universally acknowledged no other Gods, but *Corporeal* and *Inanimate*; plainly contrary to that Philosophers meaning, who as he no where affirms, that any Nation ever was so barbarous, as to worship *Senseless* and *Inanimate Bodies*, as such, for Gods, but the contrary; so doth

doth he there diſtinguiſh, from thoſe Firſt Inhabitants of *Greece* and other Barbarians, the afterward Civilized Greeks, who took notice of *Inviſible Gods* alſo. However, if this of *Plato* ſhould be true, that ſome of the ancient Pagans, worſhipped none but *Viſible* and *Senſible Gods* (they taking no notice of any *Incorporeal Beings*) yet does it not therefore follow, that thoſe Pagans had no Notion at all amongſt them, of *One Supreme and Univerſal Numen.* The contrary thereunto being manifeſt, that ſome of thoſe *Corporealiſts* looked upon the whole *Heaven* and *Ether Animated*, as the *Higheſt God*, according to that of *Euripides* cited by *Cicero*,

De N. D. p. 223.

Vides Sublime fuſum, immoderatum æthera,
Qui tenero terram circumvectu amplectitur,
Hunc Summum habeto Divum, hunc perhibeto Jovem.

As alſo that others of them conceived that *Subtil Fiery Subſtance*, which permeates and pervades the whole World, (ſuppoſed to be Intellectual) to be the *Supreme Deity* which governs all; this Opinion having been entertained by Philoſophers alſo, as namely the *Heracliticks* and *Stoicks.* And laſtly, ſince *Macrobius* in the Perſon of *Vettius Prætextatus*, refers ſo many of the Pagan Gods, to the Sun, this renders it not improbable, but that ſome of theſe Pagans might adore the *Animated Sun*, as the Sovereign Numen, and thus perhaps invoke him in that Form of Prayer there mentioned Ἥλιε παντοκράτωρ, κόσμου πνεῦμα, *O Omnipotent Sun, the Mind and Spirit of the whole World*, &c. And even *Cleanthes* himſelf, that Learned Stoick, and Devout Religioniſt, is ſuſpected by ſome to have been of this Perſwaſion.

Nevertheleſs we think it opportune here to obſerve, that it was not *Macrobius* his Deſign in thoſe his *Saturnalia*, to defend this, either as his own opinion, or as the opinion of the Generality of Pagans, That the *Animated Sun*, was Abſolutely *The Higheſt Deity*; (as ſome have conceived) nor yet to reduce that Multiplicity of Pagan Gods, by this device of his, into a ſeeming Monarchy and nearer compliance with Chriſtianity; he there plainly confining his Diſcourſe, to the *Dii duntaxat qui ſub Cælo ſunt*, that is, *the Lower ſort of Mundane Gods*, and undertaking to ſhew, not that all of theſe neither, but only that many of them, were reducible to the Sun, as *Polyonymous*, and called by ſeveral Names, according to his Several *Vertues* and *Effects.* For, what *Macrobius* his own opinion was, concerning the *Supreme Deity*, appeareth plainly from his other Writings, particularly this Paſſage of his Commentary upon *Scipio*'s Dream, where the *Higheſt Sphere* and *Starry Heaven* was called *Summus Deus*, *the Supreme God*; *Quod hunc Extimum Globum, Summum Deum vocavit, non ita accipiendum eſt, ut iſte Prima Cauſa, & Deus ille Omnipotentiſſimus exiſtimetur; cum Globus ipſe, quod Cælum eſt, Animæ ſit Fabrica, Anima ex Mente proceſſerit, Mens ex Deo, qui verè Summus eſt, procreata ſit. Sed Summum quidem dixit ad Cæterorum Ordinem qui ſubjecti ſunt: Deum verò quòd non modò Immortale Animal ac Divinum ſit, plenum inclytæ ex illa puriſſima Mente rationis, ſed quod & virtutes*

L. 1. c. 17.

virtutes omnes, quæ illam Primæ Omnipotentiam Summitatis ſequantur, aut ipſe faciat, aut contineat; Ipſum denique Jovem *veteres vocaverunt, & apud Theologos* Jupiter *eſt mundi Anima: That the Outmoſt Sphere is here called The Supreme God, is not ſo to be underſtood, as if this were thought to be The Firſt Cauſe, and The Moſt Omnipotent God of all. For this Starry Sphere being but a part of the Heaven, was made or produced by Soul. Which Soul alſo proceeded from a Perfect Mind or Intellect; and again Mind was begotten from that God, who is Truly Supreme. But the Higheſt Sphere is here called the Supreme God, only in reſpect to thoſe Leſſer Spheres or Gods, that are conteined under it; and it is ſtyled a God, becauſe it is not only an Immortal and Divine Animal, full of Reaſon derived from that Pureſt Mind, but alſo becauſe it maketh or conteineth within it ſelf, all thoſe Vertues which follow that Omnipotence of the Firſt Summity. Laſtly, this was called by the ancients* Jupiter, *and* Jupiter *to Theologers is the Soul of the World.* Wherefore though *Macrobius*, as generally the other Pagans, did undoubtedly worſhip the Sun as a *Great God*, and probably would not ſtick to call him *Jupiter* nor παντωκρατωρ neither (in a certain ſence) *Omnipotent or the Governour of all*, nor perhaps *Deum Summum*, as well as the Starry Heaven was ſo ſtyled in *Scipio*'s Dream, he being the Chief Moderator in this Lower World; yet nevertheleſs it is plain that he was far from thinking the Sun to be *Primam Cauſam*, or *Omnipotentiſſimum Deum*; *The Firſt Cauſe*, or *the moſt Omnipotent God of all.* He acknowledging above the *Sun* and *Heaven*, *Firſt*, an *Eternal Pſyche*, which was the Maker or Creator of them both; and then above this *Pſyche*, a *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*, and Laſtly above that *Mind* a *God* who was *Verè Summus*, *Truly and Properly Supreme*, *The Firſt Cauſe*, *and the moſt Omnipotent of all Gods.* Wherein *Macrobius* plainly Platonized, aſſerting a *Trinity of Archical or Divine Hypoſtaſes.* Which ſame Doctrine is elſewhere alſo further declared by him after this manner; *Deus qui Prima Cauſa eſt & vocatur, Unus omnium, quæque ſunt quæque videntur eſſe, Principium & Origo eſt. Hic ſuperabundanti Majeſtatis fæcunditate de ſe Mentem creavit. Hæc Mens quæ* Νοῦς *vocatur, qua Patrem inſpicit, plenam ſimilitudinem ſervat auctoris,, Animam verò de ſe creat poſteriora reſpiciens. Rurſus Anima partem quam intuetur induitur, ac paulatim regrediente reſpectu in fabricam corporum, in corporea ipſa degenerat: God who is and is called, the Firſt Cauſe, is alone the Fountain and Original of all things that are or ſeem to be; He by his ſuperabundant Fecundity, produced from himſelf Mind, which Mind, as it looks upward towards its Father, bears the perfect reſemblance of its Author, but as it looked downward, produced Soul. And this Soul again as to its ſuperiour part reſembles that Mind from whence it was begotten; but working downwards, produced the Corporeal Fabrick, and acteth upon Body.* Beſides which the ſame *Macrobius* tells us, that *Summi & Principis omnium Dei, nullum Simulachrum finxit Antiquitas, quia ſupra Animam & Naturam eſt, quo nihil fas eſt de fabulis pervenire; de Diis autem cæteris, & de Anima, non fruſtra ſe ad fabuloſa convertunt: The Pagan Antiquity made no Image at all of the Higheſt God, or Prince of all things, becauſe he is above Soul and Nature, where it is not lawful for any Fabuloſity to be intromitted. But as to the other Gods, the Soul of the World, and thoſe below*

Somn. Scip. L. 1. c. 14.

below it, they thought it not inconvenient here, to make use of Images, and Fiction or Fabulosity. From all which it plainly appears, that neither *Macrobius* himself, nor the Generality of the ancient Pagans according to his apprehension did look upon the *Animated Sun*, as the Absolutely *Supreme and Highest Being.*

And perhaps it may not be amiss to suggest here, what hath been already observed; that the Persians themselves also, who of all Pagan Nations, have been most charged with this, the Worshipping of the Sun as the *Supreme Deity*, under the name of *Mithras*, did notwithstanding if we may believe *Eubulus* (who wrote the History of *Mithras* at large) acknowledge another *Invisible Deity Superiour* to it, (and which was the *Maker thereof and of the whole World*) as the True and Proper *Mithras.* Which opinion, is also plainly confirmed, not only by *Herodotus*, distinguishing their *Jupiter* from the Sun, but also by *Xenophon* in sundry places, as particularly where he speaks of *Cyrus* his being admonished in a Dream of his aproaching death, and thereupon addressing his Devotion by Sacrifices and Prayers; first to the Ζεὺς πάτριος, *the Persian Jupiter*, and then to the Sun, and the other Gods. Ἔθυε Διΐ τε πατρῴῳ καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὅπῃ νομὸς ἄνειρον, ὡς πέρσαι θύσαν, ὧδε ἐπεύχόμενος, Ζεῦ πάτριε καὶ ἥλιε καὶ πάντες θεοί, δέχεσθε τάδε χαριστήρια, &c. *He sacrificed to their Country (or the Persian)* Jupiter, *and to the Sun, and to the other Gods, upon the Tops of the Mountains, as the custom of the Persians is; praying after this manner; Thou our Country* Jupiter (that is, *thou Mithras* or *Oromasdes*) *and thou Sun, and all ye other Gods; accept, I pray you, these my Eucharistick Sacrifices*, &c. And we find also the like Prayer used by *Darius* in *Plutarch* Ζεῦ πάτριε Περσῶν, *Thou our Country* Jupiter, or *supreme God of the Persians.* Moreover *Herodotus* and *Curtius* record, that in the Persian Pomp and Procession, there was wont to be drawn a Chariot sacred to *Jupiter*, distinct from that of the Sun. But *Cyrus* his Proclamation in the Book of *Esdras*, putteth all out of doubt; since *That Lord God of* Heaven, who is there said, *to have given* Cyrus *all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and commanded him to build Him a House at Jerusalem*, cannot be understood of the Sun.

L. 1 *N.*131.

*Cyri Inst. L.*8. *p.*184.

De Fort. Alex. L. 2.

The Ethiopians in *Strabo's* time, may well be look'd upon as Barbarians, and yet did they not only acknowledge *One Supreme Deity*, but also such as was distinct from the world, and therefore *Invisible*, he writing thus concerning them, Θεὸν νομίζουσι τὸ μὲν ἀθάνατον, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸ αἴτιον τῶν πάντων, τὸ δὲ θνητὸν, ἀνώνυμόν τινα, ὡς δ' ὀλίγου τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ βασιλικοὺς θεοὺς νομίζουσι· *They believe, that there is One Immortal God, and this the Cause of all things; and another Mortal one, anonymous; but for the most part they account their Benefactors and Kings, Gods also.* And though *Cæsar* affirm of the ancient Germans, *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus apertè juvantur, Solem, &* Vulcanum, *& Lunam*, yet is he contradicted by *Tacitus*, who coming after him had better information; and others have recorded, that they acknowledged *One Supreme God*, under the name of *Thau* first, and then of *Thautes*, and *Theutates.* Lastly, the Generality of the Pagans at this very day, as the *Indians*, *Chineses*,

*L.*17.*p.*822.

See *Sched. de Diis Germ.*

Chineſes, *Siamenſes* and *Guineans*; the Inhabitants of *Peru*, *Mexico*, *Virginia*, and *New England*, (ſome of which are ſufficiently Barbarous) acknowledge *One Supreme* or *Greateſt* God; they having their ſeveral Proper Names for him, as *Parmiſcer*, *Fetiſſo*, *Wiracocha*, *Pachacamac*, *Vitziliputzti*, *&c.* though worſhipping withal, other Gods and Idols. And we ſhall conclude this with the Teſtimony of *Joſephus Acoſta*: *Hoc commune apud omnes penè Barbaros eſt, ut Deum quidem Omnium rerum Supremum & ſummè Bonum, fateantur; Spirituum vero quorundam perverſorum non obſcura opinio ſit, qui à noſtris Barbaris* Zupay *vocari ſolent. Igitur & quis ille Summus, idemque Sempiternus rerum omnium Opifex, quem illi ignorantes colunt, per omnia doceri debent, mox quantum ab illo illiuſque fidelibus Miniſtris Angelis, abſint gens peſſima Cacodæmonum. This is common almoſt to all the Barbarians, to confeſs one Supreme God over all, who is perfectly Good; as alſo they have a Perſwaſion amongſt them of certain Evil Spirits, which are called by our Barbarians* Zupay. *Wherefore they ought to be firſt well inſtructed, what that Supreme and Eternal Maker of all things is, whom they ignorantly worſhip; and then how great a difference there is, betwixt thoſe wicked Dæmons, and his faithful Miniſters, the Angels.* *De Proc. Ind. Sal. L. 5. 479.*

XXVIII. It hath been already declared, that according to *Themiſtius* and *Symmachus*, two zealous Pagans, One and the ſame *Supreme God*, was worſhipped in all the ſeveral Pagan Religions throughout the world, though after different manners. Which Diverſity of Religions, as in their opinion, it was no way inconvenient in it ſelf, ſo neither was it Ungrateful nor Unacceptable to Almighty God, it being more for his Honour, State and Grandeur, to be worſhipped with this Variety, than after one only Manner. Now that this was alſo the opinion of other ancienter Pagans before them, may appear from this remarkable Teſtimony of *Plutarch's* in his Book *De Iſide*, where defending the Egyptian Worſhip (which was indeed the main deſign of that whole Book;) but withal declaring, that no Inanimate thing ought to be look'd upon or worſhipped as a God, he writeth thus: P. 377.

ὁ γὰρ ὂν ἀδὲ ἄψυχον ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς, τὰς ὑδρομήρους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας ἀέναα καὶ διαρκῆ, θεὸς ἐνομίσαμεν, οὐχ ἑτέρους παρ' ἑτέρους, οὐδὲ βαρβάρους καὶ ἕλλωας, οὐδὲ νοτείους καὶ βορείους· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνη καὶ οὐρανὸς, καὶ γῆ, καὶ θάλασσα, κοινὰ πᾶσιν, ὀνομάζεται δ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων, ὅτως ΕΝΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ τοῦ ταῦτα κοσμοῦντος καὶ ΜΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΣ ἐπιτροπεύσης, καὶ δυνάμεων ὑπηρέτων ἐπὶ πάσας τεταγμένων, ἕτεροι παρ' ἑτέροις κατὰ νόμιον γεγόνασι τιμαὶ καὶ προσηγορίαι· καὶ συμβόλοις χρῶνται καθιερώμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἀμυθροῖς, οἱ δὲ τραχυτέροις, ὡς τὰ θεῖα νόησιν ὁδηγοῦντες ὡς ἀκινδύνως· *No Inanimate thing ought to be eſteemed for a God, but they who beſtow theſe things upon us, and afford us a continual ſupply thereof for our uſe, have been therefore accounted by us Gods. Which Gods are not different to different Nations; as if the Barbarians and the Greeks, the Southern and the Northern Inhabitants of the Globe, had not any the ſame, but all other different Gods. But as the Sun and the Moon, and the Heaven and the Earth, and the Sea, are common to all, though called by ſeveral names in ſeveral Countries, ſo ONE REASON ordering theſe things and ONE PROVIDENCE diſpenſing all, and the Inferiour ſubſervient Miniſters thereof, having had ſeveral Names and Honours beſtowed upon them by*

the Laws of ſeveral Countreys, have been every where worſhipped throughout the whole world. And there have been alſo different Symbols conſecrated to them, the better to conduct and lead on mens underſtandings to Divine things; though this hath not been without ſome hazard or danger of caſting men upon one or other of theſe Two Inconveniences, either Superſtition or Atheiſm. Where *Plutarch* plainly affirms, that the *Several Religions* of the *Pagan Nations*, whether Greeks or Barbarians, and among theſe the *Egyptians* alſo, as well as others, conſiſted in nothing elſe, but the worſhipping of One and the Same *Supreme Mind, Reaſon* and *Providence*, that orders all things in the world, and of its ὑπερχοὶ δυνάμεις ὅτι πάντα τεταγμένοι, *its Subſervient Powers or Miniſters*, appointed by it over all the ſeveral parts of the World; though under different *Names, Rites* and *Ceremonies*, and with different *Symbols.*

Moreover that *Titus Livius* was of the very ſame opinion, that the Pagan Gods of ſeveral Countreys, though called by ſeveral Names, and worſhipped with ſo great Diverſity of Rites and Ceremonies, yet were not for all that, Different, but the ſame common to all, may be concluded from this paſſage of his, where he writeth of *Hannibal*: *Neſcio an Mirabilior fuerit in adverſis, quàm ſecundis rebus. Quippe qui miſtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, quibus alius Ritus, alia ſacra, alii* PROPE *Dii eſſent, ita uno vinculo copulaverit, ut nulla ſeditio extiterit. I know not whether* Hannibal *were more admirable in his adverſity or Proſperity; who having a mixt colluvies of all Nations under him, which had different Rites, different Ceremonies, and Almoſt different Gods, from one another, did notwithſtanding ſo unite them all together in one common bond, that there hapned no ſedition at all amongſt them.* Where *Livy* plainly intimates, that though there was as great diverſity of Religious Rites and Ceremonies among the Pagans, as if they had worſhipped ſeveral Gods, yet the Gods of them all, were really the ſame, Namely, *One Supreme God, and his Miniſters under him.* And the ſame *Livy* elſewhere declares, this to have been the General opinion of the Romans and Italians likewiſe at that time; where he tells us how they quarrel'd with *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, for that when being Cenſor, and building a new Temple in *Spain*, he uncovered another Temple dedicated to *Juno Lacinia* amongſt the *Brutii*, and taking off the Marble-Tyles thereof, ſent them into Spain to adorn his new erected Temple withal; and how they accuſed him thereupon publickly in the Senate-houſe in this manner, *Quod ruinis Templorum Templa ædificaret, tanquam non Iidem ubique Dii immortales eſſent, ſed ſpoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique; That with the ruines of Temples he built up Temples; as if there were not every where the Same Immortal Gods; but that ſome of them might be worſhipped and adorned with the ſpoils of others.*

L. 28. C. 12.

Dec. 5.

The Egyptians were doubtleſs the moſt ſingular of all the Pagans, and the moſt odly diſcrepant from the reſt in their manner of worſhip, yet nevertheleſs, that theſe alſo agreed with the reſt in thoſe *Fundamentals*, of worſhipping one *Supreme and Univerſal Numen*, together

gether with his *Inferiour Ministers*, as *Plutarch* sets himself industriously to maintain it, in that forementioned Book *De Iside*, so was it further cleared and made out (as *Damascius* informs us) by Two Famous Egyptian Philosophers *Asclepiades* and *Heraiscus* in certain writings of theirs, that have been since lost: Αἰγυπτίους δ' ὁ μὲν Εὔδημος, ὅδεν ἀφορμὰς ἴσχει· οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλόσοφοι γεγονότες, ἐξήνεγκαν αὐτῆς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πεπυμμένοι, δύο φάντες ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις δύ' τινὰ λόγους, ὡς ἓν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ μὲν μία τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴ, σκότος ἄγνωστον, &c. ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὅτι διαιρετικοί εἰσι πολλαχοῦ, τῶν κατ' ἕνωσιν ὑφεστώτων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ νοητὸν διηρήκασιν εἰς πολλῶν θεῶν ἰδιότητας, ὡς ἔξεστι μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνων συγγράμμασιν ἐντυχοῦσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις· λέγω δὲ τῇ Ἡραΐσκου ἀναγραφῇ, τὸ Αἰγυπτίων καθόλου λόγου, πρὸς τὴν Πρόκλου γραφείσῃ τοῦ φιλόσοφον, καὶ τῇ ἀρξαμένῃ γραφεσθαι συμφωνίᾳ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιάδου τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους θεολόγους· *Though* Eudemus *hath given us no certain account of the Egyptians, yet the Egyptian Philosophers of latter times, have declared the hidden truth of their Theology, having found in some Egyptian Monuments, that according to them there is one Principle of all things, celebrated under the name of the Unknown Darkness, and this thrice repeated,* &c. *Moreover this is to be observed concerning these Egyptians, that they are wont to divide and multiply things that are One and the Same. And accordingly have they divided and multiplied the First intelligible or the One Supreme Deity, into the Properties of Many Gods; as any one may find that pleases to consult their writings; I mean that of* Heraiscus, *entitled the Universal Doctrine of the Egyptians, and inscribed to* Proclus *the Philosopher; and that Symphony or Harmony of the Egyptians with other Theologers, begun to be written by* Asclepiades *and left imperfect.* Of which Work of *Asclepiades* the Egyptian, *Suidas* also maketh mention, upon the Word *Heraiscus*; ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὅτι πλεῖον ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις βιβλίοις ἀναγραφεὶς, ἀφορμὰς ἔσχε περὶ θεολογίαν τὴν πάτριον, ἀρχάς τε αὐτῆς καὶ μέσα διεσκεμμένος, ὡς ἔξεστιν εἰδέναι σαφῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὕμνων, ὧν συνέγραφεν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων θεούς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πραγματείας, ἣν ἤρξατο γράφειν περιέχουσαν τὴν θεολογιῶν ἁπασῶν συμφωνίαν· *But* Asclepiades *having been more conversant with ancient Egyptian writings, was more throughly instructed, and exactly skilled in his Country Theology; he having searched into the Principles thereof, and all the consequences resulting from them; as manifestly appeareth from those Hymns which he composed in praise of the Egyptian Gods, and from that Tractate begun to be written by him (but left unfinished) which containeth, The Symphony of all Theologies.* *Damasc. de Princ. M.S.*

Now we say that *Asclepiades* his *Symphony of all the Pagan Theologies*, and therefore of the Egyptian with the rest; was their agreement in those *Two Fundamentals* expressed by *Plutarch*; namely the worshipping of *One Supreme and Universal Numen, Reason and Providence*, governing all things; and then of his Subservient Ministers (the Instruments of Providence) appointed by him, over all the parts of the world: Which being honoured under several Names, and with different Rites and Ceremonies, according to the Laws of the respective Countreys caused all that Diversity of Religions, that was amongst them. Both which *Fundamental Points*, of the *Pagan Theology*, were in like manner acknowledged by *Symmachus*, The First of them being thus expressed, *Æquum est quicquid omnes colunt, Unum*

putari, That all Religions agreed in this, the Worſhipping of One and the ſame Supreme Numen; and the Second thus, *Varios Cuſtodes Urbibus Mens Divina diſtribuit, That the Divine Mind appointed divers Guardian and Tutelar Spirits under him, unto Cities and Countries.* He there adding alſo, that *Suus cuique Mos eſt, ſuum cuique Jus, That every Nation had their peculiar Modes and Manners in worſhipping of theſe:* and that theſe external differences in Religion, ought not to be ſtood upon, but every one to obſerve the Religion of his own Country. Or elſe theſe *Two Fundamental Points* of the *Pagan Theology*, may be thus expreſſed, Firſt, that there is *One Self-Originated Deity*, who was the δημιουργὸς or *Maker of the whole World*, Secondly, That there are beſides him, *Other Gods alſo*, to be Religiouſly worſhipped (that is, Intellectual Beings ſuperiour to men) which were notwithſtanding all Made or Created by that One; *Stobæus* thus declaring their ſence, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θεῶν ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ἅμα τῷ κόσμῳ γενόμενον, *That the multitude of Gods, is the work of the Demiurgus, made by him together with the world.*

Ecl. Phyſ. c. 1.

XXIX. And that the *Pagan Theologers*, did thus generally acknowledge, *One Supreme and Univerſal Numen*, appears plainly from hence, becauſe they ſuppoſed the whole World to be *an Animal.* Thus the Writer *de Placitis Philoſ.* and out of him *Stobæus*, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔμψυχον τὸν κόσμον καὶ προνοίᾳ διοικούμενον· Λεύκιππος δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἄτομα εἰσηγοῦνται καὶ τὸ κενόν, ἄτε ἔμψυχον ὄντα προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι, φύσει δέ τινι ἀλόγῳ· *All others aſſert the World to be an Animal, and governed by Providence; only* Leucippus, Democritus, *and* Epicurus, *and thoſe who make Atoms and* Vacuum *the Principles of all things, diſſenting, who neither acknowledge the World to be Animated, nor yet to be governed by Providence; but by an Irrational Nature.* Where by the way, we may obſerve the Fraud and Juggling of *Gaſſendus*, who takes occaſion from hence highly to extol aud applaud *Epicurus*, as one who approached nearer to Chriſtianity than all the other Philoſophers, in that he denied the *World to be an Animal*; whereas according to the Language and Notions of thoſe times, to deny the *Worlds Animation*, and to *be an Atheiſt* or to deny a *God*, was one and the ſame thing; becauſe all the Pagans who then aſſerted *Providence*, held the World alſo to be *Animated*; neither did *Epicurus* deny the *Worlds Animation*, upon any other account than this, becauſe he denied *Providence.* And the Ground upon which this opinion of the *Worlds Animation* was built, was ſuch as might be obvious even to vulgar undererſtandings; and it is thus expreſſed by *Plotinus* according to the ſence of the Ancients, ἄτοπον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄψυχον λέγειν, ἡμᾶς οἱ μέρος σώματος ἔχομεν τοῦ παντὸς, ψυχὴν ἐχόντων· πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὸ μέρος ἔσχεν, ἀψύχου τοῦ παντὸς ὄντος· *It is abſurd to affirm, that the Heaven or World is Inanimate, or devoid of Life and Soul, when we our ſelves who have but a part of the Mundane Body in us, are endued with Soul. For how could a Part have Life and Soul in it, the Whole being Dead and inanimate?* Now if the whole world be *One Animal*, then muſt it needs be Governed by *One Soul*, and not by *Many.* Which *One Soul of the World*, and the whole *Mundane Animal* was by ſome of the Pagan Theolo-

Plut. L. 2. c. 3. Stob Ecl. Phyſ. c. 25.

En. 4 L. 3. c. 7.

Theologers (as namely the Stoicks) taken to be the πρῶτος θεὸς, *The First and Higheſt God of all.*

Nevertheleſs others of the Pagan Theologers, though aſſerting the *World's Animation* likewiſe, yet would by no means allow the *Mundane Soul* to be the *Supreme Deity*; they conceiving the *Firſt and Higheſt God* to be an *Abſtract* and *Immovable Mind*, and not a *Soul.* Thus the Panegyriſt, (cited alſo by *Gyraldus*,) invokes the Supreme Deity doubtfully and cautiouſly, as not knowing well what to call him, whether *Soul* or *Mind*; *Te Summe rerum Sator, cujus tot nomina ſunt, quot gentium linguas eſſe voluiſti; quem enim te ipſe dici velis, ſcire non poſſumus: ſive in te quædam vis Menſque Divina eſt, quæ toto infuſa mundo, omnibus miſcearis elementis, & ſine ullo extrinſecus accedente vigoris impulſu, per te ipſe movearis; ſive aliqua ſupra omne Cœlum poteſtas es, quæ hoc opus totum ex altiore Naturæ arce deſpicias: Te inquam oramus, &c. Thou Supreme Original of all things, who haſt as many Names as thou haſt pleaſed there ſhould be languages; whether thou beeſt a certain Divine Force and Soul, that infuſed into the whole world art mingled with all the Elements, and without any External impulſe moved from thy ſelf; or whether thou beeſt a Power Elevated above the Heavens, which lookeſt down upon the whole work of Nature, as from a higher Tower; Thee we invoke,* &c. And as the Supreme Deity was thus conſidered only as a *Perfect Mind*, Superiour to *Soul*, ſo was the *Mundane Soul* and *whole Animated World*, called by theſe Pagans frequently, ὁ δεύτερος θεὸς, *The Second God.* Thus in the Aſclepian Dialogue or Perfect Oration, is the Lord and Maker of all, ſaid to have made a *Second God* Viſible and Senſible, which is the *World.* *Hiſt. Deor. p. 12.*

But for the moſt part, they who aſſerted a God, *Superiour* to the *Soul* of the *World*, did maintain *a Trinity of Univerſal Principles*, or *Divine Hypoſtaſes* ſubordinate, they conceiving, that as there was above the *Mundane Soul* a *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*; ſo that *Mind* and *Intellect* as ſuch, was not the *Firſt Principle* neither, becauſe there muſt be νοητὸν in order of nature before νοῦς, an *Intelligible* before *Intellect.* Which *Firſt Intelligible*, was called by them, τὸ ἓν and τἀγαθὸν, *The One*, and *The Good*, or *Unity* and *Goodneſs* it ſelf Subſtantial, the Cauſe of *Mind* and All things. Now as the *Tagathon* or Higheſt of theſe *Three Hypoſtaſes*, was ſometimes called by them ὁ πρῶτος θεὸς, *The Firſt God*, and νοῦς or *Intellect* ὁ δεύτερος θεὸς, *The Second God*, ſo was the *Mundane Soul* and Animated world, called τρίτος θεὸς, *The Third God* Thus *Numenius* in *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, Νουμήνιος μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνυμνήσας θεὸς, πατέρα μὲν καλεῖ τὸν πρῶτον, ποιητὴν δὲ τὸν δεύτερον, ποίημα δὲ τὸν τρίτον· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἔξει θεὸς, ὡς ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργὸς διττὸς, ὅτε πρῶτος μὲν ὁ δεύτερος θεὸς, τὸ δὲ δημιουργούμενον ὁ τρίτος· Numenius *praiſing Three Gods, calls the Father the Firſt God, the Maker the Second, and the Work the Third. For the World according to him, is the Third God; as he ſuppoſes alſo Two Opificers, the Firſt and the Second God.* *Plotinus* in like manner ſpeaks of this alſo, as very Familiar language amongſt thoſe Pagans, καὶ ὁ κόσμος θεὸς, ὥς φασι σύνηθες λέγειν, τρίτος, *And the World; as is commonly ſaid, is the Third God.* *P. 93.* *Enn. 3. L. 5. §. 6.*

But

But neither they, who held the Supreme Deity to be an Immovable *Mind* or *Intellect*, ſuperiour to the *Mundane Soul* (as *Ariſtotle* and *Xenocrates*) did ſuppoſe that *Mundane Soul* and the *whole World*, to have depended upon *Many* ſuch Immovable Intellects Self-exiſtent, as their *Firſt Cauſe*, but only upon *One:* nor they, who admitting a *Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes*, made the Supreme Deity properly, to be a *Monad* above *Mind* or *Intellect*, did conceive that *Intellect* to have depended upon *Many* ſuch *Monads*, as *Firſt Principles Coordinate*, but upon *One only*. From whence it plainly appears, that the Pagan Theologers, did always reduce things under a *Monarchy*, and acknowledge not *Many Independent Deities*, but *One Univerſal Numen* (whether called *Soul*, or *Mind*, or *Monad*) as the Head of all. Though it hath been already declared, that thoſe Pagans, who were *Trinitarians*, eſpecially the *Platoniſts*, do often take thoſe their *Three Hypoſtaſes* ſubordinate (a *Monad*, *Mind* and *Soul*) all together, for the τὸ θεῖον, or *One Supreme Numen*; as ſuppoſing an extraordinary kind of *Unity*, in that *Trinity* of *Hypoſtaſes*, and ſo as it were, a certain *Latitude* and *Gradation*, in the *Deity*.

Where by the way Two things may be obſerved, concerning the Pagan Theologers; Firſt, that according to them generally the whole Corporeal Syſtem, was not a *Dead Thing*, like a Machin or *Automaton* Artificially made by men, but that *Life* and *Soul* was mingled with and diffuſed thorough it All: inſomuch that *Ariſtotle* himſelf, taxes thoſe, who made the World to conſiſt of nothing but *Monads* or *Atoms* altogether *Dead and Inanimate*, as being therefore a kind of *Atheiſts*. Secondly, That how much ſoever ſome of them ſuppoſed the *Supreme Deity* and *Firſt Cauſe*, to be Elevated above the Heaven and Corporeal World, yet did they not therefore conceive either the World to be quite *Cut off* from that, or that from the World, ſo as to have no commerce with it nor influence upon it; but as all proceeded from this *Firſt Cauſe*, ſo did they ſuppoſe that to be cloſely and intimately united with all thoſe Emanations from it ſelf, (though without Mixture and Confuſion) and all to ſubſiſt in it, and be pervaded by it. *Plutarch* in his Platonick Queſtions, propounds this amongſt the reſt, Τί δή ποτε ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεὸν, πατέρα πάντων καὶ ποιητὴν προσεῖπεν; *Why* Plato *called the Higheſt God, the Father and Maker of All?* To which he anſwers in the Firſt place thus, τῷ μὲν θεῶν γεννητῷ καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπων πατὴρ ὄντι, ποιητὴς ὁ τῷ ἀλόγων καὶ τῷ ἀψύχων· *That perhaps he was called the Father of all the Generated Gods, and of men, but the Maker of the Irrational and Inanimate things of the World.* But afterward he adds, That this Higheſt God, might therefore be ſtyled the Father of the whole Corporeal World alſo, as well as the Maker, becauſe it is no Dead and Inanimate thing, but endued with Life; ἔμψυχα γὰρ γένεσις ἡ γένεσίς ἐστι· καὶ ποιητὸν μὲν, οἷος οἰκοδόμος ἢ ὑφάντης, ἢ λύρας δημιουργὸς ἢ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς, ἀπέλαυσι τὸ γενόμενον ἔργον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀρχὴ καὶ δύναμις ἐγκέκραται τῷ τεκνωθέντι, καὶ συνέχει τὸ φύσιν, ἀπόσπασμα καὶ μέρος ὅσον τοῦ τεκνώσαντος. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ πεπλασμένοις ὁ κόσμος, οὐδὲ συνηρμοσμένοις ποιήμασιν ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῷ μοῖρα πολλὴ ζωότητος καὶ θειότητος, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐγκατέσπειρεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ κατέμιξεν, εἰκό-

P. 100. *par.*

τως

τως ἅμα παντήρει τῷ κόσμῳ ζῴῳ γεγονότος, καὶ ποιητὴς ἐπονομάζεται· *Generation is the making or production of ſomething Animate. And the work of an Artificer, as an Architect or Statuary, as ſoon as it is produced, departeth and is removed from the Maker thereof, as having no Intrinſick dependance upon him; Whereas from him that begetteth, there is a Principle and Power infuſed into that which is begotten, and mingled therewith, that conteineth the whole nature thereof, as being a kind of Avulſion from the Begetter. Wherefore ſince the World is not like to thoſe works, that are Artificially made and compacted by men, but hath a participation of Life and Divinity, which God hath inſerted into it and mingled with it; God is therefore rightly ſtiled by* Plato, *not only the Maker, but alſo the Father of the whole World, as being an Animal.* To the ſame purpoſe alſo *Plotinus*, γεγόμενος δὴ οἷον οἶκος τις καλὸς καὶ ποικίλος, οὐκ ἀπῃωρήθη τοῦ πεποιηκότος, οὐδ' αὖ συνέφυρσεν αὐτῷ· ἔχει γὰρ ψυχὴν περιέχόμενος ὁ περιέχων, καὶ οὐκ ἐχόμενος ἀλλ' ὃν ἔχων, κεῖται γὰρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνεχόμενος αὐτῆς, καὶ ὃν ἄμοιρον ἔστιν αὐτῆς, ὡς ἂν ἐν ὕδασι δίκτυον πεγόμενον ζωῇ· *The World being made as a large and ſtately Edifice, was neither cut off and ſeparated from its Maker, nor yet mingled and confounded with him. Foraſmuch as he ſtill remaineth above Preſiding over it: The World being ſo animated, as rather to be poſſeſſed by Soul, than to poſſeſs it, it lying in that great Pſyche which ſuſtaineth it, as a net in the waters, all moiſtned with Life.* Thus *Plotinus* ſuppoſing the whole Corporeal World to be *Animated*, affirmeth it neither to be cut off from its Maker (by which Maker he here underſtands the *Mundane Soul*) nor yet that Mundane Soul it ſelf, to be *Immerſed* into its Body the World, after the ſame manner as our humane Souls are into theſe Bodies; but ſo to preſide over it, and act it, as a thing Elevated above it. And though according to him, that *Second Divine Hypoſtaſis* of *Nous* or *Intellect*, be in like manner Elevated above this *Mundane Soul*; and again that *Firſt Hypoſtaſis* or Supreme Deity, (called by him *Unity* and *Goodneſs*) above *Intellect*; yet the Corporeal World could not be ſaid, to be cut off from theſe neither; they being all three (*Monad*, *Mind*, and *Soul*) cloſely and intimately united together. *En.4.L.3.c.9.*

XXX. The Hebrews were the only Nation, who before Chriſtianity for ſeveral ages, profeſſedly oppoſed the *Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry* of the Pagan World. Wherefore it may be probably concluded, that they had the right Notion of this Pagan Polytheiſm and underſtood what it conſiſted in, *viz.* Whether in worſhipping *Many Unmade, Self-originated Deities*, as *Partial Creators of the World*; or elſe in worſhipping, beſides the *Supreme God*, other *Created Beings Superiour to Men?* Now *Philo* plainly underſtood the Pagan Polytheiſm after this latter way; as may appear from this paſſage of his in his Book concerning the *Confuſion of Languages*, where ſpeaking of the Supreme God (the Maker and Lord of the whole World) and of his δυνάμεις ἀρωγοὶ, his *Innumerable Aſſiſtent Powers*, both viſible and inviſible, he adds, καταπλαγέντες ἔν τινες τῷ ἑκατέρᾳ τῷ κόσμων φύσιν, ὃ μόνον ὅλας ἐξεθείωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῷ ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὸ σύμπαντα ὄρανόν, ἄστρα ὅδεν αἰθερίους θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν, ὧν τὴν ἐπιφοιτὴν κατιδὼν Μωϋσῆς φησὶ πρόσεχε πρόσεχε βασιλεῦ τῷ θεῶν, ἐνδιδοὺς τὸ παρ' ὑπηκόοις ἄρχοντι διαφορᾶς· *Wherefore ſome men being ſtruck with admiration* P. 345.

miration of both these Worlds, the Visible and the Invisible, have not only Deified the whole of them, but also their several Parts, as the Sun, and the Moon, and the whole Heaven, they not scrupling to call these, Gods. Which Notion and Language of theirs, Moses *respected in those words of his,* Thou Lord the King of Gods; *he thereby declaring the transcendency of the Supreme God above all those his subjects called Gods.* To the same purpose *Philo* writeth also in his Commentary
753. upon the Decalogue, πᾶσαν ἓν τῳ τοιαύτῳ πεθρείαν ἀποσάμενοι, τὸς ἀδελφὸς φύσει μὴ προσκυνῶμεν, εἰ καὶ καθαρωτέρας καὶ ἀθανατωτέρας ἐζίας ἔλαχον, ἄδελφα δ' ἀλλήλων τὰ γενόμενα, καθ' ὁ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἁπάντων ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦ ὅλου· καὶ πρῶτον τοῦτο καὶ ἱερώτατον καθάγελμα σκιτεύσωμεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἕνα τὸν ἀνωτάτω νομίζειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν θεόν· *Wherefore removing all such imposture, Let us worship no Beings, that are by Nature Brothers and Germane to us, though endued with far more pure and immortal Essences than we are. For all Created things as such, have a kind of Germane and Brotherly Equality with one another, the maker of all things being their common Father. But let us deeply infix this first and most holy commandment in our breasts, to acknowledge and worship One only Highest God.* And again afterwards, ὅσοι μὲν ἡλίῳ, καὶ σελήνῃ, καὶ τῷ σύμπαντος οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁλοχερεσάτων μερῶν ὡς θεῶν προσπολοῦσι καὶ θεραπεύσι, διαμαρτάνουσι, τὸς ὑπηκόος τοῦ ἄρχοντος σεμνύνοντες· *They who worship the Sun, and the Moon, and the whole Heaven and World, and the Principal parts of them as Gods, err, in that they worship the Subjects of the Prince;* whereas the Prince alone ought to be worshipped. Thus according to *Philo*, the *Pagan Polytheism* consisted, in giving Religious Worship, besides the Supreme God, to other Created understanding Beings, and Parts of the World, more pure and immortal than men.

Flavius Josephus in his Judaick Antiquities, extolling *Abraham's* Wisdom and Piety, writeth thus concerning him, πρῶτος ἓν τολμᾷ θεὸν ἀποφήναθαι δημιεργὸν τοῦ ὅλων ἕνα, which some would understand in this manner, *that* Abraham *was the first who publickly declared, that there was one God the* Demiurgus *or maker of the whole world*; as if all mankind besides at that time, had supposed, the world to have been made not by *One* but by *Many Gods.* But the true meaning of those words is this, That *Abraham* was the first, who in that degenerate age, publickly declared that the Maker of the whole world, was the One only God, and alone to be Religiously Worshipped: accordingly as it follows afterwards in the same writer, ᾧ καλὰς ἔχει μόνῳ τῳ τιμᾶν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπονέμειν, *to whom alone men ought to give honour and thanks.* And the reason hereof is there also set down, τοῦ ὑ λοιπῶν, εἰ καί τι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν συντελεῖ, χ᾽ πρόσαγὼν τὴν τότε παρέχειν ἕκαστον καὶ ὁ κατ' οἰκείαν ἰχὺν· *Because all those other beings, that were then worshipped as Gods, whatsoever any of them contributed to the happiness of mankind, they did it not by their own power, but by his appointment and command*; he instancing in the Sun and Moon, and Earth and Sea, which are all made and ordered by a higher power and providence, by the force whereof they contribute to our utility. As if he should have said, That no Created Being, ought to be Religiously worshipped, but the Creator only. And this agreeth

agreeth with what we read in Scripture concerning *Abraham*, that he *called upon the Name of the Lord*, אל עולם, *The God of the whole World*; that is, he worshipped no particular Created Beings, as the other Pagans at that time did, but only that *Supreme Universal Numen*, which made and conteineth the whole World. And thus *Maimonides* interprets that place, התחיל להוריע לעם שאין ראוי לעבוד אלא לאלוה העולם Abraham *began to teach, that none ought to be Religiously Worshipped, save only the God of the whole World.* Moreover the same *Josephus* afterwards in his Twelfth Book, brings in *Aristæus* (who seems to have been a secret Proselyted Greek) pleading with *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, in behalf of the Jews and their Liberty, after this manner; τὴν βασιλείαν ϛ διέπονϛ, τῷ δεμλύνϛ τὰς νόμϛ αὐτοῖς· ἅ γὸ ἅπανλα συνσσάμλνον θεὸν, ᾧ ἔστι ᾧ ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα, ζῆνὰ καλδντες αὐτ, ἑτοίμως ἀπὸ τῦ σύμπαζιν ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν, τὴν ἴδιλιπσιν αὐτῦ νοήσαντες· *It would well agree with your Goodness and Magnanimity, to free the Jews from that miserable Captivity which they are under: since the same God who governeth your Kingdom, gave Laws to them, as I have by diligent search found out. For both They and we, do alike worship the God who made all things, we calling him* Zene, *because he gives life to all. Wherefore for the honour of that God, whom they worship after a singular manner, please you to indulge them the liberty of returning to their native country.* Where *Aristæus* also according to the sence of Pagans thus concludes; Know, O King, that I intercede not for these Jews as having any cognation with them, πάντων ὁ ἀνθρώπων δημίεργμα ὄντων τῦ θεῦ, ᾧ γινώζκων αὐτὸν ἡδόμλνον τοῖς δικαίοις, ὅθι τύτῳ ᾧ σὲ παρακαλῶ, *but all men being the Workmanship of God, and knowing that he is delighted with beneficence, I therefore thus exhort you.*

De Idol. c. 1. §. 7.

Gen 21.23.

As for the latter Jewish Writers and Rabbins, it is certain that the generality of them supposed the *Pagans* to have acknowledged *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, and to have worshipped all their other Gods, only as his *Ministers*, or as *Mediators* between him and them: *Maimonides* in *Halacoth* עבו"ם describeth the Rise of the Pagan Polytheism in the dayes of *Enosh*, after this manner: בימי אנוש טעו בני האדם טעות גדול ונבערה עצת חכמי אותו הדור ואנוש עצמו מן הטועים היה וזו היתה טעותם: אמרו הואיל והאל ברא כוכבים אלו וגלגלים להנהיג את העולם ונתנם במרום וחלק להם כבוד והם שמשים המשמשים לפניו ראויים הם לשבחם ולפארם ולחלוק להם כבוד וזהו רצון האל ברוך הוא לגדל ולכבד מי שגדלו וכבדו כמו שהמלך רוצה לכבוד העומדים לפניו וזהו כבודו של מלך *In the days of* Enosh, *the Sons of men grievously erred, and the wisemen of that age became brutish (even* Enosh *himself being in the number of them) and their errour was this, that since God had created the Stars and Spheres, to govern the world, and placing them on high, had bestowed this honour upon them, that they should be his Ministers and subservient Instruments; men ought therefore to praise them, honour them, and worship them: this being the pleasure of the Blessed God, that men should magnifie and honour those whom himself hath magnified and honoured, as a King will have his Ministers to be reverenced, this honour redounding to himself.* Again the same *Maimonides* in the beginning of the Second Chapter of that Book writeth thus; עיקר הצווי העבודה זרה שלא לעבור אחד מכל הברואים

לא מלאך ולא גלגל ולא כוכב ולא אחד מן היסודות ולא אחד מכל הנבראים
מהן ואף עלפי שהעובד יודע שהשם הוא האלהים והוא עובד הנברא הזה על
דרך שעבד אנוש ואנשי דורו תחלה חרוי זה עבד עבודה זרה *The Foundation of that Commandment againſt ſtrange Worſhip* (now commonly called *Idolatry*) *is this, that no man ſhould worſhip any of the Creatures whatſoever, neither Angel, nor Sphere, nor Star, nor any of the four Elements, nor any thing made out of them. For though he that worſhips theſe things, knows that the Lord is God, and Superiour to them all, and worſhips thoſe Creatures no otherwiſe, than* Enoſh *and the reſt of that age did, yet is he nevertheleſs guilty of Strange Worſhip, or Idolatry.* And that, after the times of *Enoſh* alſo, in ſucceeding ages, the *Polytheiſm* of the Pagan Nations, was no other than this, the worſhipping (beſides One Supreme God) of other created Beings, as the *Miniſters* of his Providence, and as *Middles* or *Mediators* betwixt Him and Men, is declared likewiſe by *Maimonides* (in his *More Nevochim*) to have been the Univerſal Belief of all the Hebrews or Jews;

P. 1. c. 36. ואחה יודע כי כל מי שעובד עבודה זרה לא יעבוד רעת שאין אלוה בלעדיה יה ולא דמה
מעולם כלל מן העובדים ולא ידמה מן הבאים שהצורה אשר יעשה מן המחכות או
מן האבנים והעצים שהצורה ההיא היה אשר בראה השמים והארץ אבל אמנם
יעבוד על צד שהיא דמיון לדבר שהוא אמצעי בינם ובין האלוה וזה מסה שלא
יחלוק בו אחד מבעלי תורתנו *You know that whoſoever committeth Idolatry, he doth it not as ſuppoſing, that there is no other God beſides that which he worſhippeth, for it never came into the minds of any Idolaters, nor never will, that that Statue which is made by them of metal, or ſtone, or wood, is that very God who created Heaven and Earth; but they worſhip thoſe Statues and Images only as the repreſentation of ſomething, which is a Mediator between God and them.* *Moſes Albelda* the Author of the Book entituled, גולת תמיד *Gnolath Tamid*, reſolves all the *Pagan Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry*, into theſe Two Principles, one of which reſpected God, and the other men themſelves:

Fol. 147. הא טוענו לזה מצדו ור"ו
ואומרים כי הוא גבוה מעל גבוה ואי אפשר לחדבק בו רק ע"י תאמצעיום כמנהג המלך ב"ו
שהרוצים לשאול שאלה מה ממנו ישאלוה ע"י אמצעי ולכן עשים אותה הע"א כדי להוריד
השפע האלהי על ידה: הב' טוענין מצד עצמם וזה כי היות האדם נשמו אינו יכול להתעודד
מעצמו אם לא ישים נגדו דבר מה פוחש יעידהו ויעוררו להכין עצמו כדי שתדבק
בו השגחתו יתברך *The Idolaters firſt argued thus, in reſpect of God; that ſince he was of ſuch tranſcendent perfection above men, it was not poſſible for men to be united to or have communion with him, otherwiſe than by means of certain Middle Beings or Mediators; as it is the manner of Earthly Kings, to have petitions conveyed to them by the hands of Mediators & Interceſſors. Secondly they thus argued alſo in reſpect of themſelves; That being corporeal ſo that they could not apprehend God Abſtractly, they muſt needs have ſomething Senſible, to excite and ſtir up their devotion & fix their Imagination upon.* *Joſeph Albo* in the Book called *Ikkarim*, concludes that *Ahab* and the other Idolatrous Kings of Iſrael and *Judah* worſhipped other Gods upon thoſe two accounts mentioned by *Maimonides* & no otherwiſe, namely that the Supreme God *was honoured by worſhipping of his Miniſters*, and that there ought to be *certain Middles and Mediators betwixt him and Men*,

P. 3. c. 18. אחאב וזולתו ממלכי ישראל ויהודה
היו טוענין אחר הכחות הגלגליות משתי צדדין שאמרנו וגם שלמה טעה בזה עם
היותם מאמינים במציאות השם ואחודתו אם בשהיו חושבים לגדר את השם
בזה ואם בשהיו חושבין לעשות סרסור ואמצעיים בינם ובין חשם יחב

Ahab

Ahab *and other Kings of* Iſrael *and* Judah, *and even* Solomon *himſelf, erred in worſhipping the Stars upon thoſe two accounts already mentioned out of* Maimonides, *notwithſtanding that they believed the Exiſtence of God and his Unity; they partly conceiving that they ſhould honour God in worſhipping of his Miniſters, and partly worſhipping them as Mediators betwixt God and themſelves.* And the ſame Writer determines the meaning of that Firſt Commandment (which is to him the Second) *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before my face,* to be this, להכנים אותם אמצעיים ביני ובינך או שתחשוב לרומם אותי בעבודתם *Thou ſhalt not ſet up other Inferiour Gods as Mediators betwixt me and thy ſelf, or worſhip them ſo, as thinking to honour me thereby.* *R. David Kimchi* (upon 2 *Kings* 17.) writeth thus, concerning that Iſraelitiſh Prieſt, who by the King of *Aſſyria*'s command, was ſent to *Samariah* to teach the new inhabitants thereof to worſhip the God of that Land (of whom it is afterwards ſaid, that they both feared the Lord and ſerved their Idols;) אם יאמר להם שלא יהיו עובדים עבודה זרה כלל לא היו מאמינים שהוא דבר שגדלו בו כל האומות מקדם והוא אצלם כמו מושכל ראשון אך אמר להם שיהיו עובדים את אלוהיהם כמו שהיו עובדים ובלבד שתהא כוונת האל בלבם כי אלא האלהים לא ורעו ולא ויטיבו כי אם ברצון האל אלא שעובדים אותם להיותם אמצעיים בינם ובין הבורא *If he ſhould have altogether prohibited them their Idolatry, they would not have hearkned to him, that being a thing which all thoſe Eaſtern people were educated in from their very Infancy, inſomuch that it was a kind of Firſt Principle to them. Wherefore he permitted them to worſhip all their ſeveral Gods, as before they had done, only he required them to direct the intention of their minds to the God of* Iſrael (*as the Supreme*) *for thoſe Gods could do them neither Good nor Hurt, otherwiſe than according to his Will and pleaſure: but they worſhipped them to this purpoſe, that they might be MEDIATORS betwixt them and the Creatour.* In the Book *Nitzachon*, all the *Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry* of the Pagans, is reduced to theſe *Three Heads*; Firſt עבדו משרתי השם לכבודו *When they worſhipped the Miniſters of God, as thinking to honour him thereby*; and Secondly, עבדו אותם שיהיו מליצים בעדם *When they worſhipped them, as Orators and Inteceſſors for them with God*; and Laſtly עבדו לעץ ואבן לזכרו *when they worſhipped Statues of wood and ſtone, for Memorials of him.* And though it be true that *Iſaak Abrabanel* (upon 2 *Kings* 17.) does enumerate more Species of *Pagan Idolatry*, even to the number of Ten, yet are they all of them but ſo many ſeveral Modes of Creature-worſhip; and there is no ſuch thing amongſt them to be found, as the worſhipping of many Unmade Independent Deities, as *Partial Creators of the World.*

Moreover thoſe Rabbinick Writers commonly interpret certain places of the Scripture to this ſence, That the Pagan Idolaters, did notwithſtanding, acknowledge, *One Supreme Deity*, as that *Jeremy* 10.7. *Who is there that will not fear thee thou King of Nations? For amongſt all their wiſe men and in all their Kingdoms, there is none like unto thee; though they are become all together brutiſh, and their worſhipping of ſtocks is a doctrine of vanity:* For *Maimonides* thus gloſſeth upon thoſe Words, כלומר הגל יודעים שאתה הוא לברך אבל שעותם ובקילותם שמרמים שזה ההבל רצונך הוא *As if he ſhould ſay, all the Gen-*

tiles know, that thou art the only Supreme God, but their errour and folly consisteth in this, that they think this vanity of worshipping Inferiour Gods, to be a thing agreeable to thy will. And thus also *Kimchi* in his Commentaries. מי לא יראך אפילו הגוים העובדים האלילים ראוי להם שיראוך כי אתה מלך עליהם בכל חכמי הגוים ובכל מלכותם אומרים מאין כמוך ואינם עובדים הכוכבים אלא להיותם אמצעיים ביניך ובינם ואמר חכמי הגוים כי הם יודעים כי הפסל אינו כלום ואם יעבדו הכוכבים לא יעבדום אלא מפני שהם משרתיך להיותם אמצעיים *Who will not fear thee? It is fit that even the Nations themselves who worship Idols, should fear thee, for thou art their King; and indeed amongst all the wisemen of the Nations and in all their Kingdoms it is generally acknowledged, that there is none like unto thee. Neither do they worship the Stars otherwise, than as Mediators betwixt thee and them. Their wise men know that an Idol is nothing; and though they worship Stars, yet do they worship them as thy Ministers, and that they may be Intercessors for them.* Another place is that, *Malachi* 1. 11. which though we read in the Future Tense, as a Prophecy of the Gentiles, yet the Jews understand it of that present time, when those words were written, *From the rising of the Sun to the going down thereof my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure oblation, for my name is great amongst the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts. But you prophane it,* &c. Upon which words *R. Solomon* glosseth thus, מי שיש לו עז יודע שהוא אלוה שהוא על כולם ובכל מקום מתנדבים לשמי אף האומות *The Pagan Polytheists and Idolaters Know, that there is One God Superiour to all those other Gods and Idols worshipped by them; and in every place are there Free-will-offerings, brought to my name, even amongst the Gentiles.* And *Kimchi* agreeth with him herein, אף על פי שהגוים עובדים לצבא השמים מודים בי שאני הסבה הראשונה אלא שעובדים אותם שיהיו אמצעיים ביני ובינם *Although the Pagans worshipped the Host of Heaven, yet do they confess me to be the first Cause, they worshipping them only as in their opinion certain Mediators betwixt me and them.* Whether either of these two places of Scripture, does sufficiently prove, what these Jews would have, or no; yet however is it evident from their interpretations of them, that themselves supposed, the Pagans to have acknowledged, *One Supreme Deity*, and that their *Other Gods*, were all but his *Creatures* and *Ministers*. Nevertheless there is another place of Scripture which seems to sound more to this purpose, and accordingly hath been thus interpreted by *Rabbi Solomon* and others, *Psal.* 65. 6. where God is called מבטח כל קצוי ארץ וים רחקים *The Confidence of all the Ends of the Earth, and of them that are afar off in the Sea*, that is, even of all the Pagan World.

Thus we see plainly, that the Hebrew Doctors and Rabbins, have been generally of this perswasion, that the Pagan Nations anciently, at least the Intelligent amongst them, acknowledged One Supreme God of the Whole World; and that all their Other Gods were but Creatures and *Inferiour Ministers*; which were worshipped by them vpon these *Two Accounts*, either as thinking, that the Honour done to them redounded to the Supreme; or else that they might be מליצין, סרסורים, and אמצעיים, *their Mediators*, and *Intercessors*, *Orators*, and *Negotiators* with him. Which Inferiour Gods of

of the Pagans, were supposed by these Hebrews, to be chiefly of Two Kinds, *Angels*, and *Stars* or *Spheres*. The Latter of which the Jews as well as Pagans, concluded to be Animated and Intellectual: For thus *Maimonides* expressly, כל הכוכבים והגלגלים כולן בעלי נפש ודיעה והשכל הם והם חיים ועומדים ומכרין את מי שאמר והיה העולם כל אחד ואחד לפי גדלו ולפי מעלתו משבחין ומפארים ליוצרם כמו המלאכים *The Stars and Spheres are every one of them Animated, and endued with Life, Knowledge and Understanding. And they acknowledge him, who commanded and the World was made, every one of them, according to their degree and excellency praising and honouring him, as the Angels do.* And this they would confirm from that place of Scripture, *Neh.* 9. 6. *Thou, even thou art Lord alone, Thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens with all their Host, the Earth with all things that are therein, the Seas and all that is therein, and Thou preservest them all; and the Host of Heaven Worshippeth Thee*: The Host of Heaven being commonly put for the *Stars*. *Jesude Hattorah c.* 3. §. 9.

XXXI. But Lastly, this same thing is plainly confirmed from the *Scriptures* of the *New Testament* also; That the *Gentiles* and *Pagans*, however *Polytheists* and *Idolaters*, were not unacquainted with the knowledge of the *True God*, that is, of the *One only Self-existent* and *Omnipotent Being*, which *Comprehendeth all things under him:* From whence it must needs follow, that their other *Many Gods*, were all of them supposed to have been derived from this One, and to be Dependent on him.

For First, St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the Romans tells us, that these *Gentiles* or *Pagans* did τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχειν, *Hold the Truth in Unrighteousness*, or *Unjustly Detain and Imprison the same.* Which is chiefly to be understood, of *the Truth* concerning *God*, as appears from that which follows, and therefore implies the *Pagans* not to have been unfurnished of such a *knowledge of God*, as might and ought to have kept them from all kinds of Idolatry; however by their Default, it proved ineffectual to that end, as is afterwards declared; ἐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, *They liked not to retain God in the Agnition*, or *Practical Knowledge of him.* Where there is a distinction to be observed, betwixt γνῶσις and ἐπίγνωσις, *the Knowledge* and *the Agnition* of God; the former whereof in this Chapter, is plainly granted to the Pagans, though the Latter be here denied them; because they lapsed into *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*; which is the meaning of these words, μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, *They changed the truth of God into a lye.* Again the same Apostle there affirmeth, That the τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, *That which may be Known of God, was manifest within them, God himself having shewed it unto them.* There is something of God *Unknowable* and *Incomprehensible* by all Mortals, butth at of God *which is Knowable*, his *Eternal Power and Godhead*, with the Attributes belonging thereunto, is made manifest to all mankind, from his works. *The invisible things of him, from the Creation of the World, being clearly seen and understood by the things that are made.* Moreover this Apostle expressly declareth, the Pagans to have known God, in that Censure which he *V.* 28. *V.* 25.

V. 21. he giveth of them, διότι γνόντες τ Θεὸν, οὐχ ὡς Θεὸν ἐδόξασαν, *that when they Knew God they Glorified him not as God*; becauſe they fell into *Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry*. Though the Apoſtle here inſtanceth only in the Latter of thoſe Two, their *changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into an Image made like to Corruptible man and to birds and beaſts and creeping things*. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe this *Idolatry of the Pagans*, properly ſo called, that is, their worſhipping of *ſtocks and ſtones*, formed into the likeneſs of Man or Beaſt, was generally taken amongſt the Jews, for the groſſeſt of all their *Religious Miſcarriages*. Thus *Philo plainly declareth*; ὅσοι μὲν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁλοχερεσάτων μερῶν ὡς θεῶν πρόπολοί τε καὶ θεραπευταί, διαμαρτάνουσι μέν· (πῶς γὰρ οὔ, τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοῦ ἄρχοντος σεμνύνοντες) ἧττον ὅμως ἀλλων ἀδικοῦσι, τῶν ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὰς τούτων ἁπλοϊκὰς ὕλας μορφωσαμένων, &c. *Whoſoever worſhip the Sun, and Moon, and the whole Heaven, and World, and the chief Parts thereof, as Gods, do unqueſtionably Err (they honouring the ſubjects of the Prince) but they are guilty of leſs iniquity and injuſtice, than thoſe who form wood and ſtone, gold and ſilver, and the like matters, into Statues to worſhip them*, &c. of which aſſertion he afterwards gives this account, τὸ γὰρ κάλλιστον ἔρεισμα τ ψυχῆς ἐξένοψαν, τὴν πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα ἀεὶ θεὸν προσήκουσαν ὑπόληψιν, *becauſe theſe have cut off the moſt excellent* Fulcrum *of the Soul, the perſwaſion of the Everliving God, by means whereof, like unballaſted ſhips, they are toſſed up and down perpetually, nor can be ever able to reſt in any ſafe harbour*. And from hence it came to paſs, that the *Polytheiſm* of the Pagans, their worſhipping of *Inferiour Gods* (as Stars and Demons) was vulgarly called alſo by the Jews and Chriſtians, Idolatry, it being ſo denominated by them *à famoſiore ſpecie*. Laſtly, the Apoſtle plainly declares, that the errour of the Pagan Superſtition univerſally conſiſted (not in worſhipping *Many Independent Gods* and *Creators*, but) injoyning *Creature-worſhip*, as ſuch, ſome way or other, with the Worſhip of the *Creator*; V. 25. ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, which words are either to be thus rendred; *They* [religiouſly] *worſhipped the Creature Beſides the Creator*, that Prepoſition being often uſed in this ſence, as for example, in this of *Ariſtotle*, where he affirmeth concerning *Plato*, Met L. 1. c. 6. that he did τὸ ἓν καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς παρὰ τὰ πράγματα ποιῆσαι, (not make *Numbers to be the Things themſelves*, as the Pythagoreans had done, but) *Unity and Numbers to be Beſides the things*; or τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς παρὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ, *Numbers to exiſt by themſelves, Beſides the Senſibles*. He by Numbers meaning, as *Ariſtotle* himſelf there expounds it, τὰ εἴδη, *the Ideas* conteined in the *Firſt Intellect* (which was *Plato's Second Divine Hypoſtaſis*) as alſo by τὸ ἓν, ὃ τοῖς εἴδεσι παρέχεται τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, *that* Ipſum Unum, *or Unity which gives being to thoſe Ideas*, is underſtood *Plato's Firſt Divine Hypoſtaſis*. Or elſe the Words ought to be tranſlated thus; *And worſhipped the Creature Above or More than the Creator*, that Prepoſition παρὰ, being ſometimes uſed *Comparatively*, ſo as to ſignifie *Exceſs*, as for example in *Luke* 13. 2. *Think you that theſe Galileans were* ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Γαλιλαίους, *Sinners beyond all the Galileans?* And *ver.* 4. *Think you, that thoſe eighteen upon whom the Tower of Siloam fell, were* ὀφειλέται παρὰ πάντας *debters above all the men that dwelt in Jeruſalem*. According to

to either of which interpretations, it is supposed, that the Pagans did worship the *True God*, the *Creator* of the whole World; though they worshipped the *Creature* also, *Besides him*, or (perhaps in some sence) *Above him* and *More than him* also. But as for that other Interpretation, of παρὰ τὴν κτίσαντα, which *Beza* chose rather to follow, that *they worshipped the Creature, the Creator being wholly Passed by*, this is no true Literal Version, but only a Gloss or Commentary upon the words, made according to a certain preconceived and extravagant opinion, that the Pagans did not at all worship the Supreme God or *Creator*, but universally transfer all their worship upon the *Creature* only. But in what sence the Pagans might be said to worship the *Creatures*, *Above* or *Beyond* or *More* than the Creator (because it is not possible that the *Creature*, as a Creature, should be worshipped with more Internal and Mental Honour, than the *Creator* thereof, look'd upon as such) we leave others to enquire. Whether or no, because when Religious Worship, which properly and only belongeth to the *Creator*, and not at all to the *Creature*, is transferred from the *Creator* upon the *Creature*, according to a Scripture-Interpretation and Account, such may be said to worship the *Creature more than the Creator?* Or whether because some of these Pagans, might more frequently address their Devotions to their Inferiour Gods (as Stars, Demons and Hero's) as thinking the Supreme God, either *Above their Worship*, or *Incomprehensible*, or *Inaccessible* by them? Or lastly, Whether because the *Image* and *Statue-worshippers* among the Pagans (whom the Apostle there principally regards) did direct all their External Devotion to *Sensible Objects*, and *Creaturely Forms?* However it cannot be thought, that the Apostle here taxes the Pagans, meerly for worshipping *Creatures Above the Creator*, as if they had not at all offended, had they worshipped them only in an Equality with him; but doubtless their sin was, that they gave any *Religious Worship* at all to the *Creature*; though in way of *Aggravation* of their crime, it be said, that they also worshipped the *Creature more than the Creator*, Thus we see plainly, that the Pagan *Superstition* and *Idolatry* (according to the True Scripture-notion of it) consisted not in Worshipping of *Many Creators*, but in Worshipping the *Creatures* together with the *Creator*.

Besides this we have in the Acts of the Apostles an Oration, which St. *Paul* made at *Athens* in the Areopagitick Court, beginning after this manner; *Te men of Athens, I perceive that ye are every way more than ordinarily Religious*; for the word δεισιδαιμονεστέρους seems to be taken there in a good sence, it being not only more likely that St. *Paul* would in the beginning of his Oration thus *captare benevolentiam, conciliate their benevolence*, with some commendation of them, but also very unlikely that he would call their worshipping of the *True God* by the name of *Superstition*, for so it followeth; *For as I passed by and beheld your sacred things* (or monuments) *I found an Altar with this Inscription*, Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, *TO THE UNKNOWN GOD.* It is true that both *Philostratus* and *Pausanias* write, that there were at *Athens*, Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμοί, *Altars of Unknown Gods:* but their meaning in this might well be, not that there were Altars Dedicated

Dedicated to Unknown Gods Plurally, but that there were ſeveral Altars, which had this Singular Inſcription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. And that there was at leaſt One ſuch, beſides this Scripture-record, is evident from that Dialogue in *Lucian*'s Works, entituled *Philopatris*, where *Critias* uſeth this form of Oath, Νὴ τὸν Ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθώναις, *No, by the Unknown God at* Athens: and *Triephon* in the cloſe of that Dialogue ſpeaketh thus, Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐν Ἀθώναις Ἄγνωστον ἐφευρόντες, καὶ προσκυνήσαντες, χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτείναντες, τότῳ εὐχαριστήσομεν, ὡς καταξιωθέντες, &c. *But we having found out that Unknown God at* Athens, *and worſhipped him, with hands ſtretched up to Heaven, will give thanks to him, as having been thought worthy to be made ſubject to this power.* Which paſſages, as they do unqueſtionably refer to that Athenian Inſcription either upon One or more Altars, ſo does the latter of them plainly imply, that this *Unknown God* of the Athenians, was the *Supreme Governour of the World.* And ſo it follows in St. *Paul*'s Oration, ὃν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτον ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν, *Whom therefore you ignorantly worſhip* (under this name of the *Unknown God*) *Him declare I unto you, the God that made the World, and all things in it, the Lord of Heaven and Earth.* From which place we may upon firm Scripture-Authority conclude theſe *Two Things*; *Firſt*, that by the *Unknown God* of the Athenians, was meant the *Only True God, He who made the World and all things in it*; who in all probability was therefore ſtyled by them, Ἄγνωστος Θεὸς, *the Unknown God*, becauſe he is not only *Inviſible* but alſo *Incomprehenſible* by mortals; of whom *Joſephus* againſt *Appion* writeth thus, That he is δυνάμει μόνον ἡμῖν γνώριμον, ποιότητα δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν ἄγνωστος, *knowable to us only by the Effects of his Power, but as to his own Eſſence, Unknowable or Incomprehenſible.* But when in *Dion Caſſius* the God of the Jews is ſaid to be ἄῤῥητον καὶ ἀειδές, not only *Inviſible* but alſo *Ineffable*, and when he is called in *Lucan Incertus Deus, an Uncertain God*, the reaſon hereof ſeems to have been, not only becauſe there was no Image of him, but alſo becauſe he was not vulgarly then known by any Proper Name, the *Tetragrammaton* being religiouſly forborn amongſt the Jews in common uſe, that it might not be prophaned. And what ſome learned men have here mentioned upon this occaſion, of the Pagans ſometimes ſacrificing προσηκόντι θεῷ, *to the Proper and Convenient God*, without ſignifying any name, ſeems to be nothing to this purpoſe; that proceeding only from a Superſtitious Fear of theſe Pagans (ſuppoſing ſeveral Gods to preſide over ſeveral things) leſt they ſhould be miſtaken, in not applying to the Right and Proper God, in ſuch certain caſes, and ſo their Devotion prove unſucceſsful and ineffectual. But that this *Unknown God* is here ſaid to be *ignorantly worſhipped* by the Athenians, is to be underſtood chiefly in regard of their *Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry*. The *Second thing* that may be concluded from hence is this, That theſe Athenian Pagans, did εὐσεβεῖν, *Religiouſly Worſhip the True God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth*; and ſo we have a Scripture-confutation alſo, of that opinion, That the Pagans did not at all worſhip the *Supreme God.*

Laſtly, St. *Paul* citing this paſſage out of *Aratus* a Heathen Poet, concerning *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, τοῦ

τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν ——

For we are his Off-spring, and interpreting the same of the *True God, in whom we live and move and have our being*; we have also here a plain Scripture-acknowledgment that by the *Zeus* of the Greekish Pagans, was sometimes at least meant the *True God*. And indeed that *Aratus* his *Zeus* was neither a man born in *Crete* nor in *Arcadia*, but the *Maker* and *Supreme Governour* of the whole World, is evident both from the antecedent and the subsequent Verses. For *Aratus* his *Phænomena* begin thus,

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα ——

(which in *Tully*'s Version is *Ab Jove Musarum Primordia*) and then follows a Description of this *Zeus* or *Jupiter*:

—— ἢ δεδέπστ' ἄνδρες ἐώμεθα
Ἄρρητον· μεσταὶ μὲν Διὸς πᾶσαι ἀγυιαὶ,
Πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραὶ μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα,
Καὶ λιμένες· πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες·
Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν·

To this sence; *Him of whom we men are never silent; and of whom all things are full, he permeating and pervading all and being every where; and whose beneficence we all constanty make use of and enjoy: For we also are his Off-spring.* Where *Theon* the Scholiast writeth thus, πάνυ πρεπόντως ὁ Ἄρατος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄστρων διεξιέναι μέλλων θέσιν, ἢ πατέρα τούτων καὶ δημιουργόν, Δία, ἐν πρώτοις προσφωνεῖ· Δία δὲ νῦν ἢ Δημιουργὸν ἀκουστέον· *Aratus being about to declare the Position of the Stars, doth in the first place, very decorously and becomingly invoke* Zeus, *the Father and Maker of them. For by* Zeus *is here to be understood the* Demiurgus *of the World*, or as he afterwards expresseth it, ὁ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας θεὸς, *the God who made all things.* Notwithstanding which, we must confess, that this Scholiast there adds, that some of these Passages of the Poet, and even that cited by the Apostle, τοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, may be understood also in another sence, of the ζεὺς φυσικὸς, *the Physical* Jupiter, that is, the Air: but without the least shadow of Probability, and for no other reason, as we conceive, but only to shew his Philological Skill. However this is set down by him, in the First place as the genuine and proper sence of those words, πρὸς τὸ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶντε· εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἐδημιούργησε πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βιωφελὲς, αὐτοῦ ἂν κληθείημεν, αὐτὸ πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν ἐπιγραφόμενοι· *This agreeth with that Title of* Jupiter, *when he is called the Father of Gods and men: For if he made Us, and all these other things for our use, we may well be called His, and also style him our Father and Maker.* And that this was the only Notion, which the Poet here had of *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, appears undeniably also from the following words, as

—— ὁ δ' ἵππος ἀνθρώποισι
Δέξια σημαίνει ——

Who as a kind and benign Father, ſheweth lucky Signs to men; which to underſtand of the Air were very abſurd. And

Αὐτὸς γὰρ τάγε σήματ' ἐν ἠέρι φαίνει,
Ἄστρα διαπρύσιος· ἐσκέψατο δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
Ἀστέρας·

For he alſo hath faſtned the Signs in Heaven, diſtinguiſhing Conſtellations, and having appointed Stars to riſe and ſet at ſeveral times of the year.

And from this,

Τῷ μιν ἀεὶ πρῶτον τε καὶ ὕστατον ἱλάσκονται,

Therefore is He always Propitiated and Placated both Firſt and Laſt. Upon which the Scholiaſt thus, ἴσως ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς σπονδῶν, τὰς τιὼ μὲν πρώτιω σπονδὰς εἶναι θεῶν τῆς Ὀλυμπίων, δευτέρας δ' ἡρώων, καὶ τρίτιω Διὸς σωτῆρος· *This perhaps refers to the Libations, in that the Firſt of them was for the Heavenly Gods, the Second for Heroes, and the Laſt for* Jupiter *the Saviour.* From whence it plainly appears alſo, that the Pagans in their Sacrifices (or Religious Rites) did not forget *Jupiter the Saviour*, that is, the *Supreme God.*

Laſtly, from his concluding thus;

Χαῖρε πάτερ μέγα θαῦμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ·

Where the Supreme God is ſaluted, as *the Great Wonder of the World, and Intereſt of Mankind.*

Wherefore it is evident from *Aratus* his Context, that by his *Zeus* or *Jupiter* was really meant the Supreme God, the Maker of the whole World; which being plainly confirmed alſo by St. *Paul* and the Scripture, ought to be a matter out of Controverſie amongſt us. Neither is it reaſonable to think that *Aratus* was Singular in this, but that he ſpake according to the Received Theology of the Greeks, and that not only amongſt Philoſophers & Learned Men, but even the Vulgar alſo. Nor do we think that that Prayer of the ancient Athenians, commended by *M. Antoninus*, for its ſimplicity, is to be underſtood otherwiſe, Ὗσον ὗσον ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀρότρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς πεδίων, *Rain Rain O Good* (or Gracious) Jupiter, *upon the fields and paſtures of the Athenians:* upon which the Emperor thus, ἤτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι, ἢ οὕτως ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως, *We ſhould either not pray at all* (to God) *or elſe thus plainly and freely.* And ſince the Latins had the very ſame Notion of *Jupiter*, that the Greeks had of *Zeus*, it cannot be denied but that they commonly by their *Jupiter* alſo, underſtood *the One Supreme God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth.* We know nothing that can be objected againſt this, from the Scripture, unleſs it ſhould be that Paſſage of St. *Paul*, *In the Wiſdom of God the World by Wiſdom knew not God.* But the meaning thereof is no other than this

L. 5. §. 5.

this, that the Generality of the World before Christianity, by their Natural Light, and Contemplation of the works of God, did not attain to such a *Practical Knowledge* of God, as might both free them from *Idolatry*, and Effectually bring them to a *Holy Life*.

XXXII. But in order to a fuller explication of this *Pagan Theology*, and giving yet a more Satisfactory Account concerning it, there are *Three Heads* requisite to be insisted on; *First*, That the Intelligent Pagans worshipped the *One Supreme God under Many Several Names*; *Secondly*, That besides this *One God*, they worshipped also *Many Gods*, that were indeed *Inferiour Deities* Subordinate to Him; *Thirdly*, That they worshipped both the *Supreme and Inferiour Gods*, in *Images*, *Statues* and *Symbols*, sometimes Abusively called also *Gods*. We begin with the First, *That the Supreme God amongst the Pagans, was Polyonymous, and worshipped under several Personal Names*, according to several *Notions* and *Considerations* of him, from his Several *Attributes and Powers*, *Manifestations*, *and Effects* in the World. P. 314, 315.

It hath been already observed out of *Origen*, that not only the *Egyptians*, but also the *Syrians*, *Persians*, *Indians*,, and other *Barbarian Pagans*, had beside their *Vulgar Theology*, another more *Arcane* and *Recondit* one, amongst their Priests and Learned Men: and that the same was true concerning the Greeks and Latins also, is unquestionably evident from that account, that hath been given by us of their *Philosophick Theology*. Where by the *Vulgar Theology* of the Pagans, we understand, not only their *Mythical* or *Fabulous*, but also their *Political* or *Civil Theology*, it being truly affirmed by St. *Austin* concerning both these, *Et Civilis & Fabulosa, ambæ Fabulosæ sunt, ambæque Civiles*, *That both the Fabulous Theology of the Pagans was in part their Civil, and their Civil was Fabulous*. And by their more Arcane or Recondit Theology, is doubtless meant, that which they conceived to be the *Natural and True Theology*. Which Distinction of the *Natural and True Theology*, from the *Civil and Political*, as it was acknowledged by all the Ancient Greek Philosophers, but most expresly by *Antisthines*, *Plato*, *Aristotle* and the Stoicks; so was it owned and much insisted upon, both by *Scævola* that famous Roman *Pontifex*, and by *Varro* that most Learned Antiquary; they both agreeing, that the *Civil Theology* then established by the Roman Laws, was only the Theology of the Vulgar, but not the *True*; and that there was another *Theology* besides it, called by them *Natural*, which was the *Theology of Wise men and of Truth*: nevertheless granting a necessity that in Cities and Commonwealths, besides this *Natural and True Theology* (which the generality of the Vulgar were uncapable of) there should be another *Civil* or *Political Theology*, accommodate to their apprehensions; which *Civil Theology* differ'd from the *Natural*, only by a certain mixture of *Fabulosity* in it, and was therefore look'd upon by them, as a Middle, betwixt the *Natural*, and the *Fabulous* or *Poetical Theology*. P. 114, 115. *Civ. D. L. 4. c. 8.*

Wherefore it was acknowledged, that the *Vulgar Theology of the Pagans*, that is, not only their *Fabulous*, but even their *Civil* also,

was oftentimes very diſcrepant from the *Natural and True Theology*; though the wiſe men amongſt them in all ages, endeavoured as much as they could, to diſſemble and diſguiſe this Difference, and by Allegorizing the *Poetick Fables* of the Gods, to bring that *Theology*, into ſome ſeeming conformity with the *Natural*, and *Philoſophick*; but what they could not in this way reconcile, was by them excuſed upon the neceſſity of the Vulgar.

The *Fabulous Theology* both of the Greeks and Romans, did not only *Generate* all the other Gods, but even *Jupiter* himſelf alſo, their *Supreme Numen*, it aſſigning him both a *Father* and a *Mother*, a *Grandfather* and a *Grandmother*. And though the Romans did not plainly adopt this into their *Civil Theology*, yet are they taxed by St. *Auſtin* for ſuffering the Statue of *Jupiter*'s Nurſe to be kept in the Capitol for a Religious Monument. And however this differ'd nothing at all from that *Atheiſtick Doctrine* of *Evemerus*, *That all the Gods were really no other than Mortal Men*, yet was it tolerated and connived at by the Politicians, in way of neceſſary compliance with the Vulgar, it being ſo extremely difficult for them to conceive any ſuch Living Being or Animal, as was never *Made* and *without Beginning*. Inſomuch that *Callimachus*, who would by no means admit of *Jupiter's Sepulchre*, either in *Crete* or *Arcadia* (but look'd upon it as a foul reproach to him) for this reaſon,

Σὺ δ' ὦ Ζάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί,

Becauſe he was Immortal and could never die; did notwithſtanding himſelf, attribute a *Temporary Generation* and *Nativity* to him, as *Origen* and others obſerve. Nevertheleſs, the generality of the more Civilized and Intelligent Pagans, and even of the Poets themſelves, did all this while conſtantly retain thus much of the *Natural and True Theology* amongſt them, *That* Jupiter *was the Father both of Gods and Men*, that is, *the Maker of the whole World*, and conſequently himſelf *Without Father*, *Eternal and Unmade*, according to that Peleadean Oracle before cited out of *Pauſanias*,

Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔστι, Ζεὺς ἔσεται·——

Again the *Civil Theology* of the Pagans as well as the *Poetick*, had not only many *Phantaſtick Gods* in it, but alſo an appearance of a *Plurality* of *Independent Deities*; it making Several *Supreme* in their ſeveral Territories and Functions; as One to be the *Chief Ruler* over the *Heavens*, Another over the *Air* and *Winds*, Another over the *Sea*, and Another over the *Earth and Hell*: One to be the Giver of *Corn*, Another of *Wine*; One the God of *Learning*, Another the God of *Pleaſure*, and Another the God of *War*; and ſo for all other things. But the *Natural Theology* of the Pagans (ſo called) though it did admit a *Plurality of Gods too*, in a certain ſence, that is, of *Inferiour Deities Subordinate* to *One Supreme*, yet did it neither allow of more *Independent Deities* than One, nor own any Gods at all but ſuch as were *Natural*, that is, ſuch as had a *Real Exiſtence in Nature and the World without*,

without, and not in mens Opinion Only. And theſe *Varro* concluded, to be no other than Firſt, the *Soul of the World*, and then the *Animated Parts thereof Superiour to men*; that is, *One Supreme Univerſal Numen Unmade*, and other *Particular Generated Gods*, ſuch as *Stars*, *Demons*, and *Heroes*. Wherefore all the other Gods beſides theſe, are frequently exploded by Pagan Writers (as *Cicero* and others) under the Name of *Dii Poetici*, that is, *not Philoſophical, but Poetical Gods*, and *Dii Commentitii* and *Fictitii*, that is, *not Natural and Real, but Feigned and Fictitious Gods*. They in the mean time giving this Account of them, that they were indeed nothing elſe, but ſo Many Several *Names* and *Notions* of *One Supreme Numen*, according to his *Several Powers* and *various Manifeſtations*, and Effects in the World; it being thought fit by the wiſdom of the ancient Pagan Theologers, that all thoſe manifold Glories and Perfections of the Deity, ſhould not be huddled up, and as it were crouded and crumpled together, in one General Acknowledgment of an *Inviſible Being* the Maker of the world, but that they ſhould be diſtinctly and ſeverally diſplayed, and each of them adored ſingly and apart; and this too (for the greater *Pomp* and *Solemnity*) under ſo many *Perſonal Names*. Which perhaps the Unskilful and ſottiſh Vulgar, might ſometimes miſtake, not only for ſo many *Real* and *Subſtantial*, but alſo *Independent and Self-exiſtent Deities*.

We have before proved that one and the ſame Supreme God, in the *Egyptian Theology*, had ſeveral Proper and Perſonal Names given him, according to ſeveral *Notions* of him, and his ſeveral *Powers* and *Effects*; *Jamblichus* himſelf in that paſſage already cited, plainly affirming thus much, ὁ δημιουργικὸς νοῦς, &c. τῷ ἀφανῆ τῆς κεκρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, Ἀμῶν κ) τῷ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γλώσσαν λέγεται, συντελῶν ὑ ἀψευδῶς ἕκαστα κ) τεχνικῶς φθὰ, ἀγαθῶν ὑ ποιητικὸς ἂν Νεῖθος κέκληται, κ) ἄλλας δι' ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε κ) ἐνεργείας, ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει· *The Demiurgical Mind and Preſident of Truth, as with wiſdom it proceedeth to Generation, and bringeth forth the hidden Power of the occult Reaſons, contained within it ſelf, into light, is called in the Egyptian Language* Ammon; *as it Artificially effects all things with Truth*, Phtha; *as it is productive of Good things* Oſiris; *beſides which it hath alſo ſeveral other Names, according to its other Powers and Energies:* as namely *Neith* (or according to *Proclus* his Copy Νιΐθὰς, *Neithas*) the Tutelar God of the City *Saïs*, from whence probably the Greek Ἀθωᾶ was derived, (the Athenians being ſaid to have been at firſt, a Colony of theſe *Saites*) and this is *The Divine Wiſdom diffuſing it ſelf thorough all.* So likewiſe *Serapis*, which though ſome would have to be the Sun, is by others plainly deſcribed as an *Univerſal Numen.* As *Ariſtides* in his Eighth Oration upon this God *Serapis*; οἱ μὲν δὴ τ μεγάλης πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ πόλεως πολῖται, κ) ἕνα τοῦτον ἀνακαλοῦσι Δία· ὅτι ἐκ ἀπολέλειπται δυνάμει περιττῆ ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων ἥκει, κ) τὸ πᾶν πεπλήρωκε· τῆς γ ἄλλων θεῶν διήρηνται αἱ δυνάμεις τε κ) τιμαὶ, κ) ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλα ἄνθρωποι καλοῦσιν, ὁ ὑ ὥσπερ κορυφαῖος πάντων, ἀρχὰς κ) πέρατα ἔχει· *They who inhabit the great City in* Egypt, *call upon this God* Serapis, *as their only* Jupiter, *he being ſuppoſed to be no way defective in Power, but to Pervade all things, and to Fill the whole Univerſe. And whereas the Powers and Honours of the other Gods* *De Myſt. Æg.*

P. 95.

are

are divided, and ſome of them are invoked for one thing, and ſome for another; This is look'd upon by them as the Coryphæus *of all the Gods, who contains the beginning and end of all things, and who is able to ſupply all wants. Cneph* is alſo deſcribed by *Euſebius* as that *Divine Intellect*, which was the *Demiurgus* of the world and which giveth life to all things, as he is by *Plutarch* ſaid to be ἀγέννητος or *Unmade*, ſo that this was alſo another *Egyptian Name of God*; as likewiſe was *Emeph* and *Eicton* in *Jamblichus*; though theſe may be ſeverally diſtinguiſhed into a *Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes*. Laſtly, when *Iſis*, which was ſometimes called *Multimammea*, and made all over full of *Breaſts*, to ſignifie her *Feeding all things*, thus deſcribes her ſelf in *Apuleius*, *Summa Numinum, Prima Cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies Uniformis, cujus numen Unicum multiformi ſpecie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur Orbis*; as ſhe plainly makes her ſelf to be the *Supreme Deity*, ſo doth ſhe intimate, that all the Gods & Goddeſſes were *compendiouſly conteined in Her Alone, and that ſhe* (*i.e.* the Supreme God) *was worſhipped under ſeveral perſonal Names & with different rites, over the whole Pagan World*. Moreover this is particularly noted concerning the Egyptians by *Damaſcius* the Philoſopher, that, τὸ νοητὸν διηρήκασιν εἰς πολλῶν θεῶν ἰδιότητας, *They multiplied the Firſt Intelligible* (*or the Supreme Deity*) *breaking and dividing the ſame into the Names and Properties of Many Gods*. Now the *Egyptian Theology*, was in a manner, the Pattern of all the reſt, but eſpecially of thoſe European Theologies, of the Greeks and Romans.

Who likewiſe, that they often *Made Many Gods of One*, is evident from their beſtowing ſo many *Proper* and *Perſonal Names*, upon each of thoſe Inferiour Gods of theirs, *The Sun*, and *The Moon*, and *The Earth*; The Firſt whereof, Uſually called *Apollo*, had therefore this Epithet of πολυώνυμος commonly given to him, *the God with many Names*. Which many Proper Names of his, *Macrobius* inſiſteth upon in his *Saturnalia*, though probably making more of them than indeed they were. And the *Moon* was not only ſo called, but alſo *Diana*, and *Lucina*, and *Hecate*, and otherwiſe, inſomuch that this Goddeſs alſo, hath been ſtiled *Polyonymous* as well as her brother the Sun. And Laſtly, the *Earth* beſides thoſe Honorary Titles, of *Bona Dea*, and *Magna Dea*, and *Mater Deorum*, *The Good Goddeſs*, and *the Great Goddeſs*, and *the Mother of the Gods*, was multiplied by them into thoſe *Many Goddeſſes*, of *Veſta*, and *Rhea*, and *Cybele*, and *Ceres*, and *Proſerpina*, and *Ops*, *&c.* And for this cauſe was ſhe thus deſcribed by *Æſchylus*,

Καὶ γαῖα πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία·

Et Tellus Multorum Nominum Facies Una.

Now if theſe *Inferiour Gods* of the Pagans, had each of them ſo many *Perſonal Names* beſtowed upon them, much more might the *Supreme God* be *Polyonymous* amongſt them; and ſo indeed he was commonly ſtiled, as that learned Grammarian *Heſychius* intimates, upon that word

word πολυώνυμον, τὴν μονάδα ὕτως ἐκάλεν, ἢ ὄνομα θεῖον Ἀπόλλωνος, *they called the Monad thus, and it was also the Epithet of* Apollo; where by the Monad according to the Pythagorick Language, is meant the Supreme Deity, which was thus stiled by the Pagans πολυώνυμον, *the Being that hath many Names.* And accordingly *Cleanthes* thus beginneth that forecited Hymn of his to him,

Κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε,

Thou most Glorious of all the Immortal Gods, who art called by Many Names. And *Zeno* his Master, in *Laertius* expressly declareth, ὁ θεὸς πολλαῖς μετονομείαις ὀνομάζεται κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις· *God is called by many several Names, according to his several Powers and Vertues,* whose Instances shall be afterwards taken notice of. Thus also the Writer *De Mundo*, Εἷς ὢν ὢν πολυώνυμός ἐστι, καταναμαζόμενος τοῖς πάθεσι πᾶσιν ἅπερ αὐτὸς νεοχμεῖ· *God though he be but one, is Polyonymous, and variously denominated from his several attributes, and the effects produced by him. Quæcunque voles* (saith *Seneca*) *illi Propria Nomina aptabis, vim aliquam Effectumq; Cœlestium rerum continentia. Tot Appellationes ejus possunt esse quot Munera: You may give God whatsoever Proper Names you please, so they signifie some force and effect of Heavenly things: He may have as many Names, as he hath Manifestations, Offices and Gifts.* *Macrobius* also, from the Authority of *Virgil*, thus determines, *Unius Dei Effectus Varios pro Variis censendos esse* (or as *Vossius* corrects it, *Censeri*) *Numinibus, That the Various Effects of One God, were taken for Several Gods*; that is, Expressed by Several *Personal Names*; as he there affirmeth, *the Divers Vertues of the Sun, to have given Names to Divers Gods*; because they gave occasion for the Sun, to be called by Several *Proper and Personal Names.* We shall conclude with that of *Maximus Madaurensis*, before cited out of St. *Austin*, *Hujus Virtutes per Mundanum Opus diffusas, Nos multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam Nomen ejus Proprium ignoramus. Ita fit ut dum ejus quasi quædam Membra carptim variis supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere profectò videamur. The Vertues of this One Supreme God, diffused throughout the whole World, we* (Pagans) *invoke under Many Several Names, because we are ignorant what his Proper Name is. Wherefore we thus worshipping his Several Divided Members, must needs be judged to worship him Whole, we leaving out nothing of him.* With which Latter words seemeth to agree, that of the Poet, wherein *Jupiter* thus bespeaks the other Gods.

Cœlicolæ, Mea Membra, Dei; quos Nostra Potestas,
Officiis divisa facit.

Where it is plainly intimated, that the *Many Pagan Gods* were but the Several *Divided Members* of the *One Supreme Deity*, whether, because according to the Stoical Sence, *the Real and Natural Gods*, were all but *Parts of the Mundane Soul*; or else because all those other *Phantastick Gods*, were nothing but Several *Personal Names*, given to the Several *Powers*, *Vertues*, and *Offices* of the *One Supreme.*

De Ben. L. 1.

Now

Now the Several Names of God, which the Writer *De Mundo* instanceth in, to prove him *Polyonymous*, are First of all such as these; Βρονταῖος and Ἀστραπαῖος *The Thunderer* and *Lightner*, Ὑέτιος *The Giver of Rain*, Ἐπικάρπιος *The Bestower of Fruits*, Πολιεύς *The Keeper of Cities*, Μειλίχιος *The Mild and Placable*, under which Notion they sacrificed no Animals to him, but only the Fruits of the Earth: together with many other such Epithets, as Φίλιος, Ξένιος, Στρόπιος, Τροπαιοῦχος, Καθάρσιος, Παλαμναῖος, &c. and Lastly he is called Σωτὴρ and Ἐλευθέριος, *Saviour and Assertour*. Answerably to which, *Jupiter* had Many such Names given him also by the Latins, as *Victor*, *Invictus*, *Opitulus*, *Stator*; the True meaning of which last, (according to *Seneca*) was not that which the Historians pretend, *quod post Votum susceptum, acies Romanorum fugientium stetit, because once after Vows and Prayers offered to him, the Flying Army of the Romans was made to stand; Sed quod stant beneficio ejus Omnia, but because all things by means of him Stand Firm and are Established*. For which same reason he was called also by them (as St. *Austin* informs us) *Centupeda, as it were, standing Firm upon an Hundred Feet*, and *Tigillus the Beam, Prop, and Supporter of the World*. He was stiled also by the Latins (amongst other Titles) *Almus* and *Ruminus*, i. e. *He that Nourisheth all things, as it were, with his Breasts*. Again that Writer *De Mundo* addeth another sort of Names, which God was called by; as Ἀνάγκη *Necessity*, because he is *an Immovable Essence*, though *Cicero* gives another reason for that appellation, *Interdum Deum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter esse possit, atque ab eo constitutum sit; they sometimes call God Necessity, because nothing can be otherwise than as it is by Him appointed*. Likewise Εἱμαρμένη, *because all things are by him Connected together, and proceed from him unhinderably*. Πεπρωμένη, *because all things in the world are determined, and nothing left Infinite (or Undetermined)* Μοῖρα, *because, he makes an apt Division and Distribution of all things*. Ἀνάγκη, *because his Power is such, as that none can possibly avoid or escape him*. Lastly, that Ingenious Fable, (as he calls it) of the *Three Fatal Sisters*, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, according to him, meant nothing but God neither, ταῦτα ὁ πάντα ἔξιν ἢ ἀλλό τι, πλὴν ὁ θεὸς, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ γενναῖος Πλάτων φησὶ, *All this is nothing else but God, as the noble and generous* Plato *also intimates, when he affirmeth, God to contain the Beginning, and Middle, and End of all things*. And both *Cicero* and *Seneca* tell us, that amongst the Latins God was not only called *Fatum*, but also *Natura*, and *Fortuna*. *Quid aliud est Natura* (saith *Seneca*) *quam Deus, & Divina Ratio, toti Mundo & Partibus ejus inserta? What is Nature else, but God and the Divine Reason, inserted into the Whole World and all its Several Parts?* He adding, *that God and Nature, were no more Two Different Things, than* Annæus *and* Seneca. And *Nonnunquam Deum* (saith *Cicero*) *Fortunam appellant, quod efficiat multa improvisa, & nec opinata nobis, propter obscuritatem ignorationemque Causarum; They sometimes call God also by the name of Fortune, because he surprizeth us in many Events, and bringeth to pass things unexpected to us, by reason of the Obscurity of Causes and our Ignorance*. *Seneca* thus concludes concerning these, and the like Names of God, *Omnia ejusdem Dei Nomina sunt,*

Ruma Mamma.

Acad. Q. L. 1.

sunt, variè utentis sua Potestate ; These are all Names of one and the same God, Variously Manifesting his Power.

But concerning most of these forementioned *Names* of God, and such as are like to them, it was rightly observed by St. *Austin*, that they had no such Appearance or shew of *Many Distinct Gods ; Hæc omnia cognomina imposuerunt Uni Deo, propter Causas Potestatesque Diversas, non tamen propter tot res, etiam tot Deos eum esse coegerunt, &c. Though the Pagans imposed all these Several Names upon One God, in respect of his Several Powers, yet did they not therefore, seem to make so many Gods of them : as if* Victor *were one God, and* Invictus *another God, and* Centupeda *another God, and* Tigillus *another, and* Ruminus *another,* &c. Wherrefore there are other Names of God used amongst the Pagans, which have a greater show and appearance of so many Distinct Deities, not only because they are Proper Names, but also because each of them had their peculiar Temples appropriated to them, and their different Rites of Worship. Now these are of Two sorts ; First, such as signifie the *Deity* according to its *Universal*, and *All-comprehending* Nature ; and Secondly, such as denote the same only according to certain *Particular Powers, Manifestations*, and *Effects* of it in the world. Of the First kind there are not a few. For First of all, *PAN*, as the the very word plainly implies him to be a *Universal Numen*, and as he was supposed to be the *Harmostes* of the whole World, or to play upon the World as a *Musical Instrument*, according to that of *Orpheus* (or *Onomacritus*.) C.D.L.7.c.11

Ἁρμονίαν πόσμοιο πρέπων φιλοπαίγμονι μολπῇ,

So have we before showed, that by him the Arcadians and Greeks meant, not the *Corporeal World Inanimate*, nor yet as endued with a *Senseless Nature* only, but as proceeding from an *Intellectual Principle* or *Divine Spirit*, which framed it Harmoniously ; and as being still kept in tune, acted and governed by the same. Which therefore is said to be the *Universal Pastor and Shepherd of all Mankind*, and of the whole world, according to that other Orphick passage,

Βόσκων ἀνθρώπων γένεϑλα, ἠδ ἀτέρμονα γαῖαν,

Pascens Humanum Genus, ac sine limite Terram.

And this *Pan*, *Socrates* in *Plato's Phædrus*, plainly invokes as the *Supreme Numen*. *Pan* therefore, is the *One only God* (for there cannot possibly be more than *One Pan*, more than *One All* or *Universe*) who conteined *All* within himself, displayed *All* from himself, framing the World Harmoniously, and who is in a manner *All Things*.

Again *JANUS*, whom the Romans First invoked in all their Sacrifices and Prayers, and who was never omitted, whatsoever God they sacrificed unto ; was unquestionably many times taken for a *Universal Numen*, as in this of *Martial*,

——*Nitidique Sator pulcherrime mundi.*

*Fast.*1. And again in this of *Ovid.*

Quicquid ubique vides, Cœlum, Mare, Nubila, Terras,
Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque Manu:
Me penes est Unum vasti Custodia Mundi.

From which passages it also appears, that *Janus* was not the meer Senseless and Inanimate Matter of the World, but a Principle Presiding over it. And without doubt all the *Beginnings* of things, were therefore referred to this *Janus*, because he was accounted the *most Ancient God, and the Beginning of all things.* St. *Austin* concluding him to be the same with *Jupiter*, therefore quarrels with the Pagans (that is, with their *Civil Theology*) for thus making
C.D.L.7.c.10 *Two Gods of One. Cum ergo* Janus *Mundus sit, &* Jupiter *Mundus sit, Unusque sit Mundus, quare Duo Dii sunt* Janus *&* Jupiter *? Quare seorsum habent Templa, seorsum Aras, diversa Sacra, dissimilia Simulachra? Si propterea, quia alia vis est Primordiorum, alia Causarum, ex illa* Jani *ex ista* Jovis *nomen accepit: nunquid si unus homo in diversis rebus duas habeat potestates, aut duas artes, (quia singularum diversa Vis est) ideo Duo dicuntur Artifices? &c. Since therefore* Janus *is the World, and* Jupiter *is the World, and there is but one World, how can* Janus *and* Jupiter *be Two Gods? Why have they their Temples apart, their Altars apart, distinct Sacred things, and Statues of different forms? If because the force of Beginnings is One, and the force of Causes Another, he is therefore called* Janus *from the former, and* Jupiter *from the latter; I ask whether or no, if one Man have two Several arts about different things, he therefore be to be called Two Artificers? Or is there any more reason, why one and the same God, having Two Powers, one over the Beginnings of things, and another over the Causes, should therefore be accounted Two Gods?* Where when *Jupiter* and *Janus* are both said to be the *World*, this is to be understood properly not of the Matter but the Soul or Mind of the World, as
C.D.L.4.c.11 St. *Austin* himself elsewhere declares, *Sit* Jupiter *Corporei hujus Mundi Animus, qui universam istam Molem, ex quatuor Elementis constructam atque compactam, implet & movet; Let* Jupiter *be the Mind of this corporeal World, which both filleth and moveth that whole bulk, compounded and made up of the four Elements.* Nevertheless as the Soul and Body both together are called the Man, so was the whole Animated World, by the Pagans called *God.* Now the forementioned Argumentation of St. *Austin*, though it be good against the Pagans *Civil Theology*, yet their other *Arcane* and *Natural Theology* was unconcerned in it, that plainly acknowledging all to be but *One God*, which for certain Reasons was worshipped under *Several Names*, and with *Different Rites.* Wherefore *Janus* and *Jupiter*, being really but Different Names for One and the same *Supreme God*, that conjecture of *Salmasius* seems very probable, that the Romans derived their *Janus* from ζανὸς, the *Ætolian Jupiter.*

GENIUS was also another of the *Twenty Select* Roman Gods & that this was likewise a *Universal Numen*, containing the whole Nature of things,

things, appears from this of *Festus*, *Genium appellabant Deum, qui vim obtineret rerum omnium genendarum, They called that God, who hath the Power of begetting or producing all things*, Genius. And St. *Austin* also plainly declareth *Genius* to be the same with *Jupiter*, that is, to be but another Name for the *One Supreme God*. *Cum alio loco* [Varro] *dicit, Genium esse Uniuscujusque animum rationalem; talem autem Mundi Animum Deum esse, ad hoc idem utique revocat, ut tanquam Universalis Genius, ipse Mundi Animus esse credatur. Hic est igitur quem appellant* Jovem. And afterwards, *Restat ut eum Singulariter & Excellenter dicant Deum Genium, quem dicunt Mundi Animum; ac per hoc* Jovem. *When* Varro *elsewhere calleth the Rational Mind of every one, a* Genius, *and affirmeth such a Mind of the whole World, to be God; he plainly implieth, that God is the Universal* Genius *of the world, and that* Genius *and* Jupiter *are the same. And though* Genius *be sometime used for the Mind of every man, yet the God* Genius, *spoken of by way of Excellency, can be no other than the Mind of the whole world, or* Jupiter. C.D.L.7.c.13.

Again that CHRONOS or SATURN was no *Particular Deity*, but the *Universal Numen* of the whole World, is plainly affirmed by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*; where commending the Fertility of *Italy*, he writeth thus, οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστὸν τὸς παλαίους ἱερὰν ὑπολαβεῖν τῦ Κρόνυ τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ἢ μᾶλλον δαίμονα τῦτον; οἰομένους εἶναι πάσης εὐδαιμονίας δοτῆρα, καὶ πληρωτὴν ἀνθρώποις· εἴτε χρόνον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ὡς Ἕλληνες ἀξιῶσιν, εἴτε Κρόνον ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν ἢ περιεκτικωτάτην τὴν τῦ κόσμυ φύσιν, ὁπότερον ἄν τις ὀνομάσοι· *Wherefore it is no wonder, if the Ancients thought this Country to be sacred to* Saturn, *they supposing this God to be the Giver and Perfecter of all happiness to men; whether we ought to call him* Chronos *as the Greeks will have it, or* Cronos *as the Romans; he being either way such a God, as comprehends the Whole Nature of the world.* But the word *Saturn* was Hetrurian (which Language was Originally *Oriental*) and being derived from סתר, signifies *Hidden*, so that by *Saturn* was meant, *that Hidden Principle of the Universe which containeth all things*, and he was therefore called by the Romans *Deus Latius*, *The Hidden God*; as the wife of *Saturn* in the Pontifical Books is *Latia Saturni*, and the Land it self (which in the Hetrurian Language was *Saturnia*) is in the Roman *Latium*; from whence the Inhabitants were called *Latins*, which is as much as to say, the Worshippers of the *Hidden God*. Moreover that *Saturn* could not be inferiour to *Jupiter*, according to the *Fabulous Theology*, is plain from hence, because he is therein said to have been his *Father*. But then the Question will be, how *Saturn* and *Jupiter* could be both of them *One and the same Universal Numen?* To which there are several Answers. For first *Plato* who propounds this Difficulty in his *Cratylus*, solves it thus; That by *Jupiter* here is to be understood the *Soul of the World*, which according to his Theology was derived from a *Perfect* and *Eternal Mind* or *Intellect* (which *Chronos* is interpreted to be) as *Chronos* also depended upon *Uranus* or *Cœlus*, the *Supreme Heavenly God*, or *First Original Deity*. So that *Plato* here finds his *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, *Archical* and *Universal*, Τἀγαθὸν, Νῦς, and Ψυχὴ, in *Uranus*, *Chronos*, and *Zeus*; or *Cœlus*, *Saturn* and *Jupiter*. Others conceive, that according to the Rom. Ant. L. 1. p. 24. Steph.

plainer and more ſimple ſence of *Heſiod's Theogonia*, that *Jupiter* who together with *Neptune* and *Pluto*, is ſaid to have been the *Son of Saturn*, was not the *Supreme Deity*, nor the *Soul of the World* neither, but only the *Æther*, as *Neptune* was the *Sea* and *Pluto* the *Earth*. All which are ſaid to have been begotten by *Chronos* or *Saturn* the Son of *Uranus*, that is as much as to ſay, by the *Hidden Vertue of the Supreme Heavenly God*. But the Writer *De Mundo*, though making *Jupiter* to be the Firſt and Supreme God, yet (taking *Chronos* to ſignifie *Immenſity of Duration* or *Eternity*) will have *Jupiter* to be the Son of *Chronos* in this ſence, becauſe he doth διήκειν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀτρέμονος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα, *continue from one Eternity to another*; ſo that *Chronos* and *Zeus* are to him in a manner one and the ſame thing. But we are apt to think that no Ingenuous and learned Pagan, who well underſtood the *Natural Theology*, would deny, but that the beſt Anſwer of all to this difficulty is this, That there is no Coherent Sence, to be made, of all things, in the *Fabulous Theology*. St. *Auſtin*, from *Varro*, gives us this account of *Saturn*, that it is he who produceth from himſelf continually the *Hidden Seeds* and *Forms* of things, and reduceth or receiveth them again into himſelf; which ſome think to have been the true meaning of that Fable concerning *Saturn* his devouring his Male-children; becauſe the *Forms* of theſe Corporeal things, are perpetually deſtroyed, whilſt the *Material Parts* (ſignified by the *Females*) ſtill remain. However it is plain, that this was but another *Pagan Adumbration* of the *Deity*, that being alſo ſometimes thus defined by them, as St. *Auſtin* likewiſe enforms us, *Sinus quidam Naturæ in ſeipſo continens omnia, A certain Boſom, or Deep Hollow, and Inward Receſs of Nature, which conteineth within it ſelf all things.* And St. *Auſtin* himſelf concludes, that according to this Varronian Notion of *Saturn* likewiſe, the Pagans *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, were really but one and the ſame *Numen*, *De Civ. D. L. 7. c. 13.* Wherefore we may with good reaſon affirm, that *Saturn* was another *Name* for the *Supreme God* amongſt the Pagans, it ſignifying that *Secret and Hidden Power*, which comprehends, pervades and ſupports the whole World; and which produces the *Seeds* or *Seminal Principles* and *Forms* of all things from it ſelf. As alſo *Uranus* or *Cœlus*, was plainly yet another Name for the ſame *Supreme Deity*; (or the Firſt Divine *Hypoſtaſis*) comprehending the whole.

C. D. L. 4. c. 12.

Thus in that old Inſcription, OPTIMVS MAXIMVS CÆLVS ÆTERNVS IVPITER.

In the next place, though it be true that *Minerva* be ſometimes taken for a *Particular God*, or for God according to a *Particular Manifeſtation* of him in the *Æther* (as ſhall be ſhewed afterwards) yet was it often taken alſo, for the *Supreme God* according to his moſt *General Notion*, or as a *Univerſal Numen diffuſing himſelf through all things.* Thus hath it been already proved, that *Neith* or *Neithas*, was the ſame amongſt the Egyptians, that *Athena* amongſt the Greeks, and *Minerva* amongſt the Latins; which that it was a *Univerſal Numen*, appears from that Egyptian Inſcription in the Temple of this God, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be.* And accordingly *Athenagoras* tells us, that *Athena* of the Greeks was, ἡ φρόνησις διὰ πάντων διήκουσα, *Wiſdom paſſing and diffuſing it ſelf thorough all things:* as in the Book of Wiſdom it is called, ἡ πάντων τεχνίτις, *the Artifex of all things*, and is ſaid διήκειν καὶ χωρεῖν διὰ πάντων, *to paſs and move through all things.*

things. Wherefore this *Athena* or *Minerva* of the Pagans was either the First *Supreme Deity* a Perfect and Infinite Mind the Original of all things; or else a *Second Divine Hypostasis*, the immediate Off-spring and First-begotten of that First Original Deity. Thus *Aristides* in his Oration upon *Minerva*, πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ κάλλιστα ἔστι Ἀθηνᾶν τε καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶς· κεφάλαιον δὲ εἰπεῖν, τοῦ παντῶν δημιουργοῦ καὶ βασιλέως παῖς ἐστι μόνη δὴ μόνου· ἃ γὰρ ἔσχεν ἐξ ὅτου ὁμοίμα ποιήσειεν αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας αὐτὸς εἰς αὐτὸν, αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γονὰ τε καὶ τίκτει τὴν θεόν· ὥστε ἔστι μόνη βεβαίως γνησία τοῦ πατρός, ἐξ ἴσου καὶ ὁμολογουμένου ἑαυτῷ τοῦ γόνος γιγνομένη, &c. *Wherefore all the most excellent things are in* Minerva, *and from her: but to speak briefly of her, this is the only immediate off-spring of the only Maker and King of all things; For he had none of equal honour with himself, upon whom he should beget her, and therefore retiring into himself, he begot her and brought her forth from himself: So that this is the only Genuine Off-spring of the First Father of all.* And again, πίνδαρος δ' αὖ φησὶ, δεξιὰν κατὰ χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ καθεζομένην, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδέχεσθαι· ἀγγέλων μὲν γὰρ ἔστι μείζων ἡ δὲ, τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄλλοις ἄλλα ἐπιτάττει πρώτη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παραλαμβάνουσα ἀντ' ἐξηγητοῦ τινος ἔσα τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ εἰσαγωγέως ὅταν καὶ τότε δέῃ· Pindar *also affirmeth concerning* Minerva, *that sitting at the Right hand of her Father, she there receiveth commands from him to be delivered to the Gods. For she is greater than the Angels, and commandeth them some one thing and some another, accordingly as she had first received of her Father: she performing the Office of an Interpreter and Introducer to the Gods when it is needful.* Where we may observe by the way, that this word Angel, came to be in use amongst the Pagans from Jews and Christians, about this very age that *Aristides* lived in; after which we meet with it frequently in the writings of their Philosphers. Lastly *Aristides* thus concludeth his Oration upon *Minerva*, κεφάλαιον γὰρ δύναμιν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι λέγων τὴς αὐτοῦ ἐν τούτων, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτανοι· ὥστε τί δεῖ μυρηλογεῖσθαι τὰς ἐν μέρει πεφύκεις αὐτῆς διηγούμενον, ὅπως ἔχει τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἔργα κοινὰ τοῦ Διὸς, εἶναι φῆσαι καὶ τὰ Ἀθηνᾶς· *He that from what we have said will determine, that Minerva is as it were the Power and Vertue of* Jupiter *himself will not err. Wherefore (not to enumerate all the minute things belonging to* Minerva) *we conclude thus concerning her, that all the works of* Jupiter, *are common with* Jupiter *and* Minerva. Wherefore that conceit which the Learned and Industrious *Vossius*, somewhere seems to favour; that the Pagans *Universal Numen* was no other than a *Senseless Nature*, or *Spermatick Reason* of the whole World, undirected by any Higher *Intellectual Principle*, (which is indeed no better than downright Atheism) is plainly confuted from hence, they making *Wisdom* and *Understanding*, under these Names of *Neith*, *Athena*, and *Minerva*, to be either, the Absolutely *Supreme Deity*, or *the First-begotten Off-spring of it*.

To *Minerva* may be added *Apollo*, who though often taken for the *Sensible Sun Animated*, and so an *Inferiour Deity*, yet was not always understood in this sence, nor indeed then when he was reckoned amongst the Twelve *Consentes*, because the Sun was afterwards added to them, in the number of the *Eight Select Gods*. And that he was sometimes taken for the Supreme *Universal Numen*, the Maker

Maker of the Sun and of the whole World, is plainly teſtified by *Plutarch* (who is a competent Witneſs in this Caſe, he being a Prieſt of this *Apollo*) writing thus concerning him in his Defect of
P.413. Oracles, εἴτε ἥλιός ἐστιν εἴτε κύριος ἡλίου, καὶ πατὴρ, καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὁρατοῦ παντὸς, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀπαξιοῦν φωνῆς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους, οἷς αἴτιός ἐστι γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ φρονεῖν· *Whether* Apollo *be the Sun, or whether he be the Lord and Father of the Sun, placed far above all ſenſible and Corporeal Nature, it is not likely, that he ſhould now deny his Oracles to them to whom himſelf is the cauſe of Generation and Nouriſhment, of Life and underſtanding.*

Morever *Urania Aphrodite*, the *Heavenly Venus* or *Love*, was a *Univerſal Numen* alſo, or another name of God, according to his more *General Notion*, as *Comprehending the whole World*, it being the ſame with th at Ἔρως, or *Love*, which *Orpheus*, and others in *Ariſtotle*, made to be the *Firſt Original of all things*. For it is cer-
P.108. tain that the Ancients diſtinguiſhed concerning a double *Venus* and *Love*. Thus *Pauſanias* in *Plato's Sympoſium*, ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἀμήτωρ οὐρανοῦ θυγάτηρ, ἣν δὴ καὶ οὐρανίαν ἐπονομάζομεν· ἡ δὲ νεωτέρα, Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἣν δὴ πάνδημον καλοῦμεν· ἀναγκαῖον δὴ καὶ Ἔρωτα, τὸν μὲν ἑτέρα συνεργὸν, πάνδημον ὀρθῶς καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ, οὐράνιον· *There are Two* Venuſes *and therefore two Loves, one the Older and without a Mother, the Daughter of* Uranus *or Heaven, which we call the Heavenly* Venus; *another younger, begotten from* Jupiter *and* Dione, *which we call the Vulgar* Venus; *and accordingly are there of neceſſity two Loves, anſwering to theſe two* Venuſes, *the one Vulgar, and the other Heavenly.* The Elder of theſe two *Venuſes*, is in *Plato* ſaid to be Seniour to *Japhet* and *Saturn*, and by *Orpheus* the *Oldeſt of all things*, and πρώτῳ γενέτωρ, *The Firſt Begetter of all.* Upon which account perhaps, it was called by the Oriental Nations, *Mylitta* or *Genitrix*, as being the *Fruitful Mother of all.* This was alſo the ſame with *Plato's* τὸ πρῶτον καλὸν, *The Firſt Fair*; the Cauſe *of all Pulchritude, Order* and *Harmony* in the World. And *Pauſanias* the *Writer* tells us, that there were Temples ſeverally erected to each of theſe *Venuſſes* or *Loves*, the *Heavenly and the Vulgar*, and that *Urania* or the *Heavenly Venus was ſo called*, ὅτι ἔρωτι καθαρῷ καὶ ἀπηλαμένῳ πόθου σωμάτων, *becauſe the Love belonging to it, was pure and free from all corporeal affection*; which as it is in men, is but a participation of that *Firſt Urania*, or *Heavenly Venus* and Love, *God himſelf.* And thus is *Venus* deſcribed by *Euripides* in *Stobæus*, as the Supreme *Numen.*

Thus alſo by Æſchylus,
Ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς, &c.
Ἔρως δ' γαῖαν λαμβάνει, &c.
——πᾶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος, Grot. Excerp. p. 45

Τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσον θεός;
Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν εἴποις, οὐδὲ μετρήσαις ἄν,
Ὅσον πέφυκε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον διέρχεται·
Αὕτη τρέφει σὲ κἀμὲ καὶ πόντου βροτούς, &c.

To this ſence, *Do you not ſee how great a God this* Venus *is? but you are never able to declare her Greatneſs, nor to meaſure the Vaſt extent thereof. For this is ſhe which nouriſheth both Thee and Me and all Mortals, and which makes Heaven and Earth friendly to conſpire together*, &c. But by *Ovid* this is more fully expreſſed, in his *Faſtorum*,

Illa

Illa quidem Totum dignissima temperat Orbem, *Lib. 4.*
Illa tenet Nullo regna minora Deo:
Juraque dat Cœlo, Terræ, Natalibus Undis;
Perque suos initus continet omne genus.
Illa Deos omnes (longum enumerare) creavit;
Illa Satis Causas Arboribusque dedit.

Where all the Gods are said to have been Created or Made by *Venus*, that is, by the *One Supreme Deity*. But lastly this is best of all performed by *Severinus Boetius*, a Christian Philosopher and Poet, in this manner; *De Cons. L. 2. Met. 8.*

Quod Mundus Stabili fide
Concordes variat vices,
Quod Pugnantia Semina
Fœdus perpetuum tenent;
Quod Phœbus *roseum diem*
Curru provehit aureo; &c.
Hanc rerum seriem ligat,
Terras ac pelagus regens,
Et Cœlo imperitans, AMOR. &c.
Hic si frœna remiserit,
Quicquid nunc amat invicem,
Bellum continuò geret.
Hic sancto populos quoque
Junctos fœdere continet;
Hic & Conjugii Sacrum
Castis nectit Amoribus, &c.
O felix hominum genus,
Si vestros animos AMOR,
Quo Cœlum regitur, regat.

And to this *Urania* or *Heavenly Venus* was near of kin also, that Third *Venus* in *Pausanias* called Ἀποστροφία, and by the Latins *Venus Verticordia, pure and chaste Love*, expulsive of all unclean Lusts, to which the Romans consecrated a Statue, as *Valerius M.* tells us (*L.* 8. *c.* 15.) *quo facilius Virginum, Mulierumque mentes à libidine ad pudicitiam converterentur, To this end, that the minds of the Female Sex might then the better be converted from Lust and Wantonness to Chastity.* We conclude therefore that *Urania* or the *Heavenly Venus*, was sometimes amongst the Pagans a Name for the *Supreme Deity*, as that which is the most *Amiable Being*, and *First Pulchritude*, the *most Benign and Fecund Begetter of all things*, and *the constant Harmonizer of the whole World.*

Again though *Vulcan*, according to the most common and Vulgar Notion of him, be to be reckoned amongst the *Particular Gods*, yet had he also another more *Universal Consideration.* For *Zeno* in *Laertius* tells us, that the *Supreme God* was called Ἥφαιστος or *Vulcan*, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ διάτασιν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτοῦ, *as his Hegemonick*

gemonick acted in the Artificial Fire. Now *Plutarch* and *Stobæus* teſtifie that the Stoicks did not only call *Nature*, but alſo the Supreme Deity it ſelf, (the Architect of the whole world) τεχνικὸν πῦρ, *An Artificial Fire*, they conceiving him to be Corporeal. And *Jamblichus* making *Phtha* to be the ſame *Supreme God* amongſt the Egyptians, with *Oſiris*, and *Hammon*; or rather more properly, all of them alike *the Soul of the World*, tells us that *Hephæſtus* in the Greekiſh Theology, was the ſame with this Egyptian *Phtha*; Ἕλλωες εἰς Ἥφαιστον μεταλαμβάνουσι τὸ Φθᾶ, τῷ τεχνικῷ μόνον προσβάλλοντες, *Amongſt the Greeks* Hephæſtus (*or* Vulcan) *anſwers to the Egyptian* Phtha. Wherefore as the Egyptians by *Phtha*, ſo the Greeks by *Hephæſtus*, ſometimes underſtood no other than the *Supreme God* or at leaſt the *Soul of the World*, as *Artificially framing all things.*

De Ben L.4. c.8. Furthermore *Seneca* gives us yet other Names of the Supreme Deity, according to the Sence of the Stoicks, *Hunc & Liberum Patrem, &* Herculem, *ac* Mercurium *noſtri putant*, Liberum Patrem, *quia Omnium Parens*, &c. Herculem, *quod vis ejus invicta ſit*; Mercurium, *quia Ratio penes illum eſt, Numeruſque, & Ordo, & Scientia: Furthermore our Philoſophers take this Auctor of all things, to be* Liber Pater, Hercules, *and* Mercury; *The Firſt becauſe he is the Parent of all things*, &c. *the Second, becauſe his Force and Power is unconquerable*, &c. *And the Third, becauſe there is in and from him Reaſon, Number, Order and Knowledge.* And now we ſee already, that the *Supreme God*, was ſufficiently *Polyonymous* amongſt the Pagans; and that all theſe, *Jupiter, Pan, Janus, Genius, Saturn, Cœlus, Minerva, Apollo, Aphrodite Urania, Hephæſtus, Liber Pater, Hercules* and *Mercury*, were not ſo many Really Diſtinct and Subſtantial Gods. much leſs *Self-exiſtent* and *Independent* Ones; but only ſeveral Names, of that *One Supreme Univerſal* and *All-comprehending Numen*, according to ſeveral Notions and Conſiderations of him.

But beſides theſe, there were many other Pagan Gods called by *Servius, Dii Speciales, Special or Particular Gods*, which cannot be thought neither, to have been ſo many *Really Diſtinct and Subſtantial* Beings (that is *Natural Gods*) much leſs *Self-exiſtent* and *Independent*, but only ſo many ſeveral *Names* or *Notions of One and the ſame Supreme Deity*, according to certain *Particular Powers* and *Manifeſtations* of it. It is true, that ſome late Chriſtian Writers againſt the Polytheiſm and Idolatry of the Pagans, have charged them with at leaſt a *Trinity of Independent Gods, viz. Jupiter, Neptune* and *Pluto*, as ſharing the Government of the whole world amongſt theſe Three, and conſequently acknowledging no *One Univerſal Numen.* Notwithſtanding which it is certain, that according to the more Arcane Doctrine and *Cabala* of the Pagans, concerning the *Natural True Theology*, theſe Three conſidered as Diſtinct and Independent Gods, were accounted but *Dii Poetici & Commentitii, Poetical and Fictitious Gods*, and they were really eſteemed no other, than ſo many *Several Names and Notions of One and the ſame Supreme Numen*, as acting variouſly in thoſe ſeveral parts of the world, the *Heaven*, the *Sea*, the *Earth* and *Hell.* For Firſt as to *Pluto* and *Hades*, called alſo

also by the Latins *Orcus*, and *Dis*, (which latter word seems to have been a contraction of *Dives* to answer the Greek *Pluto*) as *Balbus* in *Cicero* attributes to him, *Omnem Vim terrenam, all Terrene Power*, so others commonly assign him the *Regimen of Separate Souls after Death.* Now it is certain, that according to this latter Notion, it was by *Plato* understood no otherwise than as a Name for that Part of *the Divine Providence which exercises it self upon the Souls of men after Death.* This *Ficinus* observed upon *Plato*'s *Cratylus*, *Animadverte præ cæteris*, Plutonem *hic significare præcipuè, Providentiam Divinam ad Separatas Animas pertinentem: You are to take notice, that by* Pluto *is here meant, that part of Divine Providence, which belongeth to Separate Souls.* For this is that which according to *Plato*, *binds and detains pure Souls, in that separate state, with the best Vinculum of all, which is not Necessity, but Love and Desire, they being ravished and charmed as it were with those pure delights which they there enjoy.* And thus is he also to be understood, in his Book of Laws, writing in this manner concerning *Pluto*, Καὶ ὁ δυσχεραντέον πολεμικοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ τοιοῦτον θεὸν, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον, ὡς ὄντα ἀεὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ἄριστον· κοινωνία γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματι, διαλύσεως ἆρ' ἔστιν ἢ κρεῖττον, ὡς ἐγὼ φαίλων ἂν σωθείη λέγων· *Neither ought Military men to be troubled or offended at this God* Pluto, *but highly to honour him, as who always is the most beneficent to mankind. For I affirm with the greatest seriousness, that the Union of the Soul with this Terrestrial body, is never better than the Dissolution or Separation of them.* *Pluto* therefore according to *Plato*, is nothing else but a Name for that Part of the *Divine Providence*, that is exercised upon the Souls of men, in their Separation from these Earthly Bodies. And upon this account was *Pluto* stiled by *Virgil*, *The Stygian Jupiter.* But by others *Pluto* together with *Ceres*, is taken in a larger sence, for the Manifestation of the Deity in this whole Terrestrial Globe, and thus is the Writer *De Mundo* to be understood, when he tells us, that God or *Jupiter* is οὐρανιός τε καὶ χθόνιος, πάσης ἐπώνυμος ὢν φύσεως τε καὶ τύχης, ἅτε πάντων αὐτὸς ἅπας ὤν· *both Celestial and Terrestrial, he being denominated from every Nature, forasmuch as he is the cause of all things.* *Pluto* therefore is ζεὺς χθόνιος or καταχθόνιος, *The Terrestrial* (also, as well as the *Stygian* and *Subterranean*) *Jupiter*; and that other *Jupiter* which is distinguished bo th from *Pluto* and *Neptune*, is properly ζεὺς οὐράνιος, *The Heavenly Jupiter*, God as manifesting himself in *the Heavens.* Hence is it that *Zeus* and *Hades*, *Jupiter* and *Pluto*, are made to be one and the same thing, in that Passage which *Julian* cites as an Oracle of *Apollo*, but others impute to *Orpheus*,

Lib. 8.

Εἷς ζεὺς, εἷς Ἀΐδης,

Jupiter *and* Pluto *are one and the same God.* As also that *Euripides* in a place before produced, is so doubtful whether he shoud call the *Supreme God* (ὁ πάντων μεδέουσα, *that takes care of all things here below*) *Zeus* or *Hades.*

——————ζεῦς, ἔτ' Ἀΐδης
Ὀνομαζόμμος σέργεις·

Whether thou hadſt rather, be called Jupiter *or* Pluto.

Laſtly *Hermeſianax* the Colophonian Poet, in thoſe Verſes of his (afterward to be ſet down) makes *Pluto* in the firſt place, (with many other Pagan Gods) to be really one and the ſame with *Jupiter*.

That *Neptune* was alſo another Name of the Supreme God, from another Particular Conſideration of him, namely as acting in the Seas; (at leaſt according to the *Arcane* and *Natural Theology* of the Pagans) is plainly declared by divers of the Ancients. *Xenocrates* in *Stobæus*, and *Zeno* in *Laertius*, affirm, that *God as acting in the water is called* Poſidone *or* Neptune. To the ſame purpoſe *Balbus* in *Cicero*. *Sed tamen his Fabulis ſpretis ac repudiatis, Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujuſque rei, per Terras* Ceres, *per Maria* Neptunus, *alii per alia, poterunt intelligi, qui qualeſque ſint, &c. But theſe Poetick Fables concerning the Gods, being deſpiſed and rejected; it is eaſie for us to underſtand, how God paſſing through the Nature of every thing; may be called by ſeveral Names, as through the Earth* Ceres (and *Pluto*) *through the Seas* Neptune; *and through other parts of the world by other Names:* ſo that all theſe Titular Gods were but ſo many ſeveral Denominations of one Supreme Deity. And *Cotta* afterward thus repreſents the ſence of this Theology, Neptunum *eſſe dicis Animum cum Intelligentiâ per mare pergentem, idem de* Cerere: *Your meaning is,* Neptune *is a Mind which with underſtanding paſſes through the Sea, and the like of* Ceres *through the Earth.* Laſtly, to name no more, *Maximus Tyrius* agreeth alſo herewith, καλεῖ τ μὲν Δία νῦν πρεσβύταῖον, &c. τ δ Ποσειδῶ, πνεῦμα διὰ γῆς ἢ θαλάτης ἰὸν, οἰκονομεῖν αὐτῇ τῳ σῶσιν ἢ τῳ ἁρμονίαν· *You are to call* Jupiter *that* Princely *Mind, which all things follow and obey,* &c. *and* Neptune *that Spirit, which paſſing through the Earth and Sea, cauſes their State and Harmony.*

De N.D. L. 2.

De N.D. L. 3.

Diſſert. 30.

Laſtly, that theſe Three *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, were not Three really Diſtinct Subſtantial Beings, but only ſo many Several Names for *One Supreme God* (according to the *True and Natural Theology* of the Pagans) is thus plainly declared by *Pauſanias* in his Corinthiacks; he there expounding the meaning of a certain Statue of *Jupiter*, with *Three Eyes* (called the Country-*Jupiter* of the Trojans) in this manner: τρεῖς δ ὀφθαλμὸς ἔχειν ὅτι τῳ δὲ ἄν τις τεκμαίροιτο αὐτ· Δία μὲν ἐν ὐρανῳ βασιλεύειν, ὅτος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων. Ὃν δ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῇ Ὁμήρῳ Δία ὀνομάζον ἢ τοῦτον,

ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος, ἢ ἐπαινὴ περσεφόνεια.

Αἰσχύλος δ ὁ εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία ἢ τ ἐν θαλάσσῃ· τρισὶν δν ὁρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅσις δὴ ὃν ὁποῖός, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τ αὐτ τοῦτον θεόν· *Now that this Statue of* Jupiter *was made to have*

have Three Eyes, one may guess this to have been the reason: Because first the common speech of all men makes Jupiter *to reign in the Heaven. Again he that is said to rule under the Earth, is in a certain Verse of* Homer *called* Zeus *or* Jupiter *too, namely the Infernal or Subterraneous* Jupiter *together with* Proserpina. *And lastly* Æschylus *the son of* Euphorion, *calls that God who is the King of the* Sea *also* Jupiter. Wherefore this Statuary made *Jupiter with Three Eyes, to signifie, that it is One and the same God, which ruleth in those Three several Parts of the World, the Heaven, the Sea, and the Earth.* Whether *Pausanias* were in the right or no, as to his Conjecture concerning this Three-ey'd Statue of *Jupiter*, it is evident that himself and other ancient Pagans acknowledged *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, to be but *Three several Names* and *Partial Considerations* of one and the same God, who ruleth over the Whole World. And since both *Proserpina* and *Ceres* were really the same with *Pluto*, and *Salacia* with *Neptune*: we may well conclude, that all these, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Salacia*, *Pluto*, *Proserpina* and *Ceres*, though several *Poetical* and *Political Gods*, yet were really taken but for *One and the same Natural and Philosophical God.*

Moreover as *Neptune* was a Name for God, as manifesting himself in the *Sea* and ruling over it, so was *Juno* another Name of God as acting in the *Air*. This is expresly affirmed both by *Xenocrates* in *Stobæus*, and *Zeno* in *Laertius*. And St. *Austin* propounding this *Quære*, why *Juno* was joyned to *Jupiter* as his wife and Sister, makes the Pagans answer thus to it, *Quia* Jovem *(inquiunt) in Æthere accipimus, in Aere* Junonem: *because we call God in the Æther* Jupiter, *in the Air* Juno. But the reason why *Juno* was Feminine and a Goddess, is thus given by *Cicero*, *Effæminarunt autem eum*, Junonique *tribuerunt, quod nihil est aere mollius, they effeminated the Air and attributed it to* Juno *a Goddess, because nothing is softer than it.* *Minerva* was also sometimes taken for a *Special* or *Particular God*, and then was it nothing else (as *Zeno* informs us) but a Name for the Supreme God as *Passing through the* (Higher) *Æther*: Which gave occasion to St. *Austin* thus to object against the Pagan Theology, *Si ætheris partem Superiorem* Minerva *tenere dicitur, & hac occasione fingere Poetas, quod de* Jovis *Capite nata sit, cur non ergo ipsa potius Deorum Regina deputatur, quod sit* Jove *Superior? If* Minerva *be said, to possess the Highest part of the* Æther, *and the Poets therefore to have feigned her to have been begotten from* Jupiter's *head, why is not she rather called the Queen of the Gods, since she is superiour to* Jupiter? Furthermore as the Supreme God was called *Neptune* in *the Sea*, and *Juno* in *the Air*, so by the same reason may we conclude, that he was called *Vulcan* in *the Fire*. Lastly, as the Sun and Moon, were themselves sometimes worshipped by the Pagans for Inferiour Deities, they being supposed to be *Animated* with *Particular Souls* of their own; so was the *Supreme God* also, worshipped in them both (as well as in the other Parts of the world) and that under those names of *Apollo*, and *Diana*. Thus the Pagans appointing a God to preside over every Part of the world, did thereby but make the Supreme God *Polyonymous*, all those Gods of theirs, being indeed nothing but *Several Names* of him. Which Theology of the Ancient Pagans, *Maximus Tyrius*, treating *C.D.L.4.c.16.*

concerning *Homer's Philoſophy* (after he had mentioned his Tripartite Empire of the world, ſhared between *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*) thus declareth, δῦρϱις δ' ἂν ϰ᾽ ἄλλας παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἀρχὰς ϰ᾽ ϱιζώσεις παντοδοπῶν ὀνομάτων· ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀνόητος ὡς μύθων ἀκούει, ὁ δ᾽ φιλόσοφος ὡς πραγμάτων· ἔστιν αὐτῷ ϰ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴ, ἀλλ' Ἀθηνᾶ λέγεται, &c. *You may find alſo in* Homer, *other Principles, and the Originals of Several names; which the ignorant hear as Fables, but a Philoſopher will underſtand as Things and Realities. For he aſſigns a Principle of Virtue and Wiſdom, which he calls* Minerva; *another of Love and Deſire, which he calls* Venus, *another of Artificialneſs and that is* Vulcan, *who rules over the Fire. And* Apollo *alſo with him preſides over Dancings, the Muſes over Songs,* Mars *over War,* Æolus *over Winds, and* Ceres *over Fruits.* And then does he conclude thus, ϰ᾽ οὐδὲν μέϱος Ὁμήρῳ ἄθεον, οὐδὲ δυνάστ ἄποϱον, οὐδὲ ἀϱχῆς ἔϱημον, ἀλλὰ πάντα μεστὰ θείων ὀνομάτων, ϰ᾽ θείων λόγων, ϰ᾽ θείας τέχνης· *So that no part neither of Nature, nor of the World, is to* Homer *Godleſs* (or void of a God) *none deſtitute of a Ruler, or without a Superiour Government; but all things full of Divine Names, and of Divine Reaſon, and of Divine Art.* Where his θεῖα ὀνόματα, his *Divine Names*, are nothing but *Several Names of God*, as manifeſting himſelf variouſly in the ſeveral *Things of Nature*, and *the Parts of the world*, and as preſiding over them.

Diſſert. 16. *p.* 163.

Wherefore beſides thoſe *Special Gods* of the Pagans, already mentioned, that were appointed to preſide over ſeveral Parts of the world, there are Others, which are but *ſeveral Names* of the *Supreme God* neither, as exerciſing ſeveral *Offices and Functions* in the world, and beſtowing ſeveral *Gifts* upon mankind: as when in giving *Corn and Fruits* he is called *Ceres*, in beſtowing *Wine Bacchus*, in mens recovery of their *Health*, *Æſculapius*, in preſiding over *Traffick and Merchandizing*, *Mercury*, in governing *Military Affairs*, *Mars*, in ordering the *Winds Æolus*, and the like.

That the more Philoſophick Pagans, did thus really interpret the Fables of the Gods, and make their *Many Poetical* and *Political Gods*, to be all of them but *One and the ſame Supreme Natural God*, is evident from the teſtimonies of *Antiſthenes*, *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and *Chryſippus* (who allegorized all the Fables of the Gods accordingly) and of *Scævola* the Roman *Pontifex*, of *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Seneca*, and many others. But that even their Poets alſo, did ſometimes venture to broach this *Arcane Theology*, is manifeſt from thoſe Fragments preſerved, of *Hermeſianax* the *Colophonian* amongſt the Greeks, and of *Valerius Soranus* amongſt the Latins; the former thus enumerating the chief Pagan Gods, and declaring them to be all but one and the ſame *Numen*;

Πλούτων, Περσεφόνη, Δημήτηρ, Κύπρις, Ἔρωτες,
Τρίτωνες, Νηρεύς, Τηθύς, ϰ᾽ Κυανοχαίτης,
Ἑρμῆς, θ᾽ Ἡφαιστός τε κλυτὸς, Πὰν, Ζεύς τε ϰ᾽ Ἥρη,
Ἄρτεμις, ἠδ' ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, εἷς θεὸς ἁπάντ.

Pluto, Perſephone, Ceres, & Venus alma & Amores,

Trit-

Tritones, Nereus, Tethys, Neptunus & ipſe,
Mercurius, Juno, Vulcanus, Jupiter, & Pan,
Diana, & Phœbus Jaculator, ſunt Deus Unus.

The Latter pronouncing Univerſally, that *Jupiter Omnipotens*, is

——*Deus Unus & Omnes*;

One God, and All Gods. Whether by his *Jupiter* he here meant the *Soul of the World* only, as *Varro* would interpret him agreeably to his own *Hypotheſis*, or whether an *Abſtract Mind* ſuperiour to it; but probably he made this *Jupiter* to be *All Gods*, upon theſe two Accounts; Firſt as he was the *Begetter and Creator of all the other Natural Gods*, which were *the Pagans Inferiour Deities* (as the *Stars* and *Dæmons*) Secondly, as that all the other *Poetical* and *Political Gods*, were Nothing elſe but *Several Names* and *Notions* of him.

We ſhall add in the laſt place, that St. *Auſtin* making a more Full and Particular Enumeration of the Pagan Gods, and mentioning amongſt them many others beſides the *Select Roman Gods*; (which are not now commonly taken notice of) does pronounce Univerſally of them all, according to the ſence of the more Intelligent Pagans; That they were but *One and the ſame Jupiter*; *Ipſe in Æthere ſit* Jupiter, *Ipſe in Aere* Juno, *Ipſe in Mari* Neptunus, *in Inferioribus etiam Maris Ipſe* Salacia, *in Terra* Pluto, *in Terra Inferiore* Proſerpina, *in Focis Domeſticis* Veſta, *in Fabrorum fornace* Vulcanus, *in Divinantibus* Apollo, *in Merce* Mercurius, *in* Jano *Initiator*, *in* Termino *Terminator*, Saturnus *in Tempore*, Mars & Bellona *in Bellis*, Liber *in Vineis*, Ceres *in Frumentis*, Diana *in Sylvis*, Minerva *in Ingeniis*. *Ipſe ſit poſtremò etiam illa Turba quaſi Plebeiorum Deorum, Ipſe præſit nomine* Liberi *Virorum Seminibus*, & *nomine* Liberæ *Fœminarum*. *Ipſe ſit* Dieſpiter, *qui Partum perducat ad Diem: Ipſe ſit Dea* Mena, *quam præfecerunt Menſtruis Fœminarum, Ipſe* Lucina, *quæ à Parturientibus invocatur, Ipſe Opem ferat naſcentibus, excipiens eos ſinu Terræ, & vocetur* Opis. *Ipſe in Vagitu os aperiat, & vocetur, Deus Vagitanus. Ipſe levet de Terra, & vocetur Dea Levana. Ipſe Cunas tueatur & vocetur Dea Cunina. Sit Ipſe in Deabus illis quæ fata naſcentibus canunt, & vocantur* Carmentes. *Præſit Fortuitis, voceturque* Fortuna. *In Diva Rumina mammam parvulis immulgeat. In Diva Potina Potionem immiſceat. In Diva Educa Eſcam præbeat. De Pavore infantium* Paventia *nuncupetur. De ſpe quæ venit* Venilia; *de Voluptate* Volupia. *De Actu* Agenoria. *De ſtimulis quibus ad nimium actum homo impellitur Dea Stimula nominetur. Strenua Dea ſit, ſtrenuum faciendo.* Numeria *quæ numerare doceat*; Camæna *quæ canere. Ipſe ſit & Deus Conſus præbendo Conſilia*; & *Dea Sentia ſententias inſpirando. Ipſe Dea Juventas, quæ poſt prætextam excipiat Juvenilis ætatis Exordia. Ipſe ſit Fortuna Barbata quæ adultos barba induit quos honorare voluerit. Ipſe in Jugatino Deo Conjuges jungat*; *& cum Virgini uxori zona ſolvitur Ipſe invocetur & Dea Virginenſis invocetur. Ipſe ſit* Mutinus, *qui eſt apud Græcos* Priapus, *ſi non pudet. Hæc omnia quæ dixi, & quæcunque non dixi, hi omnes Dii Deæque ſit* Unus Jupiter; *De Civ. D. L. 4. c. 11.*

ſive

ſive ſint ut quidam volunt omnia iſta Partes ejus, ſicut eis videtur quibus eum placet eſſe Mundi Animum; ſive Virtutes ejus, quæ ſententia velut magnorum multorumque Doctorum eſt. Let us grant according to the Pagans, that the Supreme God is in the Æther Jupiter; *in the Air* Juno; *in the Sea* Neptune; *in the lower parts of the Sea* Salacia; *in the Earth* Pluto; *in the inferiour parts thereof* Proſerpina; *in the Domeſtick harths* Veſta; *in the Smiths Forges* Vulcan; *in Divination* Apollo; *in Traffick and Merchandize* Mercury; *in the Beginnings of things* Janus; *in the Ends of them* Terminus; *in Time Saturn*; *in Wars* Mars *and* Bellona; *in the Vineyards* Liber; *in the Corn-fields* Ceres; *in the Woods* Diana, *and in Wits* Minerva. *Let him be alſo that troop of Plebeian Gods; let him preſide over the ſeeds of men under the Name of* Liber, *and of women under the name of* Libera; *let him be* Dieſpiter *that brings forth the birth to light; let him be the Goddeſs* Mena, *whom they have ſet over womens monthly courſes; let him be* Lucina, *invoked by women in child-bearing; let him be* Opis *who aids the new born Infants; let him be* Deus Vagitanus *that opens their mouths to cry; let him be the Goddeſs* Levana, *which is ſaid to lift them up from the Earth; and the Goddeſs* Cunina *that defends their Cradles; let him be the* Carmentes *alſo who foretel the Fates of Infants; let him be* Fortune *as preſiding over Fortuitous events; let him be* Diva Rumina *which ſuckles the Infant with the Breaſts;* Diva Potina *which gives it drink; and* Diva Educa *which affords it meat; let him be called the Goddeſs* Paventia, *from the Fear of Infants; the Goddeſs* Venilia *from Hope; the Goddeſs* Volupia *from Pleaſure; the Goddeſs* Agenoria *from Acting; the Goddeſs* Stimula *from Provoking; the Goddeſs* Strenua *from making Strong and Vigorous; the Goddeſs* Numeria *which teacheth to Number; the Goddeſs* Camæna *which teaches to Sing; let him be* Deus Conſus, *as giving Counſel; and* Dea Sentia *as inſpiring men with Senſe; let him be the Goddeſs* Juventas *which has the Guardianſhip of young men; and* Fortuna Barbata *which upon ſome more than others liberally beſtoweth beards; let him be* Deus Jugatinus *which joyns man and wife together; and* Dea Virginenſis, *which is then invoked when the Girdle of the Bride is looſed; Laſtly let him be* Mutinus *alſo (which is the ſame with* Priapus *amongſt the Greeks) if you will not be aſhamed to ſay it. Let all theſe Gods and Goddeſſes, and many more (which I have not mentioned) be One and the ſame* Jupiter, *whether as Parts of him, which is agreeable to their opinion who hold him to be the Soul of the world; or elſe as his Vertues only, which is the ſence of many and great Pagan Doctors.*

But that the Authority and Reputation of a late Learned and Induſtrious Writer, *G. I. Voſſius* may not here ſtand in our way or be a Prejudice to us, we think it neceſſary to take notice of one paſſage of his, in his Book *De Theologia Gentili*, and freely to cenſure the the ſame; where treating concerning that Pagan Goddeſs *Venus*, he writeth thus; *Ex Philoſophica de Diis Doctrina*, Venus *eſt vel Luna (ut vidimus) vel Lucifer, ſive Heſperus. Sed ex Poetica ac Civili, ſupra hos cœlos ſtatuuntur Mentes quædam â Syderibus diverſæ: quomodò* Jovem, Apollinem, Junonem, Venerem, *cæteroſque Deos Conſentes, conſiderare jubet* Apuleius. Quippe eos, *(inquit)* Natura Viſibus noſtris denegavit: necnon tamen Intellectu eos mirabundi contemplamur,

acie

acie mentis acrius contemplantes. *Quid apertius hic quam ab eo, per Deos Consentes intelligi, non Corpora Cœlestia vel Subcœlestia, sed sublimiorem quandam Naturam, nec nisi animis conspicuam? According to the Philosophick Doctrine concerning the Gods,* Venus *is either the Moon, or* Lucifer, *or* Hesperus; *but according to the Poetick and Civil Theology of the Pagans, there were certain Eternal Minds, placed above the Heavens, distinct from the Stars: accordingly as* Apuleius *requires us to consider* Jupiter *and* Apollo, Juno *and* Venus, *and all those other Gods called* Consentes; *he affirming of them, that though Nature had denied them to our sight, yet notwithstanding by the diligent contemplation of our Minds we apprehend and admire them. Where nothing can be more plain* (saith *Vossius*) *than that the* Dii consentes, *were understood by* Apuleius *neither to be Celestial nor Subcelestial Bodies, but a certain higher Nature perceptible only to our Minds.* Upon which words of his, we shall make these following Remarks; First, that this Learned Writer seems here, as also throughout that whole Book of his, to mistake the *Philosophick Theology*, of *Scævola* and *Varro*, and others, for that which was *Physiological* only; (which *Physiological Theology* of the Pagans, will be afterwards declared by us.) For the *Philosophick Theology* of the Pagans did not Deifie *Natural* and *Sensible Bodies* only, but the Principal part thereof was the Asserting of *One Supreme* and *Universal Numen*, from whence all their other *Gods* were derived. Neither was *Venus* according to this *Philosophick* and *Arcane Theology*, taken only for the Moon, or for *Lucifer* or *Hesperus*, as this Learned Writer conceives, but as we have already proved for the *Supreme Deity* also, either according to its Universal Notion, or some *Particular Consideration* thereof. Wherefore the *Philosophick Theology* both of *Scævola* and *Varro* and others, was called *Natural*, not as *Physiological* only, but (in another sence) as *Real and True*; it being the Theology neither of *Cities*, nor of *Stages* or *Theaters*, but of the *World*, and of the *Wise men* in it; Philosophy being that properly which considers the Absolute Truth and Nature of things. Which *Philosophick Theology* therefore was opposed, both to the *Civil* and *Poetical*, as consisting in *Opinion* and *Phancy* only. Our Second Remark is, That *Vossius* does here also seem incongruously, to make both the *Civil* and *Poetical Theology* as such, to *Philosophize*; whereas the *First* of these was properly nothing but the *Law of Cities and Commonwealths*, together with *Vulgar Opinion* and *Errour*; and the *Second* nothing but *Phancy*, *Fiction* and *Fabulosity*. *Poetarum ista sunt*, saith *Cotta* in *Cicero*; *nos autem Philosophi esse volumus, Rerum authores, non Fabularum. Those things belong to Poets, but we would be Philosophers, authors of Things* (or Realities) *and not of Fables.* But the main thing which we take notice of in these words of *Vossius* is this, that they seem to imply, the *Consentes*, and Select, and other *Civil* and *Poetical Gods* of the Pagans, to have been generally accounted, so many *Substantial* and *Eternal Minds*, or *Understanding Beings Supercelestial*, and *Independent*; their *Jupiter* being put only in an equality, with *Apollo*, *Juno*, *Venus*, and the rest. For which since *Vossius* pretends no other manner of Proof, than only from *Apuleius* his *De Deo Socratis*, who was a Platonick Philosopher; we shall here make it evident, that he was not rightly understood by

Vossius

Voſſius neither; which yet ought not to be thought any Derogation from this Eminent Philologer (whoſe Polymathy and Multifarious Learning, is readily acknowledged by us) that he was not ſo well verſed in all the Niceties and Punctilio's of the Platonick School. For though *Apuleius* do in that Book, beſides thoſe *Viſible Gods*, the Stars; take notice of another kind of *Inviſible ones*; ſuch as the *Twelve Conſentes*, and others, which (he ſaith) we may *animis conjectare, per varias Utilitates in vita agenda, animadverſas in iis rebus, quibus eorum ſinguli curant, make a conjecture of by our minds, from the various Utilities in humane life, perceived from thoſe things which each of theſe take care of*; yet that he was no *Bigot* in this *Civil Theology*, is manifeſt from hence, becauſe in that very place, he declares as well againſt Superſtition, as Irreligious Prophaneneſs. And his deſign there was plainly no other, than to reduce the *Civil* and *Poetical Theologies* of the Pagans into ſome handſome conformity and agreement with that *Philoſophical, Natural*, and *Real Theology* of theirs, which derived all the Gods from One *Supreme* and *Univerſal Numen*: but this he endeavours to do, in the Platonick way, himſelf being much addicted to that Philoſophy. *Hos Deos in ſublimi ætheris vertice locatos*, Plato *exiſtimat veros, incorporales, animales, ſine ullo neque fine neque exordio, ſed prorſus ac retro æviternos, corporis contagione ſuâ quidem naturâ remotos, ingenio ad ſummam beatitudinem porrecto, &c. Quorum Parentem, qui omnium rerum Dominator atque Auctor eſt, ſolum ab omnibus nexibus patiendi aliquid gerendive, nulla vice ad alicujus rei mutua obſtrictum, cur ego nunc dicere exordiar? cum* Plato *cæleſti facundia præditus, frequentiſſimè prædicet, hunc ſolum majeſtatis incredibili quadam nimietate & ineffabili, non poſſe penuria ſermonis humani, quavis oratione vel modicè comprehendi. All theſe Gods placed in the higheſt Æther*, Plato *thinks to be true, incorporeal, Animal, without beginning or end, Eternal, happy in themſelves without any external good. The Parent of which Gods, who is the Lord and Author of all things, and who is alone free from all bonds of doing and ſuffering, why ſhould I go about in words to deſcribe him? ſince* Plato *who was endued with moſt Heavenly eloquence, equal to the Immortal Gods, does often declare, that this Higheſt God by reaſon of his exceſs of Majeſty, is both ineffable and Incomprehenſible.* From which words of *Apuleius* it is plain, that according to him, the Twelve *Conſentes*, and all the other Inviſible Gods were derived from *One Original Deity*, as their Parent and Author. But then if you demand, what Gods of *Plato* theſe ſhould be, to which *Apuleius* would here accommodate the *Civil* and *Poetick Gods*, contained in thoſe Two Verſes of *Ennius*,

Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars.
Mercurius, Jovi', Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

and the reſt of this kind, that is, all their other *Gods* (properly ſo called) *Inviſible?* We reply, that theſe are no other than *Plato's Ideas*, or *Firſt Paradigms* and *Patterns of things*, in the *Archetypal World*, which is the *Divine Intellect* (and his Second *Hypoſtaſis*) derived from his firſt Original Deity, and moſt Simple Monad. For as *Plato* writeth in his *Timæus*, ἀνάγκη τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, εἰκόνα τινὸς εἶναι, *this Senſible World*

World, must needs be the Image of another Intelligible one. And again afterwards, τίνι ποτὲ ζώων αὐτὸ εἰς ὁμοιότητα ὁ ξυνισὰς ξυνέστησε; ποτὲ μὲν ἓν ἐν μέρος εἶδός τι πεφυκότων μηδενὶ καταξιώσωμεν· ἀτελεῖ γὰρ ἔοικὸς οὐδὲν ποτ' ἂν γένοιτο καλόν· ὃ δ' ἔστι τἄλλα ζῶα καθ' ἓν καὶ γένη μόρια, πάντων ὁμοιότατον αὐτῷ εἶναι πιθώμεθα. Τὰ γὰρ δὴ νοητὰ ζῶα πάντα ἐκεῖνο ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιλαβὸν ἔχει, καθάπερ ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἡμᾶς ὅσα τε ἄλλα θρέμματα συνέστηκεν ὁρατά· *What Animal was the Pattern, according to whose likeneſs he that made this great Animal of the World, framed it? certainly we muſt not think it to be any Particular Animal, ſince nothing can be perfect which is made according to an imperfect copy. Let us therefore conclude it, to be that Animal, which containeth all other animals in it, as its Parts. For that Intelligible World containeth all Intelligible Animals in it, in the ſame manner as this Senſible World, doth us and other ſenſible animals.* Wherefore *Plato* himſelf here and elſewhere ſpeaking obſcurely of this *Intelligible World*, and the *Ideas of it*, no wonder if many of his Pagan followers, have abſurdly made ſo many *Diſtinct Animals* and *Gods* of them. Amongſt whom *Apuleius* accordingly would refer all the *Civil and Poetick Gods*, of the Pagans (I mean their Gods, properly ſo called, *Inviſible*) to this *Intelligible world* of *Plato's*, and thoſe ſeveral *Ideas of it*. Neither was *Apuleius* ſingular in this, but others of the *Pagan Theologers* did the like, as for example *Julian* in his Book againſt the Chriſtians; θεὸς ὀνομάζει Πλάτων τὸς ἐμφανεῖς, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ποτὲ ἀφανῶν εἰσὶν εἰκόνες· ὁ φαινόμενος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἥλιος, τὸ νοητὸν καὶ μὴ φαινόμενόν· καὶ πάλιν, ἡ φαινομένη τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν σελήνη, καὶ ποτὲ ἄστρων ἕκαστον, εἰκόνες εἰσὶ ποτὲ νοητῶν. ἐκείνους δὲ τοὺς ἀφανεῖς θεοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας καὶ συνυπάρχοντας, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γεγονότας, καὶ προελθόντας, ὁ Πλάτων οἶδεν· εἰκότως δὲ φησὶν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ, θεοὶ, πρὸς τοὺς ἀφανεῖς λέγων, θεῶν, ποτὲ ἐμφανῶν δηλονότι· κοινὸς ὢν ἀμφοτέρων δημιουργὸς ὅτός ἐστιν, ὁ τεχνησάμενος οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν, καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἄστρα γεννήσας, τὰ τούτων ἀρχέτυπα· Plato *indeed ſpeaketh of certain Viſible Gods, the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, and the Heaven; but theſe are all but Images of other Inviſible Gods; that Viſible Sun which we ſee with our eyes, is but an Image of another Intelligible and Inviſible One: ſo likewiſe the Viſible Moon, and every one of the Stars, are but the Images and Reſemblances of another Moon, and of other Stars Intelligible. Wherefore* Plato *acknowledged alſo theſe other Inviſible Gods, inexiſting and co-exiſting with the* Demiurgus, *from whom they were generated and produced: That* Demiurgus *in him, thus beſpeaking theſe Inviſible and Intelligible Gods; Ye Gods of Gods, that is, Ye Inviſible Gods, who are the Gods and Cauſes of the Viſible Gods. There is one common maker therefore of both theſe kinds of Gods; who firſt of all made a Heaven, Earth, Sea, & Stars, in the Intelligible World, as the Archetypes & Paradigms of theſe in the Senſible.* Where S. *Cyril* in his Confutation writeth thus, ἔοικε δὲ διὰ τούτων ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος ἡμῖν Ἰουλιανὸς, τὰς ἰδέας βούλεσθαι καταδηλοῦν, ἃς ποτὲ μὲν οὐσίας, καὶ ὑφεστάναι καθ' ἑαυτὰς διισχυρίζεται Πλάτων, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐννοίας εἶναι θεῖος διορίζεται· πλὴν ὅπως ποτ' ἂν ἔχοι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἀπαραδεκτέον εἶναι φασὶ τὸ ὅτι τοῦ δὲ λόγου οἱ ταῦτα τεχνῖται· τὰ γὰρ εἴδη χαιρέτω, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, περιττόματα γοῦν ἔστι, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον· *This our excellent* Julian, *by his Intelligible and Inviſible Gods, ſeems here to mean, thoſe* Ideas, *which* Plato *ſometimes contends to be Subſtances, and to ſubſiſt alone by themſelves, and ſometimes again determi-*

Plato in Tim. p. 30.

S. Cyrill. Cont. Jul. L. 2. p. 65.

neth to be nothing but Notions or Conceptions in the mind of God. But however the matter be, the skilful in this kind of learning affirm, that these Ideas *have been rejected by* Plato*'s own Disciples,* Aristotle *discarding them as Figments, or at least, such as being meer notions, could have no real causality and influence upon things.* But the meaning of this Pagan Theology, may be more fully understood from what the same St. *Cyril* thus further objecteth against it, περσεπάγει ὴ ὅτι ἡ τῆ ἐμφανῶν ἡ τῆ νοητῆ δημιουργός ἐστιν ὁ τῆ ὅλων θεὸς, ὁ γῆ ἡ οὐρανὸν τεχνησάμενος, ὅτε τοίνυν καθὰ ἡ αὐτὸς διωμολόγηκεν ἐναργῶς, τούτων τε κἀκείνων γενεσιουργός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγέννητος θεὸς, πῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι φησὶν αὐτὰς, συνυπάρχειν τε ἡ ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτῷ; πῶς, εἰπέ μοι, τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ συνυπάρξει τὸ γεννητόν; ἐνυπάρξει ὴ πῆ ποῖον τρόπον; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀγέννητον ὄντα τὸν θεὸν λόγον, συνυπάρχειν ἀναγκαίως τῷ φύσαντι διαχυρίζόμεθα, ἡ ἐνυπάρχειν μὲν αὐτῷ, προελθεῖν δὲ γεννητῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· ὁ δέ γε τῶ Πλάτωνος διρεσιεπείας συνηγορος ἀνειρῆς, ἀγέννητον μὲν εἶναι φησὶ τὸν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν· ἐνυπάρχειν ὴ ἡ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθῆναι ἡ προελθεῖν τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότας, τὰ πάντα κυκῶν ἡ συγχέων· The sence whereof seems to be this; Julian *addeth, that the God of the Universe who made Heaven and Earth, is alike the* Demiurgus *both of these Sensible and of the other Intelligible things. If therefore the Ingenit God, be alike the Creator of both, how can he affirm those things that are Created by him, to co-exist with, and inexist in him? How can that which is created, co-exist with the Ingenit God? but much less can it inexist in him. For we Christians indeed affirm, that the Unmade Word of God, doth of necessity co-exist with, and inexist in the Father, it proceeding from him not by way of Creation but of Generation. But this defender of Platonick trifles, acknowledging the Supreme God to be Ingenit, affirmeth notwithstanding those things which were Made and Created by him, to inexist in him; thus mingling and confounding all things.* Where notwithstanding, *Julian*, and the Platonick Pagans would in all probability reply; that those *Ideas* of the *Intelligible and Archetypal World* (which is the First νοῦς or *Intellect*) proceeding from the *Highest Hypostasis*, and *Original Deity*, by way of Necessary and *Eternal* Emanation, are no more to be accounted *Creatures*, than the Christian λόγος; and therefore might, with as little absurdity, be said to exist, *With* and *In*, that *First Original Deity*. But besides, the same *Julian* elsewhere in that Book of his, accommodates this Platonick Notion also, to the Pagan Gods in Particular, in like manner as *Apuleius* had done before, he writing of *Æsculapius*, after this canting way, ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐγέννησεν, εἰς ὃ τῶ γῆν διὰ τῆ ἡλίκης γονίμης ζωῆς ἐξέφηνεν· ἔστος ὅτε γῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ποιησάμενος πρόοδον, ἐνσωμάτως μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῆ ἐπὶ τῶ Ἐπιδαυρον ἐφάνη, &c. Jupiter, *amongst the Intelligible things, generated out of himself* Æsculapius, *and by the Generative Life of the Sun manifested him here upon Earth, he coming down from Heaven and appearing in a Humane Form, first about* Epidaurus, *and from thence extending his salutary power or vertue, over the whole Earth.* Where *Æsculapius* is First of all, the *Eternal Idea* of the *Medicinal Art or Skill*, generated by the Supreme God, in the *Intelligible world*; which afterward by the Vivifick Influence of the Sun, *was Incarnated, and appeared in a humane form at* Epidaurus. This is the Doctrine of that *Julian*, who was so great an Opposer of the Incarnation of the Eternal *Logos*, in our

Cyr. C. Jul. L. 6. p. 200.

our Saviour Jesus Christ. Neither was this Doctrine, of *Many Intelligible Gods*, and *Powers Eternal*, (of which the *Archetypal World* consisteth) first invented, by Platonick Pagans, after the times of Christianity, as some might suspect; but that there was such a thing extant before amongst them also, may be concluded from this passage of *Philo*'s, εἷς ὢν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυθήτους περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχει δυνάμεις ἀρωγὰς καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν γενομένων πάσας· δι' αὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν δυνάμεων, ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος, τὸ τοῦ φαινομένου τόδε ἀρχέτυπον, ἰδέαις ἀοράτοις συναθεὶς, ὥσπερ τοῦτο σώμασιν ὁρατοῖς· καταπλαγέντες δὴ τινὲς τὴν ἑκατέρου φύσιν, οὐ μόνον ὅλους ἐξεθείασαν; ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν, ἄθρα οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντες θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν· *Though God be but one, yet hath he about himself Innumerable Auxiliatory Powers, all of them salutiferous and procuring the good of that which is made*, &c. *Moreover by these Powers and out of them, is the Incorporeal and Intelligible World compacted, which is the Archetype of this visible World, that consisting of Invisible Ideas, as this doth of visible Bodies. Wherefore some admiring, with a kind of astonishment, the Nature of both these worlds, have not only Deified the whole of them, but also the most excellent parts in them, as the Sun and the Moon and the whole Heaven, which they scruple not at all to call Gods.* Where *Philo* seems to speak of a double Sun, Moon, and Heaven as *Julian* did, the one *Sensible*, the other *Intelligible*. Moreover *Plotinus* himself sometimes complies with this Notion, he calling the Ideas of the *Divine Intellect*, νοητοὺς θεοὺς, *Intelligible Gods*; as in that place before cited, where he exhorteth men ascending upward above the Soul of the World, θεοὺς ὑμνεῖν νοητοὺς, *To praise the Intelligible Gods*, that is, the Divine Intellect, which as he elsewhere writeth is both, εἷς καὶ πολλοὶ *One and Many*:

De Confus. L. 345. Par.

We have now given a full account of *Apuleius* his sence in that Book *De Deo Socratis*, concerning the *Civil* and *Poetical* Pagan Gods; which was not to assert a Multitude of *Substantial* and *Eternal Deities* or *Minds Independent* in them; but only to reduce the *Vulgar Theology* of the Pagans, both their *Civil* and *Poetical*, into some conformity with the *Natural*, *Real*, and *Philosophick Theology*; and this according to *Platonick Principles*. Wherein many other of the *Pagan Platonists*, both before and after Christianity concurred with him; they making the Many *Pagan Invisible Gods*, to be really *nothing but the Eternal Ideas of the Divine Intellect*, (called by them the Parts of the Intelligible and Archetypal World) which they supposed to have been the *Paradigms* and Patterns according to which this *Sensible World*, and all Particular things therein were made and upon which they depended, they being only Participations of them. Wherefore though this may well be look'd upon as a *Monstrous Extravagancy*, in these *Platonick Philosophers*, thus to talk of the *Divine Ideas*, or the *Intelligible* and *Archetypal Paradigms* of things, not only as Substantial, but also as so many several *Animals*, *Persons*, and *Gods*; it being their humour thus upon all slight occasions to multiply Gods; yet nevertheless must it be acknowledged, that they did at the very same time declare, all these to have been derived from One Supreme Deity, and not only so, but also to exist in it; as they did likewise at other times, when unconcerned in this business of their *Pagan Polytheism*,

lytheiſm, freely acknowledge all theſe *intelligible Ideas*, to be Really nothing elſe, but νοήματα, *Conceptions in the Mind of God*, or the *Firſt Intellect* (though not ſuch *Slight Accidental* and *Evanid* ones, as thoſe Conceptions and Modifications of our humane Souls are) and conſequently not to be ſo many Diſtinct *Subſtances*, *Perſons*, and *Gods*, (much leſs *Independent Ones*) but only ſo many *Partial Conſiderations of the Deity*.

What a *Rabble of Inviſible Gods and Goddeſſes*, the Pagans had, beſides thoſe their *Dii Nobiles*, and *Dii Majorum Gentium*, *their Noble* and *Greater Gods* (which were the *Conſentes* and *Selecti*) hath been already ſhowed out of St. *Auſtin*, from *Varro* and others; as namely, *Dea Mena*, *Deus Vagitanus*, *Dea Levana*, *Dea Cunina*, *Diva Rumina*, *Diva Potina*, *Diva Educa*, *Diva Paventina*, *Dea Venilia*, *Dea Agenoria*, *Dea Stimula*, *Dea Strenua*, *Dea Numeria*, *Deus Conſus*, *Dea Sentia*, *Deus Jugatinus*, *Dea Virginenſis*, *Deus Mutinus*. To which might be added more out of other places of the ſame St. *Auſtin*, as *Dea Deverra*, *Deus Domiducus*, *Deus Domitius*, *Dea Manturna*, *Deus Pater Subigus*, *Dea Mater Prema*, Dea Pertunda, Dea *Ruſina*, Dea *Collatina*, Dea *Vallonia*, Dea *Seia*, Dea *Segetia*, Dea *Tutilina*, Deus *Nodotus*, Dea *Volutina*, Dea *Patelena*, Dea *Hoſtilina*, Dea *Flora*, Dea *Lactantia*, Dea *Matura*, Dea *Runcina*. Beſides which there are yet ſo many more of theſe Pagan Gods and Goddeſſes extant in other Writers, as that they cannot be all mentioned or enumerated by us; divers whereof have Very Small, Mean, and Contemptible Offices aſſigned to them, as their names for the moſt part do imply; ſome of which are ſuch, as that they were not fit to be here interpreted. From whence it plainly appears, that there was μηδὲν ἄθεον, *nothing at all without a God* to theſe Pagans, they having ſo ſtrong a Perſwaſion, that Divine Providence extended it ſelf to all things, and expreſſing it after this manner, by aſſigning to *Every thing in Nature*, and *Every part of the World*, and whatſoever was done by men, *ſome particular God or Goddeſs by name*, to preſide over it. Now that the Intelligent Pagans, ſhould believe in good earneſt, that all theſe *Inviſible Gods* and *Goddeſſes* of theirs, were ſo many Several *Subſtantial Minds*, or *Underſtanding Beings Eternal* and *Unmade*, really exiſting in the World, is a thing in it ſelf *Utterly Incredible*. For how could any poſſibly perſwade themſelves, that there was One Eternal Unmade Mind or Spirit, which for example, Eſſentially preſided over The Rockings of Infants Cradles, and nothing elſe? another over the Sweeping of Houſes? another over Ears of Corn? another over the Husks of Grain? and another over the Knots of Straw and Graſs, and the like? And the Caſe is the very ſame, for thoſe other *Noble Gods of theirs* (as they call them) the *Conſentes*, and *Selecti*; ſince there can be no reaſon given, why thoſe ſhould all of them, be ſo many *Subſtantial* and *Eternal Spirits Self-exiſtent* or *Unmade*, if none of the other were ſuch. Wherefore if theſe be not all, ſo many *Several Subſtantial* and *Eternal Minds*, ſo many *Selfexiſting* and *Independent Deities*, then muſt they of neceſſity, be either Several *Partial Conſiderations* of the Deity, *viz.* the Several *Manifeſtations of the Divine Power and Providence* Perſonated; or elſe *Inferiour Miniſters* of the ſame. And thus have we already

ſhewed

ſhewed, that the more High-flown and Platonick Pagans, (as *Julian*, *Apuleius* and others) underſtood theſe *Conſentes* and Select Gods, and all the other Inviſible ones, to be really nothing elſe, but the *Ideas* of the *Intelligible* and *Archetypal World*, (which is the *Divine Intellect*) that is indeed, but *Partial Conſiderations* of the *Deity*, as *Vertually* and *Exemplarily* conteining all things: whilſt others of them, going in a more plain and eaſie way, concluded theſe Gods of theirs, to be all of them, but ſeveral *Names* and *Notions* of the One *Supreme Deity*, according to the *Various Manifeſtations* of its Power in the world; as *Seneca* expreſly affirmeth, not only concerning Fate, Nature and Fortune, *&c.* but alſo *Liber Pater*, *Hercules*, and *Mercury*, (before mentioned by him) that they were *Omnia ejuſdem Dei Nomina, variè utentis ſuâ poteſtate, all Names of One and the ſame God, as diverſly uſing his power*; and as *Zeno* in *Laertius* concludes of all the reſt: or elſe, (which amounts to the ſame thing) that they were the Several *Powers* and *Vertues* of One God *Fictitiouſly Perſonated* and *Deified*; as the Pagans in *Euſebius* apologize for themſelves, that they did θεοποιεῖν τὰς ἀοράτους δυνάμεις αὐτῆς τοῦ ὅλου πάσιν, *Deifie nothing but the Inviſible Powers of that God which is over all.* Nevertheleſs becauſe thoſe Several Powers of the *Supreme God* were not ſuppoſed to be all executed immediately by himſelf, but by certain other ὑπηρετικὰς δυνάμεις; *Subſervient Miniſters* under him, appointed to preſide over the Several Things of Nature, Parts of the World, and Affairs of Mankind (commonly called Demons;) therefore were thoſe Gods ſometimes taken alſo for ſuch *Subſervient Spirits*, or *Demons* collectively; as perhaps in this of *Epictetus*, πότε ὁ ζέφυρος πνεύσει; ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ, ἢ βέλτιστε, ἢ τῷ Αἰόλῳ· σὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ταμίαν τῶν ἀνέμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν Αἴολον· *When will* Zephyrus *or the Weſt-wind blow? When it ſeemeth good to himſelf or to* Æolus; *for God hath not made thee Steward of the Winds, but* Æolus.

Pr. Ev. L. 3. c. 13. p. 121.

L. 1. c. 1. p. 85.

But for the fuller clearing of the whole *Pagan Theology*, and eſpecially this one Point thereof, that their πολυθεΐα, was in great part nothing elſe but πολυωνυμία, *their Polytheiſm* or *Multiplicity of Gods*, nothing but the *Polyonymy of One God*, or his being called by *Many Perſonal Proper Names*, Two Things are here requiſite to be further taken notice of; Firſt, that according to the *Pagan Theology*, *God was conceived to be Diffuſed throughout the whole World*, to *Permeate and Pervade all things*, *to Exiſt in all things*, *and Intimately to Act all things*. Thus we obſerved before out of *Horus Apollo*, that the Egyptian Theologers conceived of God, as τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τὸ διῆκον πνεῦμα, *a Spirit pervading the whole World*, as likewiſe they concluded, δίχα θεοῦ μηδὲν ὅλως συνεστάναι, *that Nothing at all Conſiſted without God.* Which ſame Theology was Univerſally entertained alſo amongſt the Greeks. For Thus *Diogenes* the Cynick in *Laertius*, αὐτοῦ πάντα πλήρη, *All things are full of him.* And *Ariſtotle* or the Writer *De Plantis*, makes God not only to comprehend the whole world, but alſo to be an Inward *Principle of Life in Animals*; τίς ἔν ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ ζώου; τί ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τὸ εὐγενὲς ζῶον, ὃ τὸν οὐρανὸν περιοδεύει, τὸν ἥλιον, τὰ ἄστρα, καὶ τοὺς πλάνητας· *What is the Principle in the Life or Soul of Animals? certainly no other than that Noble Animal (or Living Being) that encompaſſes*

Lib. 1. cap. 1.

and

and ſurrounds the whole Heaven, the Sun, the Stars, and the Planets.
Adv. Mathem. p. 331. *Sextus Empiricus* thus repreſents the ſence of *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, and all the Italick Philoſophers; μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι τινὰ κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων· ἓν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν πνεῦμα τὸ διὰ παντὸς κόσμου διῆκον, ψυχῆς τρόπον, τὸ καὶ ἑνοῦν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα. *That we men have not only a conjunction amongſt our ſelves with one another, but alſo with the Gods above us, and with Brute Animals below us: becauſe there is One Spirit which like a Soul, pervades the whole*
Protrept. p. 44. *World, and unites all the parts thereof together.* *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth thus of the Stoicks, διὰ πάσης ὕλης, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀτιμοτάτης τὸ θεῖον διήκειν λέγουσι, *They affirm that God doth Pervade all the Matter of the Univerſe, and even the moſt vile parts thereof,* which that Father ſeems to diſlike.; as alſo did *Tertullian*, when he repreſented their Doctrine thus; *Stoici volunt Deum ſic per Materiam decucurriſſe, quomodo Mel per Favos, the Stoicks will have God, ſo to run through the*
Lib. 15. p. 730. *Matter, as the Honey doth the Combs.* *Strabo* teſtifies of the ancient Indian Brachmans, περὶ πολλῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁμοδοξεῖν, ὅτι γε γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος καὶ φθαρτὸς λέγειν κἀκείνους, ὅ τε διοικῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιῶν θεὸς, διὰ ὅλου διαπεφοίτηκεν αὐτοῦ· *That in many things they Philoſophized after the Greekiſh manner, as when they affirm that the World had a beginning, and that it would be Corrupted, and that the Maker and Governour thereof, Pervades the whole of it.* The Latins alſo fully agreed with the Greeks in this: For though *Seneca* ſomewhere propounds this Queſtion, *Utrum Extrinſecus operi ſuo Circumfuſus ſit Deus, an toti inditus? Whether God be only extrinſically circumfuſed, about his work the World, or inwardly inſinuating do Pervade it all?* yet himſelf elſewhere anſwers it, when he calls God, *Divinum Spiritum per omnia, maxima, ac minima, æquali intentione diffuſum, A Divine Spirit, Diffuſed through all things, whether Smalleſt or Greateſt, with equal intention.* God in *Quintilians* Theology, is *Spiritus omnibus partibus Immiſtus*; and *Ille fuſus, per omnes rerum Naturæ partes Spiritus, a Spirit which inſinuates it ſelf into, and is Mingled with all the parts of the world*; And *that Spirit which is diffuſed through all the parts of Nature.* *Apuleius likewiſe* affirmeth *Deum omnia permeare, That God doth permeate all things,* and that *Nulla res eſt tam præſtantibus viribus, quæ viduata Dei auxilio, ſui natura contenta ſit, There is nothing ſo excellent or powerful, as that it could be content with its own Nature alone, void of the Divine Aid or Influence:* and again, *Dei Præſentiam, non jam cogitatio ſola, ſed Oculi, & aures, & ſenſibilis Subſtantia comprehendit, That God is not only preſent to our Cogitation, but alſo to our very eyes and ears, in all theſe ſenſible things.* *Servius* agreeably with this doctrine of the Ancient Pagans, determineth, that *Nulla Pars Elementi ſine Deo eſt, That there is no part of the Elements devoid of God.* And that the Poets fully cloſed with the ſame Theology, is evident from thoſe known paſſages of theirs, *Jovis omnia plena,* and μεσαὶ δ' Διὸς πᾶσαι μυχοὶ ἀγυιαὶ, &c. i. e. *All the things of Nature, and Parts of the world, are full of God*; as alſo from this of *Virgil*,

Virg. Georg. L. 4.

——— *Deum namque ire per omnes*
Terraſque, Tractuſque Maris, Cœlumque profundum.

Laſtly

Lastly we shall observe that both *Plato* and *Anaxagoras*, who neither of them Confounded God with the World, but kept them both distinct and affirmed God to be ἀδενὶ μεμιγμένον, *Unmingled with any thing*, nevertheless concluded, αὐτὸ πάντα κοσμεῖν τὰ πρήγματα διὰ πάντων ἰόντα, *that he did order and govern all things passing through and pervading all things*; which is the very same with that Doctrine of Christian Theologers, τὸ θεὸν διὰ πάντων ἀμίγως δήκειν, *That God permeates and passes through all things, Unmixedly.* Which *Plato* also there in his *Cratylus*, plainly making δίκαιον to be a Name *for God*, etymologizeth it, from διὰ ἰὸν, i. e. *passing thorough all things*, and thereupon gives us the best account of *Heraclitus* his *Theosophy*, that is any where extant (if not rather a Fragment of *Heraclitus* his own) in these words, ὅσοι γὲ ἡγοῦνται τὸ πᾶν εἶναι ἐν πορείᾳ, τὸ μὲν πολὺ αὐτῇ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι, οἷον ὀδὲν ἄλλο ἢ χωρεῖν· διὰ τοῦτο παντὸς εἶναι διεξιὸν, δι' ὃ πάντα τὰ γιγνόμενα γίγνεσθαι· εἶναι δὲ τάχιστον τοῦτο καὶ λεπτότατον, ὃ γὲ ἂν δύνασθ' ἄλλως διὰ τοῦ ὄντος ἰέναι παντὸς, εἰ μὴ λεπτότατόν τε ἦν, ὥστε αὐτὸ μηδὲν σχεῖν, καὶ τάχιστον, ὥστε χρῆσθαι ὥσπερ ἑστῶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπεὶ δ' ἓν διατεμοῦσα τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διαῖον, τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἐκλήθη ὀρθῶς δίκαιον, δύσκολίας ἕνεκα, τὸ τοῦ κ δύναμιν προσλαβόν· *They who affirm the Universe to be in constant motion, suppose a great part thereof, to do nothing else but move and change; but that there is something which Passes through and Pervades this whole Universe, by which all those things that are made, are made: and that this is both the Most Swift, and Most Subtil thing; for it could not otherwise pass through all things, were it not so Subtil, that nothing could keep it out or hinder it; and it must be most swift, that it may use all things, as if they stood still, that so nothing might scape it. Since therefore this doth preside over, and Order all things, Permeating and Passing through them; it is called* δίκαιον quasi διᾴδιον; *the Letter* Cappa, *being only taken in for the more handsom pronunciation.* Here we have therefore *Heraclitus* his Description of God, namely this, τὸ λεπτότατον καὶ τὸ τάχιστον, διὰ παντὸς διεξιὸν, δι' ὃ πάντα τὰ γιγνόμενα γίγνεται, *That Most Subtil and Most Swift Substance, which permeates and passes through the whole Universe, by which all things that are made, are made.* Now saith *Plato*, some of these Heracliticks, say that this is *Fire*, others that it is *Heat*; but he deriding both these Conceits; concludes with *Anaxagoras*, that it is a *Perfect Mind, unmixed with any thing*; which yet *Permeating and Passing through all things*, frames, orders, and disposes all. *Cratyl. p. 413.*

Wherefore this being the Universally received Doctrine of the Pagans, that *God was a Spirit or Substance Diffused through the whole World, which Permeating and Inwardly Acting all things, did Order all*; no wonder, if they called him, in Several Parts of the World and *Things of Nature*, by several Names; or to use *Cicero*'s Language, no wonder if *Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque rei, per Terras* Ceres, *per Maria* Neptunus, *&c. if God pervading the nature of every thing, were in the Earth called* Ceres, *in the Sea* Neptune, *in the Air* Juno, &c. And this very account does *Paulus Orosius* (in his Historick work against the Pagans, Dedicated to St. *Austin*) give of the original of *the Pagan Polytheism*, *Quidam dum In Multis Deum credunt, Multos Deos, indiscreto Timore, finxerunt, That Some whilst they believe God to be* *L. 6. c. 1.*

In

In Many things, have therefore, out of an indiſcreet fear, feigned Many Gods; in which words he intimates, that the Pagans *Many Gods*, were really but Several Names of One God, as *exiſting in Many things*, or in the *Several Parts* of the world; as the ſame Ocean is called by ſeveral names, as beating upon ſeveral Shores.

Secondly the *Pagan Theology* went ſometimes yet a ſtrain higher, they not only thus ſuppoſing, God to *Pervade the whole World*, and to be Diffus'd *through All Things* (which as yet keeps up ſome Difference and Diſtinction betwixt *God* and the *World*) but alſo *Himſelf to be in a manner All Things*. That the ancient *Egyptian Theology*, from whence the Theologies of other Nations were derived, ran ſo high as this, is evident from that excellent Monument of Egyptian Antiquity, the *Saitick Inſcription* often mentioned, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be*. And the Triſmegiſtick Books inſiſting ſo much every where upon this Notion, *That God is All Things*; (as hath been obſerved) renders it the more probable, that they were not all Counterfeit and Suppoſititious; but that according to the teſtimony of *Jamblichus*, they did at leaſt contein δόξας Ἑρμαϊκὰς, ſome of the Old *Theutical* or *Hermaical Philoſophy*, in them. And from *Egypt* in all probability, was this Doctrine by *Orpheus* derived into *Greece*, the Orphick Verſes themſelves running much upon this ſtrain, and the *Orphick Theology* being thus Epitomized by *Timotheus* the Chronographer; *That all things were made by God*, and *That Himſelf is All Things*. To this purpoſe is that of *Æſchylus*,

Grot. Exc. p. 57.

Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθὴρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός·
Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα, χὠ, τι τῇδ' ὑπέρτερον·

Et Terra, & Æther, & Poli Arx eſt Jupiter,
Et Cuncta Solus, & aliquid Sublimius.

And again,

Ib. p. 53.

——— Ποτὲ μὲν ὡς πῦρ φαίνεται
Ἄπλαστον ὁρμῇ· ποτὲ δ' ὕδωρ, πότε ὁ γνόφος·
Καὶ θηρὸν αὐτὸς γίνεται παρεμφερὴς,
Ἀνέμῳ, νέφει τε, καὶ σκοτῃ, βροντῇ, βροχῇ·

——— *Nunc ut implacabilis*
Apparet Ignis: nunc Tenebris, nunc Aquæ
Par ille cerni: Simulat interdum Feram,
Tonitrua, Ventos, Fulmina, & Nubila.

As alſo this of *Lucan* amongſt the Latins,

Lib. 9. v. 580.

——— *Superos quid quærimus ultra?*
Jupiter *eſt quodcunque Vides, quocunque moveris.*

Whereunto agree alſo, theſe paſſages of *Seneca* the Philoſopher, *Quid eſt Deus? Quod vides Totum, & quod non vides, Totum.* And *Sic*

Solus

Solus est Omnia; opus suum & Extrà & Intrà tenet: What is God? he is all that you see, and all that you do not see. And he alone is All Things, he containing his own work not only without but also within. Neither was this the Doctrine only of those Pagans who held God to be the *Soul of the World*, and consequently the whole *Animated World* to be the Supreme Deity, but of those others also, who conceived of God as an *Abstract Mind* Superiour to the *Mundane Soul*, or rather as a *Simple Monad* Superiour to *Mind* also; as those Philosophers, *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides*, and *Melissus*, who described God to be *One and All Things*, they supposing that because all things were *From him*, they must needs have been first in a manner *In him* and *Himself All Things*. With which agreeth the *Author* of the *Asclepian Dialogue*, when he maketh, *Unus Omnia*, and *Creator Omnium*; *One All Things*, and *the Creator of All Things*, to be but equivalent Expressions: and when he affirmeth, that before things were made, *In eo jam tunc erant, unde Nasci habuerunt*; *They then Existed in him, from whom afterwards they proceeded.* So likewise the other *Trismegistick Books*, when they give this account of Gods *being both All things that Are*, and *All things that Are Not*, τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄντα ἐφανέρωσε, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὄντα ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, *because those things that Are, he hath manifested from himself, and those things that Are not, he still containeth within himself*; or as it it is elsewhere expressed, he doth κρύπτειν, *Hide them and Conceal them in himself.* And the Orphick verses gave this same Account likewise of Gods *being All Things*, πάντα τὰ ἓν κρύψας, &c. *because he first Conceal'd and Hid them all within himself, before they were made and thence afterward from himself displayed them, and brought them forth into Light*: Or because

——— ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σώματα πεφύκει,

before they were produc'd, they were all contein'd together in the Womb of God.

Now this was not only a further Ground, of that seeming *Polytheism* amongst the Pagans, which was really nothing but the *Polyonymy of One God*, and their *Personating* his *Several Powers*; but also of another more strange and puzzling *Phænomenon* in their Theology, namely, their Personating also, *the Parts of the World Inanimate*, and *Things of Nature*, and bestowing the Names of *Gods* and *Goddesses* upon them. It was before observed out of *Moschopulus*, that the Pagans did ἑνὶ ὀνόματι τότε τιὼ δύναμιν ἔχον, καὶ τὰ ὑποκατέιμενα τούτῳ θεὸν ὀνομάζειν, *Call the things in Nature, and the Gods which presided over them, by one and the same Name.* As for Example, they did not only call, the *God which presideth over those arts that operate by Fire*, *Hephæstus* or *Vulcan*; but also *Fire* it self. And *Demeter* or *Ceres*, was not only taken by them for that *God*, who was supposed *to Give Corn and Fruits*, but also for *Corn it self.* So *Dionysus* or *Bacchus* did not only signifie, the God that *Giveth Wine*, but also *Wine it self.* And he instancing further, in *Venus*, and *Minerva*, and the Muses, concludes the same Universally of all the rest. Thus *Arnobius* in his Book against the Pagans, *In usu sermonis vestri*, Martem *pro Pugna appellatis*, *pro Aqua* Neptunum, Liberum Patrem *pro Vino*, Cererem *pro Pane*, Minervam *pro Stamine*, *pro Obscœnis libidinis* Venerem. Now we will not deny, P. 229. L. 5.

but that this was ſometimes done *Metonymically*, the *Efficient Cauſe*, and the *Ruling* or *Governing Principle*, being put for the *Effect*, or that which was Ruled and Governed by it. And thus was *War* frequently ſtyled *Mars*, and that of *Terence* may be taken alſo in this Sence, *Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus.* And *Plutarch* (who declares his great diſlike of this kind of Language) conceives that there was no more at firſt in it than thus, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὰ ἀνάθεμνον βιβλία Πλάτωνος, ἀνεῖσθαι φαμὲν Πλάτωνα, καὶ Μένανδρον τὰ ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὰ Μενάνδρου ποιήματα ὑποτιθέμενον, ἔτως ἐκεῖνοι, τοῖς τῶν Θεῶν ὀνόμασι τὰ τῶν Θεῶν δῶρα καὶ ποιήματα καλεῖν ἐπ ἐφείδοντο, τιμῶντες ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ σεμνύνοντες· *As we, when one buyes the Books of* Plato, *commonly ſay that he buyes* Plato; *and when one acts the Plays of* Menander, *that he acts* Menander; *ſo did the ancients not ſpare to call the Gifts and Effects of the Gods, by the names of thoſe Gods reſpectively, thereby honouring them alſo for their Utility.* But he grants that afterward this Language was by ignorant Perſons abuſed and carried on further, and that not without great Impiety; οἱ δ' ὕστεροι ἀπαιδεύτως δεχόμενοι καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἀναστρέφοντες, ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ πάθη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τὰς παρουσίας τῶν ἀναλισκόντων καὶ ἀποκρύψεις, θεῶν γενέσεις καὶ φθορὰς, οὐ προσαγορεύοντες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομίζοντες, ἀτόπων καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων καὶ τεταραγμένων δοξῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνέπλησαν· *Their followers miſtaking them, and thereupon ignorantly attributing the Paſſions of Fruits, (their Appearances and Occultations) to the Gods themſelves, that preſide over them; and ſo not only calling them, but alſo thinking them to be, the Generations and Corruptions of the Gods, have by this means filled themſelves with abſurd and wicked Opinions.* Where *Plutarch* well condemns the Vulgar both amongſt the Egyptians and Greeks, for that in their mournful Solemnities, they ſottiſhly attributed to the Gods, the Paſſions belonging to the fruits of the earth; thereby indeed making them to be Gods. Nevertheleſs the *Inanimate Parts of the World* and *Things of Nature*, were frequently *Deified* by the Pagans, not only thus *Metonymically*, but alſo in a further Sence, as *Cicero* plainly declares; *Tum illud quod erat à Deo natum, Nomine ipſius Dei nuncupabant, ut cum Fruges* Cererem *appellamus, Vinum autem* Liberum; *Tum autem Res ipſa in qua Vis ineſt Major, ſic appellatur ut ea ipſa Res nominetur Deus. Both that which proceeds from God, is called by the name of a God, as Corn is ſometimes thus called* Ceres, *and Wine* Liber: *and alſo whatſoever hath any greater Force in it, That thing it ſelf is often called a God too.* *Philo* alſo thus repreſents the Religion of the Pagans, as firſt Deifying *Corporeal Inanimate Things*, and then beſtowing thoſe *Proper Perſonal Names* upon them: ἐκτεθειώκασι γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὰς τέτταρας ἀρχὰς, γῆν, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀέρα, καὶ πῦρ· οἱ δ' ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πλανήτας, καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας· οἱ δὲ μόνον τὸν οὐρανὸν, οἱ δὲ σύμπαντα κόσμον· τὸν δ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβύτατον, τὸν γενητὴν, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως, τὸν στρατάρχην τῆς ἀηττήτου στρατιᾶς, τὸν κυβερνήτην ὃς οἰκονομεῖ σωτηρίως ἀεὶ ἅπαντα, παρεκαλούμην, δυσωνύμοις προσρήσεσι ἐκείνοις ὑπεφημίσαντες, ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ· καλοῦσι γοῦν τὴν γῆν Κόρην, Δήμητρα, Πλούτωνα· τὸ δὲ θάλασσαν Ποσειδῶνα, δαίμονας ἐναλίους ὑπάρχους αὐτοῦ προσαναπλάττοντες, &c. Ἥραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ τὸ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον, καὶ ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα, καὶ σελήνην Ἄρτεμιν, &c. *Some have Deified the Four Elements, the Earth, the Water, the Air and the Fire. Some the Sun and the Moon, and the Planets and Fixed Stars: Others the Heaven, others the whole World. But that Higheſt and moſt Ancient Being, the Parent*

De Iſ. & Oſ. p. 379.

Ibid.

De N.D.L. 2. p. 222.

De Decal. p. 751, 752.

of

of all things, the Chief Prince of this great City, and the Emperour of this invincible Army, who governeth all things ſalutiferouſly, Him have they covered, concealed and obſcured, by beſtowing Counterfeit Perſonal Names of Gods upon each of theſe things. For the Earth they called Proſerpina, Pluto *and* Ceres; *the Sea* Neptune, *under whom they place many Demons and Nymphs alſo as his Inferiour Miniſters; the Air* Juno; *the Fire* Vulcan; *the Sun* Apollo; *the Moon* Diana, *&c. and diſſecting the Heaven into Two Hemiſpheres, one above the Earth the other under it, they call theſe the* Dioſcuri, *feigning them to live alternately one one day, and the other another.* We deny not here but that the Four Elements, as well as the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were ſuppoſed by ſome of the Pagans, to be *Animated* with Particular Souls of their own, (which *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſeems principally to call *Spiritus Elementorum, the Spirits of the Elements*, worſhipped by *Julian*) and upon that account to be ſo many *Inferiour Gods* themſelves. Notwithſtanding which, that the Inanimate Parts of theſe, were alſo *Deified* by the Pagans, may be concluded from hence; becauſe *Plato*, who in his *Cratylus* etymologizeth *Dionyſus* from *Giving of Wine*, and elſewhere calls the fruits of the earth τὰ Δήμητρος δῶρα, *The Gifts of Ceres*, doth himſelf nevertheleſs in compliance with this Vulgar Speech, call *Wine* and *Water* as mingled together in a Glaſs (or Cup) to be drunk, Gods: where he affirmeth that a City ought to be, *De Leg. L. 6.* ὅλην πρατῆρος πεφαμένην, ἣ μαινόμενον μὲν οἶνον πεχυμένον ζῇ, πολαζόμενον ὑπὸ νήφοντος ἑτέρου θεοῦ, καλὴν κοινωνίαν λαβοῦσα, ἀγαθὸν πόμα καὶ μέτριον ἀπεργάζεται· *ſo temper'd, as in a Cup, where the furious Wine poured out bubbles and ſparkles, but being Corrected by another Sober God* (that is, by Water) *both together make a good and moderate Potion. Cicero* alſo tells us, that before the Roman Admirals went to Sea, they were wont to offer up a Sacrifice to the *Waves*. But of this more afterward. However it is certain, that meer Accidents, and Affections of Things in Nature, were by theſe Pagans commonly *Perſonated* and *Deified*, as Time in *Sophocles* his *Electra* is a God, χρόνος γὰρ δύμαρὴς θεὸς, *For Time is an eaſie God*; and *Love* in *Plato's Sympoſium*, where it is wondred at, that no Poet had ever made a Hymn τῷ Ἔρωτι τηλικούτῳ ὄντι καὶ τοσούτῳ θεῷ, *To Love being ſuch and ſo great a God.* Though the ſame *Plato* in his *Philebus*, when *Protarchus* had called Pleaſure a Goddeſs too, was not willing to comply ſo far there with Vulgar Speech; *P. 12.* τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέος, ὦ Πρώταρχε, ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα ἔστι κατ' ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου· νῦν τοίνυν τῇ μὲν Ἀφροδίτῃ, ὅπῃ ἐκείνη φίλον, ταύτῃ προσαγορεύω, τὴν δ' ἡδονὴν οἶδα ὡς ἔστι ποικίλον· *My fear, O* Protarchus, *concerning the Names of the Gods, is extraordinary great. Wherefore as to* Venus, *I am willing to call her, what ſhe pleaſes to be called; but Pleaſure I know is a Various and Multiform thing.* Wherefore it cannot be denied but that the Pagans did in ſome ſence or other *Deifie* or *Theologize* all *the Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*. Which we conceive to have been done at firſt upon no other Ground than this, becauſe God was ſuppoſed by them, not only to *Permeate* and *Pervade* all things, to be Diffuſed thorough *All*, and to Act in and upon *All*; but alſo to be Himſelf in a manner *All things*; which they expreſſed after this way; by Perſonating the Things of Nature Severally, and beſtowing the Names of *Gods* and

Goddesses upon them. Only we shall here observe, that this was done especially (besides the Greater Parts of the World) to Two Sorts of things, First, such in which *Humane Utility* was most concerned: Thus *Cicero*, *Multæ aliæ Naturæ Deorum ex Magnis Beneficiis eorum, non sine causa & à* Græciæ *Sapientibus & à Majoribus nostris, constitutæ nominatæque sunt: Many other Natures of Gods have been constituted and nominated, both by the wise men of* Greece *and by our Ancestors, meerly for the great Benefits received from them.* The Reason whereof is thus given by him, *Quia quicquid magnam Utilitatem generi afferret humano, id non sine Divina Bonitate erga homines fieri arbitrabantur; Because they thought, that whatsoever brought any great Utility to mankind, this was not without the Divine Goodness.* Secondly, such as were most wonderful and Extraordinary, or Surprizing; to which that of *Seneca* seems pertinent, *Magnorum Fluminum Capita Veneramur. Subita & ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio Aras habet. Coluntur Aquarum Calentium Fontes; & Stagna quædam vel Opacitas vel immensa Altitudo sacravit. We adore the rising Heads and Springs of great Rivers. Every sudden and plentiful Eruption of Waters out of the hidden Caverns of the Earth, hath its Altars erected to it; and some Pools have been made Sacred for their immense Profundity and Opacity.*

N. D. L. 2. p. 222.

Ep. 41.

Now this is that which is properly called, the *Physiological Theology* of the Pagans, their *Personating* and *Deifying* (in a certain sence) the *Things of Nature*, whether *Inanimate Substances*, or *the Affections of Substances*. A great part of which *Physiological Theology*, was *Allegorically* conteined in the *Poetick Fables* of the Gods. *Eusebius* indeed was of opinion, that those *Poetick Fables* were at first only *Historical*, and *Herological*, but that afterwards some went about to *Allegorize* them into *Physiological Sences*, thereby to make them seem the less impious and ridiculous: τοιαύτη ἦν τὰ τ᾽ παλαιᾶς θεολογίας, ἣν μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινὲς, χθὲς καὶ πρώην ὑπιφυέντες, λογικώτερόν τε φιλοσοφεῖν αὐχοῦντες, τῳ᾽ δὲ φυσικωτέραν τ᾽ περὶ θεῶν ἱστορίας δόξαν εἰσηγήσαντο, σεμνοτέρας διαιρεσιολογίας τοῖς μύθοις προσεπινοήσαντες, &c. διεφθαρμένοι δ᾽ ὅμως οἵδε τὸ πατρικὸν ἁμάρτημα προθυμηθέντες, ὅτι φυσικὰς διηγήσεις καὶ θεωρίας τὰς μύθους μετεσκεύασαντο. *Such was the ancient Theology of the Pagans* (namely, *Historical*, of men deceased, that were worshipped for Gods) *which some late Upstarts have altered, devising other Philosophical and Physiological sences of those Histories of their Gods, that they might thereby render them the more specious, and hide the Impiety of them. For they being neither willing to abandon those Fopperies of their forefathers, nor yet themselves able to bear the Impiety of these Fables (concerning the Gods) according to the Literal Sence of them, have gone about to cure them thus by Physiological Interpretations.* Neither can it be doubted, but that there was some Mixture of *Herology* and *History*, in the *Poetick Mythology*; Nor denied, that the Pagans of latter times, such as *Porphyrius* and others, did excogitate and devise certain new *Allegorical sences* of their own, such as never were intended. *Origen* before both him and *Porphyry*, noting this of the Pagans, that when the absurdity of their Fables concerning the Gods was objected and urged against them, some of them did, περὶ τούτων ἀπολογούμενοι ἐπ᾽ ἀλληγορίας καταφεύγειν, *apologizing for these things, betake themselves to Allegories.*

Pr. Ev. L. 3. c. 6.

L. 3. c. Cels. p. 123.

But

But long before the times of Christianity, those First Stoicks *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and *Chrysippus*, were famous for the great pains which they took in *Allegorizing* these *Poetick Fables* of the Gods. Of which *Cotta* in *Cicero* thus, *Magnam molestiam suscepit & minimè necessariam, primus* Zeno, *post* Cleanthes, *deindè* Chrysippus, *Commentitiarum Fabularum reddere rationem, & vocabulorum cur quidque ita appellatum sit, causas explicare. Quod cum facitis, illud profecto confitemini, longè aliter rem se habere atque hominum opinio sit; eos qui Dii appellantur, Rerum Naturas esse, non Figuras Deorum:* Zeno *first and after him* Cleanthes *and* Chrysippus *took a great deal more pains than was needful, to give a reason of all those Commentitious Fables of the Gods, and of the names that every thing was called by. By doing which they confessed that the matter was far otherwise, than according to mens opinion, in as much as they who are called Gods in them, were nothing but the Natures of things.* From whence it is plain, that in the Poetick Theology, the Stoicks took it for granted, that the Natures of Things were *Personated* and *Deified*, and that those Gods were not *Animal*, nor indeed *Philosophical*, but *Fictitious*, and nothing but the *Things of Nature Allegorized*. *Origen* also gives us a Taste of *Chrysippus* his thus Allegorizing, in his interpreting an obscene Picture or Table of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in *Samos*; λέγει γὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῦ συγγράμμασιν ὁ σεμνὸς φιλόσοφος, ὅτι τὰς σπερματικὰς λόγους τῦ θεῦ ἡ ὕλη ὑποδεξαμένη, ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῇ, εἰς καταπόσμησιν τῇ ὅλων· ὕλην γὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ κτίσει τῦ Σάμου γραφῇ, ἡ Ἥρα, ἢ ὁ θεὸς ὁ Ζεύς· *This Grave Philosopher in his writings saith; that Matter having received the Spermatick Reasons of God, conteineth them within it self, for the adorning of the whole World; and that* Juno *in this Picture in* Samos, *signifies Matter, and* Jupiter *God.* Upon which occasion that pious Father adds, ἢ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ ἡμεῖς, ἢ διὰ τὰς τοιάτας μύθας ἢ ἄλλας μυρίας, οὐδὲ μέχρι ὀνόματος θελομεν Δία καλεῖν τὸν ὄντι πᾶσι θεὸν, ἀλλὰ καθαρᾶν δύσεβειαν εἰς τὸν δημιεργὸν ἀσπαζόμενοι, οὐδὲ μέχρι ὀνόματος χραίνομεν τὰ θεῖα· *For the sake of which, and innumerable other such like Fables, we will never endure to call The God over all, by the name of* Jupiter, *but exercising pure Piety towards the Maker of the World, will take care not to defile Divine things with impure Names.* And here we see again, according to *Chrysippus* his Interpretation, that *Hera* or *Juno*, was no *Animal* nor *Real God*, but only the *Nature of Matter Personated* and *Deified*; that is, *a meer Fictitious and Poetick God.* And we think it is unquestionably evident, from *Hesiod*'s *Theogonia*, that many of these Poetick Fables, according to their First Intention, were really nothing else but *Physiology Allegorized*, and consequently those *Gods*, nothing but the *Natures of things Personated and Deified.* *Plato* himself, though no friend to these Poetick Fables, plainly intimates as much, in his Second *De Rep.* ἢ θεομαχίας, ὅσας Ὅμηρος πεποίηκεν, οὐ παραδεκτέον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὅτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας, ὅτ' ἄνευ ὑπονοιῶν· ὁ γὲ νέος, οὐκ οἷός τε κρίνειν ὅ, τι τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ὃ μή· *The Fightings of the Gods, and such other things, as* Homer *hath feigned concerning them, ought not to be admitted into our Commonwealth, whether they be delivered in way of Allegory, or without Allegories: Because Young men are not able to judge, when it is an Allegory, and when not.* And it appears from *Dionysius Halicarnass.* that this was the General opinion concerning the Greekish Fables, that some of them

L.4.p.196.

P. 378.

L.2.p.68. them were *Physically*, and some *Tropologically Allegorical*: μηδ' εἰς ὑποπλάβοι με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων, εἰσί τινες ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ὅπῃ φυσικῶν ἔργων τὰς φύσεως ἔργα δι' ἀλληγορίας, οἱ δὲ ὅπῃ μυθίας ἕνεκα συγκείμενοι τῷ ἀνθρωπείων συμφορῶν, &c. *Let no man think me to be ignorant that some of the Greekish Fables are profitable to men, partly as declaring the Works of Nature by Allegories, partly as being helpful for humane life,* N.D.L.2. p.223. &c. Thus also *Cicero*, *Alia quoque ex ratione, & quidem Physicâ, magna fluxit Multitudo Deorum, qui induti specie humana, Fabulas Poetis suppeditaverunt, hominum autem vitam Superstitione omni refercerunt.*

Eusebius indeed, seems sometimes to cast it as an Imputation upon the whole *Pagan Theology*, that it did θειάζειν τὴν ἄψυχον ὐσίαν, *Deifie the Inanimate Nature*; but this is properly to be understood of this Part of their Theology only, which was *Physiological*, and of their *Mythology* or *Poetick Fables* of the Gods *Allegorized:* it being otherwise both apparently false, and all one as to make them downright Atheists. For he that acknowledges no *Animant God*, as hath been declared, acknowledges no God at all, according to the True Notion of him; whether he derive all things from a *Fortuitous Motion of Matter*, as *Epicurus* and *Democritus* did, or from a *Plastick* and Orderly but Senseless Nature, as some Degenerate Stoicks, and *Strato* the Peripatetick; whose Atheism seems to be thus described by *Manilius*,

> *Aut neque Terra Patrem novit, nec Flamma, nec Aer,*
> *Aut Humor, faciuntque Deum per quatuor artus,*
> *Et Mundi struxere Globum, prohibentque requiri*
> *Ultra se quidquam.*

Neither ought this *Physiological Theology* of the Pagans, which consisted only in *Personating* and *Deifying Inanimate Substances*, and the *Natures of Things* to be confounded (as it hath been by some late Writers) with that *Philosophical Theology* of *Scævola*, *Varro* and others, (which was called *Natural* also, but in another sence, as *True* and *Real*) it being indeed but a Part of the *Poetical* first, and afterward of the *Political Theology*, and owing its Original much to the *Phancies of Poets*, whose Humour it was perpetually *to Personate Things and Natures.* But the *Philosophick Theology* properly so called, which according to *Varro* was that, *de qua multos libros Philosophi reliquerunt*; as it admitted none but *Animal Gods*, and such as really existed in Nature, (which therefore were called *Natural*) namely one Supreme Universal Numen, a Perfect *Soul* or *Mind* comprehending all, and his ὑπεργοὶ δυνάμεις, other Inferiour Understanding Beings his Ministers Created by him, such as Stars aud Demons; so were all those *Personated Gods*, or *Natures of Things Deified*, in the Arcane Theology, interpreted agreeably thereunto.

St. *Austin* often takes notice of the Pagans thus Mingling and as it were Incorporating *Physiology* with their *Theology*, he justly condemning the same. As in his 49. Epistle; *Neque illinc excusant impii, sua Sacrilega Sacra & Simulachra, quòd eleganter interpretantur quid quæque significent: Omnis quippe illa Interpretatio ad Creaturam refertur, non ad Creatorem, cui uni debetur Servitus Religionis, illa quæ uno*

no nomine Latria Græcè appellatur. Neither do the Pagans ſufficiently excuſe their Sacrilegious Rites and Images, from hence, becauſe they elegantly (and ingeniouſly) interpret, what each of thoſe things ſignifieth. For this Interpretation is referred to the Creature, and not to the Creator, to whom alone belongeth Religious Worſhip, that which by the Greeks is called Latria. And again in his Book *De Civ. D. L. 6. c. 8. Atenim habent iſta Phyſiologicas quaſdam (ſicut aiunt) id eſt, Naturalium Rationum Interpretationes. Quaſi verò nos in hac Diſputatione Phyſiologiam quæramus, & non Theologiam; id eſt, Rationem Naturæ, & non Dei. Quamvis enim qui verus Deus eſt, non Opinione ſed Natura ſit Deus; non tamen omnis Natura Deus eſt. But the Pagans pretend, that theſe things have certain Phyſiological Interpretations, or according to Natural Reaſons; as if in this Diſputation, we ſought for Phyſiology, and not Theology, or the Reaſon of Nature and not of God. For although the True God, be not in Opinion only, but in Nature God, yet is not every Nature, God.* But certainly the Firſt and Chief Ground of this Practice of theirs, thus to *Theologize Phyſiology* and *Deifie* (in one ſence or other) all the *Things of Nature*, was no other than what has been already intimated, their ſuppoſing God to be, not only *Diffuſed* thorough the whole World, and *In all things*, but alſo in a manner All things; and that therefore he ought to be worſhipped in All *the Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World.*

Wherefore theſe perſonated Gods of the Pagans, or thoſe *Things of Nature Deified by them*, and called *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, were for all that, by no means accounted by the Intelligent amongſt them, *True* and *Proper Gods.* Thus *Cotta* in *Cicero*; *Cum Fruges* Cererem, *Vinum* Liberum *dicimus, genere nos quidem ſermonis utimur uſitato: ſed ecquem tam amentem eſſe putas, qui illud, quo veſcatur, Deum eſſe credat? Though it be very common and familiar language amongſt us, to call Corn* Ceres, *and Wine* Bacchus, *yet who can think any one to be ſo mad, as to take that to be really a God, which he feeds upon?* The Pagans really accounted that only for a God, by the worſhipping and invoking whereof, they might reaſonably expect benefit to themſelves, and therefore nothing was *Truely* and *Properly* a *God* to them, but what was both *Subſtantial*, and alſo *Animant* and *Intellectual.* For *Plato* writes that the *Atheiſtick Wits* of his time, therefore concluded the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, not to be *Gods*, becauſe they were nothing but *Earth and Stones* (or a certain *Fiery Matter*) devoid of all Underſtanding and Senſe, and for this cauſe, ὄδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων φροντίζειν δυνάμενα, *unable to take notice of any Humane Affairs.* And *Ariſtotle* affirmeth concerning the Gods in general, ζῆν τε πάντες ὑπειλήφασιν αὐτὸς, ἢ ἐνεργεῖν· ἄρα, &c. *That all men conceived them to Live, and conſequently to Act, ſince they cannot be ſuppoſed to ſleep perpetually as* Endymion *did.* The Pagans, Univerſally conceived the Gods to be Happy Animals; and *Ariſtotle* there concludes, the happineſs of them all to conſiſt in Contemplation. *Lucretius* himſelf would not debar men of that Language (then vulgarly received amongſt the Pagans) of calling the Sea *Neptune*, Corn *Ceres*, Wine *Bacchus*, and the Earth *the Mother of the Gods* too, provided that they did not think any of theſe for all that, to be Truly and Really Gods,

De N. D. L. 3. p. 345.

L. 10. de Leg.

Hïc

L.2.p.165. Lamb.

Hîc ſiquis Mare Neptunum, Cererem*que vocare*
Conſtituit fruges, & Bacchi *nomine abuti*
Mavolt, quam Laticis proprium proferre vocamen:
Concedamus ut hic, Terrarum dictitet Orbem
Eſſe Deum Matrem, dum non ſit re tamen apſe.

And the reaſon why the Earth was not really a *Goddeſs*, is thus given by him,

Terra quidem vero caret omni tempore Senſu.

N.D.L.2.p. 220. *Becauſe it is conſtantly devoid of all manner of ſenſe.* Thus *Balbus* in *Cicero* tells us, that the firſt thing included in the notion or *Idea* of a God, is this, *Ut ſit Animans, That it be* Animant; or endued with *Life, Senſe,* and *Underſtanding.* And he conceiving the *Stars* to be undoubtedly ſuch, therefore concludes them to *be Gods. Quoniam tenuiſſimus eſt Æther, & ſemper agitatur & viget, neceſſe eſt, quod Animal in eo gignatur, idem quoque Senſu acerrimo eſſe. Quare cum in Æthere Aſtra gignantur, conſentaneum eſt in iis Senſum ineſſe & Intelligentiam. Ex quo efficitur in* Deorum *numero Aſtra eſſe ducenda. Becauſe the* Æther *is moſt ſubtil, and in continual agitation, that Animal which is begotten in it, muſt needs be endued with the quickeſt and ſharpeſt ſenſe. Wherefore ſince the Stars are begotten in the* Æther, *it is reaſonable to think them to have Senſe and Underſtanding; from whence it follows, that they ought to be reckoned in the number of Gods.* And *Cotta* in the
D.N.D.p.241 Third Book, affirms that all men were ſo far from thinking the Stars to be Gods, that *Multi ne Animantes quidem eſſe concedant, many would not ſo much as admit them to be Animals:* plainly intimating, that unleſs they were *Animated*, they could not poſſibly be *Gods.*
De Iſ.& Oſ. p.377. Laſtly *Plutarch* for this very reaſon abſolutely condemns, that whole practice of giving the names of Gods and Goddeſſes, to Inanimate things, as Abſurd, Impious, and Atheiſtical, ἄφνὰς καὶ ἀθέους ἐμποιοῦσι δόξας, ἀναισθήτοις, καὶ ἀψύχοις, καὶ φθειρομένοις ἀναγκαίως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δεομένων καὶ χρωμένων φύσεσι καὶ πράγμασιν ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐπιφέροντες· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ νοῆσαι θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν· ὃ γὰρ ἔν ἐστὶν ἄψυχον ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεός· *They who give the names of Gods to Senſleſs and Inanimate Natures and Things, and ſuch as are deſtroyed by men in the uſe of them, beget moſt wicked and Atheiſtical opinions in the minds of men: ſince it cannot be conceived how theſe things ſhould be Gods; for nothing that is Inanimate, is a God.* And now we have very good reaſon to conclude, that the Diſtinction or Diviſion of Pagan Gods (uſed by ſome) into *Animal* and *Natural* (by *Natural* being meant *Inanimate*) is utterly to be rejected, if we ſpeak of their True and Proper Gods; ſince nothing was ſuch to the Pagans but what had Life, Senſe, and Underſtanding. Wherefore thoſe *Perſonated Gods*, that were nothing but the *Natures of Things Deified*, as ſuch, were but *Dii Commentitii & Fictitii, Counterfeit and Fictitious Gods:* or as *Origen* calls them in that place before cited, τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα, σωματοποιεῖσθαι δοκοῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, *Figments of the Greeks* (and other Pagans) *that were but Things turned into Perſons and Deified.* Neither

can

can there be any other ſence made, of theſe *Perſonated* and *Deified Things of Nature*, than this, that they were all of them really ſo many *Several Names* of *One Supreme God*; or *Partial Conſiderations* of him, according to the *Several Manifeſtations* of himſelf in his Works. Thus according to the old *Egyptian Theology* before declared, God is ſaid to have both, *No Name*, and *Every Name*; or as it is expreſſed in the Aſclepian Dialogue, *Cum non poſſit Uno quamvis è Multis compoſito Nomine nuncupari, potius Omni Nomine vocandus eſt, ſiquidem ſit Unus & Omnia; ut neceſſe ſit, aut Omnia Ipſius Nomine, aut Ipſum Omnium Nomine nuncupari: Since he cannot be fully declared by any one Name, though compounded of never ſo many, therefore is he rather to be called by Every Name, he being both One and All Things: ſo that either Every Thing muſt be called by His Name, or He by the Name of Every thing.* With which *Egyptian Doctrine*, *Seneca* ſeemeth alſo fully to agree, when he gives this Deſcription of God, *Cui Nomen Omne convenit, He to whom every Name belongeth*; and when he further declares thus concerning him, *Quæcunque voles illi Nomina aptabis*; and, *Tot Appellationes ejus poſſunt eſſe, quot Munera, You may give him whatſoever Names you pleaſe*, &c. and, *There may be as many Names of him, as there are Gifts and Effects of his:* and laſtly, when he makes *God* and *Nature*, to be really *One and the ſame Thing*; and, *Every thing we ſee, to be God.* And the Writer *De Mundo*, is likewiſe conſonant hereunto, when he affirmeth that God is, πάσης ἐπωνυμίας φύσεως ἅτε πάντων αὐτὸς αἴτιος ὤν, or, *may be denominated from Every Nature, becauſe he is the Cauſe of all things.* We ſay therefore, that the Pagans in this their *Theologizing of Phyſiology*, and *Deifying the Things of Nature, and Parts of the World*, did accordingly *Call Every Thing by the Name God*; or *God by the Name of Every Thing.*

Wherefore theſe *Perſonated and Deified Things of Nature* were not themſelves Properly and Directly worſhipped by the Intelligent Pagans, (who acknowledged no *Inanimate thing* for *a God*) ſo as to terminate their worſhip ultimately in them; but either *Relatively* only to the Supreme God, or elſe at moſt in way of *Complication* with him, whoſe Effects and Images they are, ſo that they were not ſo much themſelves worſhipped, as God was worſhipped in them. For theſe Pagans profeſſed, that they did, τὸ οὐρανὸν μὴ παρέργως, μηδὲ ὥσπερ τὰ βοσκήματα θεωρεῖν, *look upon the Heaven (and World) not ſlightly and ſuperficially; nor as meer Bruit Animals, who take notice of nothing, but thoſe ſenſible Phantaſms, which from the objects obtrude themſelves upon them*; or elſe as the ſame *Julian*, in that Oration, again more fully expreſſeth it, τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἵπποις καὶ βόας ὁρᾶν, ἅπερ τῷ ἀλόγων καὶ ἀμαθῶν ζώων· ἀλλὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῦ ἀφανῆ πολυπραγμονεῖν φύσιν, *Not view and contemplate the Heaven and World, with the ſame eyes, that Oxen and Horſes do, but ſo as from that which is Viſible to their outward ſenſes, to diſcern and diſcover another Inviſible Nature under it.* That is, they profeſſed to behold all things with *Religious Eyes*, and to ſee *God in Every Thing*, not only as *Pervading* all things, and *Diffuſed thorough* all things, but alſo as *Being* in a manner *All things* Wherefore they looked upon the whole World as a *Sacred Thing*, and as having a kind of *Divinity* in it; it being, according to their *Theolo-*

Julian Orat. 4.

P. 286.

gy, nothing but *God himself Visibly Displayed*. And thus was God worshipped by the Pagans, in the whole *Corporeal World* taken all at once together, or in the Universe, under the *Name of Pan*. As they also commonly conceived of *Zeus* and *Jupiter*, after the same manner, that is, not *Abstractly* only (as we now use to conceive of *God*) but *Concretely*, together with all that which Proceedeth and Emaneth from him, that is, the Whole World. And as God was thus described in that old *Egyptian Monument*, to be *All that Was, Is, and Shall be*; so was it before observed out of *Plutarch*, that the Egyptians took the *First God*, and the *Universe*, for *One and the same Thing*; not only because they supposed the *Supreme God*, Vertually to contain all things within himself, but also because they were wont to conceive of him, together with his Outflowing, and all the extent of Fecundity, the whole World displayed from him, all at once, as one entire thing. Thus likewise, do the Pagans in *Plato* confound ὁ μέγιστον θεὸν, and ὅλον ὁ κόσμον, *The Greatest God*, and *The Whole World* together, as being but one and the same thing. And this Notion was so Familiar with these Pagans, that *Strabo* himself, writing of *Moses*, could not conceive of his God, and of the God of the Jews, any otherwise than thus, τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας, καὶ γῆν, καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν, *namely, That which containeth us all, and the Earth, and the Sea, which we call the Heaven and World, and the Nature of the Whole.* By which notwithstanding, *Strabo* did not mean, the *Heaven* or *World Inanimate*, and a *Senseless Nature*, but an Understanding Being, framing the whole World and containing the same, which was conceived together with it: of which therefore he tells us, that according to *Moses*, no wise man would go about, to make any *Image* or *Picture*, resembling any thing here amongst us. From whence we conclude, that when the same *Strabo* writing of the Persians, affirmeth of them, that they did, τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι Δία, *take the Heaven for* Jupiter, and also *Herodotus* before him, that they did, κύκλον πᾶσαν τὴν οὐρανὸν Δία καλεῖν, *Call the Whole Circle of the Heaven*, Jupiter; that is, the *Supreme God*; the meaning of neither of them was, that the *Body of the Heaven Inanimate*, was to them the *Highest God*, but that though he were an Understanding Nature, yet framing the whole Heaven or World and containing the same, he was at once conceived together with it. Moreover, God was worshipped also by the Pagans, in the *Several Parts* of the wrorld, under *Several Names*; as for example in the *Higher and Lower Æther*, under those Names of *Minerva* and *Jupiter*; in the *Air*, under the name of *Juno*; in the *Fire*, under the name of *Vulcan*; in the *Sea*, under the name of *Neptune, &c.* Neither can it be reasonably doubted, but that when the Roman Sea-Captains, Sacrificed to the *Waves*, they intended therein to worship that God, who acteth in the Waves, and whose *Wonders are in the Deep.*

De Leg. l 7. *p.* 821.

L. 16. *p.* 761.

But besides this, the Pagans seemed to apprehend a kind of necessity, of worshipping God thus, in his works, and in the Visible things of this World, because the generality of the Vulgar were then unable to frame any notion or conception at all of an *Invisible Deity*, and therefore unless they were detained in a way of Religion, by such a worship

worship of God as was accommodate and suitable to the lowness of their apprehensions, would unavoidably run into *Atheism*. Nay the most *Philosophical Wits* amongst them, confessing God to be *Incomprehensible* to them, therefore seemed themselves also, to stand in need of some *Sensible Props*, to lean upon. This very account is given by the *Pagans*, of their practice, in *Eusebius*, ἀσωμάτως καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν πᾶσιν ὄντα θεὸν, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκοντα, καὶ τοῦτον εἰκότως διὰ τῶν δεδηλωμένων σέβειν φάσι, *That God being Incorporeally and Invisibly present in all things, and Pervading or Passing through all things, it was reasonable, that men should worship him, by and through those things that are Visible and Manifest.* *Pr. Ev. L. 3. c. 13.* *Plato* likewise represents this as the opinion of the generality of Pagans in his time, τὸ μέγιστον θεὸν καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον φαμέν ὅτε ζητεῖν δεῖν, ὅτε πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνῶντας· ὃ δὲ ὅσιον ἕναι, *that as for the Greatest God, and the Whole World, men should not busily & curiously search after the knowledge thereof, nor pragmatically enquire into the causes of things, it being not pious for them so to do.* *De Leg. L. 7. p. 821.* The meaning whereof seems to be no other than this, that men ought to content themselves to worship God in his Works, and in this Visible World, and not trouble themselves with any further curious Speculations concerning the Nature of that, which is *Incomprehensible* to them. Which though *Plato* professeth his dislike of, yet does that Philosopher himself elsewhere, plainly allow of worshipping the *First Invisible God*, in those *Visible Images* which he hath made of himself, the Sun and Moon and Stars. *Maximus Tyrius* doth indeed exhort men to ascend up, in the Contemplation of God, above all Corporeal Things; τέλος δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ὁ οὐρανός; οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σώματα (καλὰ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ θεοπρεπῆ, ἅτε ἐκείνου ἔκγονα ἀμιγῆ καὶ γνήσια, καὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἡρμοσμένα) ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπέκεινα ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, καὶ ὑπερπτῆναι τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅπῃ τὸν ἀληθῆ τόπον, &c. *The End of your Journey,* (saith he) *is not the Heaven, nor those shining Bodies in the Heaven; for though those be beautiful and Divine, and the Genuine Off-spring of that Supreme Deity, framed after the best manner, yet ought these all to be transcended by you, and your head lifted up far above the Starry Heavens,* &c. *Dissert. 1.* Nevertheless he closes his discourse thus; εἰ δ' ἐξαθενεῖς πρὸς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ δημιουργοῦ θέαν, ἀρκεῖ σοι τὰ ἔργα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὁρᾶν, καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰ ἔκγονα; πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ὄντα, ὡς οὐ Βοιώτιος ποιητὴς λέγει· ὃ δὲ τελισμύριοι μόνον θεοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες καὶ φίλοι, ἀλλ' ἄληπτοι ἀριθμῷ· τοῦτο μὲν κατ' οὐρανὸν αἱ ἀστέρων φύσεις, &c. *But if you be too weak and unable to contemplate that Father and Maker of all things; it will be sufficient for you for the present to behold his Works, and to Worship his Progeny or Off-spring, which is various and manifold. For there are not only according to the Bœotian Poet, Thirty Thousand Gods all the Sons and Friends of the Supreme God; but innumerable. And such in the Heaven are the Stars, in the Æther Demons,* &c. Lastly *Socrates* himself also, did not only allow of this way of worshipping God, (because himself is Invisible) in his works that are Visible, but also commend the same to *Euthydemus*; ὅτι δέ γε ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ σὺ γνώσῃ ἂν μὴ ἀναμείνῃς ἕως ἂν τὰς μορφὰς τῶν θεῶν ἴδῃς, ἀλλ' ἐξαρκῇ σοι τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὁρῶντι σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς· *That I speak the truth, your self shall know, if you will not stay expecting, till you see the Forms of the Gods themselves, but count it sufficient for you beholding their works to worship and adore them.* Which he afterward *Xenoph. Memor. L. 4.*

particularly applies to the Supreme God, who made and containeth the whole World, that being Inviſible, he hath made himſelf Viſible in his Works, and conſequently was to be worſhipped and adred in them. Whether *Socrates* and *Plato*, and their genuine Followers, would extend this any further than to the *Animated Parts* of the World, ſuch as the Sun, Moon, and Stars were to them, we cannot certainly determine. But we think it very probable, that many of thoſe Pagans who are charged with worſhipping *Inanimate Things*, and particularly the Elements, did notwithſtanding direct their Worſhip, to the *Spirits of thoſe Elements*, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us *Julian* did, that is, Chiefly the *Souls of them*, all the Elements being ſuppoſed by many of theſe Pagans to be *Animated*, (as was before
P. 236, 237. obſerved concerning *Proclus*) and Partly alſo, thoſe Demons which they conceived to inhabit in them and to preſide over the parts of them; upon which account it was ſaid by *Plato* and others of the Ancients, that πάντα θεῶν πλήρη, *All things are full of Gods, and Demons.*

XXXIII. But that theſe *Phyſiological Gods*, that is, the *Things of Nature Perſonated and Deified* were not acconnted by the Pagans *True* and *Proper Gods*, much leſs *Independent* and *Self-exiſtent* ones, may further appear from hence, becauſe they did not only thus *Perſonate* and *Deifie Things Subſtantial* and *Inanimate Bodies*, but alſo meer *Accidents*, and *Affections* of *Subſtances*. As for example Firſt, the *Paſſions of the Mind*; τὰ πάθη θεὸς ἐνόμισαν, ἢ θεὸς ἐτίμησαν, ſaith S. *Greg. Nazianzen*, *They accounted the Paſſions of the Mind to be Gods*, or at leaſt *worſhipped them as Gods*; that is, built Temples or Altars to their Names. Thus was *Hope*, not only a *Goddeſs* to the Poet *Theognis*,

Ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνη θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν,
Ἄλλοι δ' ἄλυμπον δ' ἐκπεφλιπόντες ἔβαν.

(Where he Fancifully makes her, to be the *only Numen that was left to men in Heaven*, as if the other Gods had all forſaken thoſe Manſions and the World) but alſo had Real Temples Dedicated to her at *Rome*, as that conſecrated by *Attillius* in the *Forum Olitorium*, and others elſewhere, wherein ſhe was commonly pictured or feigned, as a *Woman, covered over with a green Pall, and holding a Cup in her hand.* Thus alſo *Love* and *Deſire* were *Gods* or *Goddeſſes* too, as likewiſe were *Care*, *Memory*, *Opinion*, *Truth*, *Vertue*, *Piety*, *Faith*, *Juſtice*, *Clemency*, *Concord*, *Victory*, &c. Which *Victory* was together with *Vertue* reckoned up amongſt the Gods by *Plautus* in the Prologue of his *Amphytrio*; and not only ſo, but there was an Altar erected to her alſo, near the entrance of the Senate-houſe at *Rome*, which having been once demoliſhed, *Symmachus* earneſtly endeavoured the reſtauration thereof, in the Reign of *Theodoſius:* he amongſt other things writing thus concerning it, *Nemo Colendam neget, quam profitetur Optandam, Let no man deny that of right to be worſhipped, which he acknowledgeth to be wiſhed for, and to be deſirable.* Beſides all which, *Eccho* was a *Goddeſs* to theſe Pagans too, and ſo was *Night* (to whom they ſacrificed a *Cock*) and Sleep and Death it ſelf, and very many more ſuch Affections of things

things, of which *Voſſius* has collected the largeſt Catalogue, in his eighth Book *De Theologia Gentili.* And this *Perſonating* and *Deifying* of *Accidental Things*, was ſo familiar with theſe Pagans, that as St. *Chryſoſtome* hath obſerved, St. *Paul* was therefore ſaid by ſome of the Vulgar Athenians, to have been a Setter forth of ſtrange Gods, *when he preached to them Jeſus and the Reſurrection*, becauſe they ſuppoſed him not only to have made *Jeſus a God* but alſo *Anaſtaſis* or *Reſurrection*, a Goddeſs too. Nay this Humour of *Theologizing the Things of Nature* tranſported theſe Pagans ſo far, as to *Deifie Evil things* alſo, that is, things both *Noxious* and *Vicious*. Of the former *Pliny* thus, *Inferi quoque in genera deſcribuntur, Morbique, & multæ etiam Peſtes, dum eſſe placatas trepido metu cupimus. Ideoque etiam publicè Febri Fanum in Palatio dedicatum eſt*, Orbonæ *ad ædem Larium Ara, & Malæ Fortunæ Exquiliis: So great is the number of theſe Gods, that even Hell or the ſtate of death it ſelf, Diſeaſes and Many Plagues are numbred amongſt them, whilſt with a trembling fear we deſire to have theſe pacified. And therefore was there a Temple publickly Dedicated in the Palace to the Fever, as likewiſe Altars elſewhere erected to* Orbona, *and to Evil Fortune.* Of the latter *Balbus* in *Cicero*, *Quo ex genere Cupidinis & Voluptatis, & Lubentinæ Veneris, Vocabula Conſecrata ſunt, Vitioſarum rerum & non Naturalium: Of which kind alſo, are thoſe Names of Luſt, and Pleaſure, and Wanton Venery, things Vicious and not natural, Conſecrated and Deified.* *Cicero* in his Book of Laws informs us, that at *Athens* there were Temples Dedicated alſo to *Contumely* and *Impudence*, but withal giving us this cenſure of ſuch practices, *Quæ omnia ejuſmodi deteſtanda & repudianda ſunt, All which kind of things are to be deteſted and rejected, and nothing to be Deified but what is Vertuous or Good.* Notwithſtanding which, it is certain, that ſuch *Evil Things* as theſe, were Conſecrated to no other end, than that they might be *Deprecated.* Moreover as theſe *Things of Natures*, or *Nature of Things*, were ſometimes Deified by the Pagans plainly and nakedly in their own *Appellative Names*, ſo was this again ſometimes done diſguiſedly, under other Counterfeit Proper Names: as *Pleaſure* was Deified, under the Names of *Volupia*, and of *Lubentina Venus*; *Time*, (according to the Opinion of ſome) under the Name of *Cronos* or *Saturn*, which as it Produceth all things, ſo devours all things into it ſelf again; *Prudence* or *Wiſdom* likewiſe, under the Names of *Athena* or *Minerva.* For it is plain that *Origen* underſtood it thus, when *Celſus* not only approved of Worſhipping God Almighty, in the Sun and in *Minerva*, as that which was Lawful, but alſo commended it as a thing Highly Pious; he making this Reply; Εὐφημῶμεν ἥλιον ὡς καλὸν θεοῦ δημιούργημα, &c. Ἀθωυᾶν μέντοι μετὰ ἡλίου ταυτομβρίω, ἐμυθοποίησαν οἱ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι, εἴτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις, εἴτε χωρὶς ὑπονοιῶν, φάσκοντες ἐκ τῆς Διὸς γεγενῆσθαι κεφαλῆς, καθωπλισμένην, &c. *We ſpeak well of the Sun, as a good work of God's, &c. but as for that* Athena *or* Minerva, *which* Celſus *here joyneth with the Sun, this is a thing Fabulouſly deviſed by the Greeks (whether according to ſome Myſtical, Arcane and Allegorical Sence, or without it) when they ſay that ſhe was begotten out of* Jupiter's *Brain All Armed.* And again afterwards, ἵνα ὃ καὶ τροπολογῶνται καὶ λέγεται φρόνησις εἶναι ἡ Ἀθωυᾶ, *if it be granted that by* Athena *or* Minerva, *be Tropologically meant Prudence*, &c. Wherefore not only according to the *Poetical*, but alſo to

H.N.L.2.c.7.

N.D.L.2.

Gruter's Edition a little otherwiſe.

C. Celſ. L.8. p.421.

to the *Political* and *Civil Theology* of the Pagans, theſe *Accidental Things of Nature*, and *Affections* of *Subſtances*, *Perſonated*, were made ſo many *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, *Cicero* himſelf in his Book of Laws approving of ſuch *Political Gods* as theſe; *Benè verò quod Mens, Pietas, Virtus, Fides, conſecratur manu: quarum omnium* Romæ *dedicata publicè Templa ſunt, ut illa qui habeant (habent autem omnes boni) Deos ipſos in animis ſuis collocatos putent: It is well, that Mind, Piety, Virtue and Faith, are conſecrated, (all which have their Temples publickly dedicated at* Rome) *that ſo they who poſſeſs theſe things (as all Good men do) may think that they have the Gods themſelves placed in their minds.* And himſelf makes a Law for them, in his own Common-wealth, but with a Cautionary Proviſion, that no *Evil* and *Vicious Things* be Conſecrated amongſt them; *Aſt olla, propter quæ datur homini adſcenſus in Cœlum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pietatem, Fidem, earumque laudum delubra ſunto. Nec ulla vitiorum Solemnia obeunto: Let them alſo worſhip thoſe things by means whereof, men aſcend up to Heaven, and let there be Shrines or Temples Dedicated to them. But let no Religious Ceremonies be performed to Vicious things.*

L. 2.

Notwithſtanding all which according to that Theology of the Pagans which was called by *Varro Natural*, (whereby is meant not that which was *Phyſiological*, only, but that which is *True and Real*) and by *Scævola Philoſophical*; and which is by both oppoſed, not only to the *Poetical and Fabulous*, but alſo to the *Political and Civil*; I ſay, according to this Theology of theirs, theſe *Accidental Things of Nature Deified*, could by no means be acknowledged for *True and Proper Gods*; becauſe they were ſo far from having any Life and Senſe in them, that they had not ſo much as ὑπόσασιν ἢ οὐσίαν, *any Real Subſiſtence or Subſtantial Eſſence* of their own. And thus does *Origen* diſpute againſt *Minervas* Godſhip, as *Tropologically* interpreted, to *Prudence*, ἵνα ὃ καὶ τροπολογῶνται καὶ λέγηται φρόνησις εἶναι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ἐπιδεικνύτω τις αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπόστασιν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς ὑφεστηκυίας καὶ τὴν τροπολογίαν ταύτην· *If* Athena *or* Minerva *be Tropologized into* Prudence, *then let the* Pagans *ſhow what Subſtantial Eſſence it hath, or that it Really Subſiſts according to this Tropology.* Which is all one as if he ſhould have ſaid, Let the Pagans then ſhew how this can be a *God* or *Goddeſs*, which hath not ſo much as any *Subſtantial Eſſence*, nor *Subſiſts* by it ſelf, but is a meer *Accidental Affection* of Subſtances only. And the ſame thing is likewiſe urged by *Origen*, concerning other ſuch kind of Gods of theirs, as *Memory* the Mother of the Muſes, and the *Graces* all naked, in his Firſt Book; where *Celſus* contended for a multiplicity of Gods againſt the Jews; that theſe things having not ὑπόσασιν ἢ οὐσίαν, *any Subſtantial Eſſence* or *Subſiſtence*, could not poſſibly be accounted *Gods*, and therefore were nothing elſe, but Ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα σωματοποιηθέντα ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, *meer Figments of the Greeks; Things made to have Humane Bodies, and ſo Perſonated and Deified.* And we think there cannot be a truer Commentary upon this Paſſage of *Origen*'s, than theſe following verſes of *Prudentius*, in his Second Book againſt *Symmachus*,

P. 422.

P. 285.

Deſine,

Desine, si pudor est, Gentilis ineptia, tandem
Res Incorporeas, Simulatis Fingere membris.

Let the Gentiles be at last ashamed, if they have any shame in them, of this their folly, in describing and setting forth Incorporeal things with Counterfeit Humane Members. Where *Accidents* and *Affections* of Things, such as *Victory* was, (whose Altar *Symmachus* there contended for the Restauration of) are by *Prudentius* called *Res Incorporeæ, Incorporeal Things*, accordingly as the Greek Philosophers concluded, that ποιότητες were ἀσώματοι, *Qualities Incorporeal.* Neither is it possible, that the Pagans themselves should be insensible hereof; and accordingly we find, that *Cotta* in *Cicero* doth for this reason utterly banish and explode these Gods out of the *Philosophick* and *True Theology*, *Num censes igitur subtiliore ratione opus esse ad hæc refellenda? Nam Mentem, Fidem, Spem, Virtutem, Honorem, Victoriam, Salutem, Concordiam, cæteraque ejusmodi, Rerum Vim habere videmus, non Deorum. Aut enim in nobismet insunt ipsis, ut Mens, ut Spes, ut Fides, ut Virtus, ut Concordia; aut optandæ nobis sunt, ut Honos, ut Salus, ut Victoria. Quare autem in his Vis Deorum sit, tum intelligam cum cognovero. Is there any need, think you, of any great Subtilty to confute these things? For Mind, Faith, Hope, Virtue, Honour, Victory, Health, Concord, and the like, we see them to have the Force of Things, but not of Gods. Because they either exist in us, as Mind, Hope, Virtue, Concord; or else they are desired to happen to us, as Honour, Health, Victory* (that is, they are nothing but meer *Accidents* or *Affections* of Things) *and therefore how they can have the Force of Gods in them cannot possibly be understood.* And again afterwards he affirmeth, *Eos qui Dii appellantur, Rerum Naturas esse, non Figuras Deorum*, That those who in the Allegorical Mythology of the Pagans, *are called Gods, are really, but the Natures of Things, and not the True Figures or Forms of Gods.* *N.D.L.3.*

Wherefore since the Pagans themselves acknowledged, that those *Personated and Deified Things of Nature*, were not *True and Proper Gods*; the meaning of them could certainly be no other than this, that they were so many *Several Names*, and *Partial Considerations* of *One Supreme God*, as manifesting himself in all the *Things of Nature.* For that *Vis* or *Force*, which *Cicero* tells us, was that in all these things, which was called *God* or *Deified*, is really no other, than Something of God in Every Thing, that is Good. Neither do we otherwise understand, those following words of *Balbus* in *Cicero*, *Quarum Rerum, quia Vis erat tanta, ut sine Deo regi non posset, ipsa Res Deorum Nomen obtinuit*; *Of which things because the Force is such, as that it could not be Governed without God, therefore have the Things themselves obteined the Names of Gods*, that is, God was acknowledged and worshipped in them all, which was Paganically thus signified, by Calling of them *Gods.* And *Pliny*, though no very Divine Person, yet being ingenious, easily understood this to be the meaning of it; *Fragilis & laboriosa Mortalitas, in Partes ista digessit, Infirmitatis suæ memor, ut Portionibus quisque coleret, quo maximè indigeret*; *Frail and toilsom, Mortality, has thus broken and crumbled the Deity into* *N.D.L.2.* *Nat.H.L.2. c.7.*

Parts

Parts, *mindful of its own Infirmity; that ſo every one by* Parcels *and* Pieces, *might worſhip that in God, which himſelf moſt ſtands in need of.* Which Religion of the Pagans, thus worſhipping God, not entirely all together at once, as he is One moſt Simple Being, Unmixed with any thing, but as it were brokenly, and by piece-meals, as he is ſeverally Manifeſted, in all the *Things of Nature*, and the *Parts of the World*, *Prudentius* thus perſtringeth in his Second Book againſt *Symmachus*;

N.236.

Tu, me præterito, meditaris Numina mille,
Quæ ſimules parere meis Virtutibus, ut me
Per varias partes minuas, cui nulla recidi
Pars aut Forma poteſt, quia ſum Subſtantia Simplex,
Nec Pars eſſe queo.

From which words of his we may alſo conclude, that *Symmachus* the Pagan, who determined, That it was *One Thing that all worſhipped*, and yet would have *Victory*, and ſuch like other things, worſhipped as *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, did by theſe and all thoſe other Pagan Gods before mentioned, underſtand nothing but ſo many *Several Names*, and *Partial Conſiderations* of One Supreme Deity, according to its ſeveral *Vertues* or *Powers*: ſo that when he ſacrificed to *Victory*, he ſacrificed to *God Almighty*, under that *Partial Notion*, as the *Giver of Victory* to Kingdoms and Commonwealths. It was before obſerved out of *Plutarch*, that the *Egyptian Fable* of *Oſiris*, being *mangled and cut in pieces* by *Typhon*, did *Allegorically* ſignifie the ſame thing, *viz.* the One Simple Deity's, being as it were divided (in the *Fabulous* and *Civil Theologies* of the Pagans) into many *Partial Conſiderations* of him, as ſo many *Nominal* and *Titular Gods*; which *Iſis* notwithſtanding, that is *True Knowledge* and *Wiſdom*, according to *the Natural or Philoſophick Theology*, unites all together into One. And that not only ſuch Gods as theſe, *Victory*, *Vertue* and the like, but alſo thoſe other Gods, *Neptune*, *Mars*, *Bellona*, *&c.* were all really, but one and the ſame *Jupiter*, acting ſeverally in the world, *Plautus* himſelf ſeems ſufficiently to intimate, in the Prologue of his *Amphitryo* in theſe words,

That *Oſiris* was the Supreme Deity, ſee the Egyptian Inſcription, in *Theo. Smyrn. Mathem. c.* 47. Πρεσβύτατος & πάντων βασιλεὺς Ὄσιρις *Oſiris the moſt ancient King of all things.*

Nam quid ego memorem, ut alios in Tragædiis
Vidi, Neptunum, Virtutem, Victoriam,
Martem, Bellonam, commemorare quæ bona
Vobis feciſſent? Queis Benefactis meus Pater,
Deûm Regnator, Architectus omnibus.

Whereas there was before cited a Paſſage out of *G. I. Voſſius* his Book, *De Theolog. Gent.* which we could not underſtand otherwiſe than thus, that the generality of the Pagans by their *Political* (or *Civil*) *Gods*, meant ſo many *Eternal Minds Independent* and *Self-Exiſtent*; we now think our ſelves concerned, to do *Voſſius* ſo much right, as to acknowledge, that we have ſince met with another place of his in that ſame Book, wherein he either corrects the former Opinion, or elſe declares himſelf better concerning it, after this manner; that the Pagans generally conceived, their *Political Gods*, to be ſo many

Subſtantial

Substantial Minds (or *Spirits*) not *Independent* and *Self-existent*, nor indeed *Eternal neither*; but Created by One Supreme Mind or God and appointed by him to preside over the *Several Parts of the World* and *Things of Nature*, as his *Ministers*. Which same thing he affirmeth also, of those *Deified Accidents* and *Affections*, that by them were to be understood, so many *Substantial Minds* or *Spirits Created*, presiding over those several Things, or dispensing of them. His words in the beginning of his Eighth Book (where he speaks concerning these *Affections* and *Accidents Deified* by the Pagans) are as followeth. *Hujusmodi Deorum propè immensa est copia. Ac in Civili quidem Theologia, considerari solent, tanquam Mentes quædam, hoc honoris à Summo Deo sortitæ, ut Affectionibus istis præessent. Nempe crediderunt Deum, quem Optimum Max. vocabant, non per se omnia curare, quo pacto, ut dicebant, plurimum beatitudini ejus decederet, sed, instar Regis, plurimos habere Ministros & Ministras, quorum singulos huic illive curæ prefecisset. Sic Justitia, quæ &* Astræa *ac* Themis, *præfecta erat actibus cunctis, in quibus Justitia attenderetur:* Comus *curare creditus est Comessationes. Et sic in cæteris id genus Diis, nomen ab ea Affectione sortitis, cujus cura cuique commissa crederetur. Quo pacto si considerentur, non aliter different à Spiritibus sive Angelis bonis malisque, quam quòd hi reverà à Deo conditi sint: illæ verò Mentes, de quibus nunc loquimur, sint Figmentum Mentis humanæ, pro numero Affectionum, in quibus Vis esse major videretur, comminiscentis Mentes Affectionibus Singulis præfectas. Facilè autem Sacerdotes sua Commenta persuadere simplicioribus potuerunt, quia satis videretur verisimile, summæ illi Menti, Deorum omnium Regi, innumeras servire mentes, ut eò perfectior sit Summi Dei beatitudo, minusque curis implicetur: inque tot Famulantium numero, Summi Numinis Majestas magis eluceat. Ac talis quidem Opinio erat Theologiæ Civilis.* Of *such Gods as these, there was an innumerable company amongst the Pagans. And in their Civil Theology they were wont to be considered, as certain Minds (or Spirits) appointed by the Supreme God, to preside over the Affections of Things. They supposing, that God, whom they called the Best and the Greatest, did not immediately himself take care of every thing, since that must needs be a distraction to him, and a hinderance of his happiness: but that he had as a King, many* He *and* She-*Ministers under him, which had their several offices assigned to them. Thus Justice which was called also* Astrea *and* Themis, *was by them thought to preside over all those actions, in which Justice was concerned. And* Comus *over all Revellings, and the like. Which Gods, if considered after this manner, will no otherwise differ from Angels good and bad, than only in this, that these Latter are Beings really created by God; but the former the Figments of men only; they, according to the number of Affections, that have any greater force in them, devizing and imagining certain Minds to preside over each of them. And the vulgar might therefore be the more easily led into this perswasion by their Priests, because it seemed reasonable to them, that that Supreme Mind, who is the King of all the Gods, should have many other Minds as his Subservient Ministers under him, both to free him from Solicitous Care, and also to add to his Grandeur and Majesty. And such was the Doctrine of the Civil Theology.* Where though *Vossius* speak Particularly, of that kind of *Pagan Gods*, which were nothing but *Affections* and *Accidents Deified*, (which no

man in his wits could poſſibly ſuppoſe to be themſelves *True* and *Proper Gods*, they having no *Subſiſtence* of their own) That theſe by the generality of the Vulgar Pagans, were conceived to be ſo many *Created Minds* or *Spirits*, appointed by the *Supreme God*, to preſide as his Miniſters over thoſe ſeveral *Affections of Subſtances*; yet does he plainly imply the ſame, of all thoſe other *Political Gods* of theſe Pagans likewiſe, that they were not look'd upon by them, as ſo many *Unmade*, *Self-exiſtent*, and *Independent Beings*, but only as *Inferiour Minds* or *Spirits*, created by the *Supreme God*, and by him appointed to preſide over the *Several Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, and having their Several Offices aſſigned to them. Wherefore as to the main, We and *Voſſius* are now well agreed, *viz.* That the ancient Pagans aſſerted no ſuch thing as a *Multitude of Independent Deities*; ſo that there only remain, ſome Particular Differences of ſmaller moment, betwixt us.

Our ſelves have before obſerved, that *Æolus* was probably taken by *Epictetus* in *Arrianus*, (not indeed for One, but) for Many *Created Miniſters* of the Supreme God, or Demons *Collectively*; appointed by him to preſide over the *Winds*, in all the ſeveral Parts of the World. And the Pagans in St. *Auſtin*, ſeem to interpret thoſe *Deified Accidents* and *Things of Nature* after the ſame manner, as the Names of certain Unknown *Gods* or *Demons* (one or more) that were appointed to preſide over them reſpectively, or to diſpenſe the ſame. *Civ. D. L. 4. c. 24.* *Quoniam ſciebant Majores noſtri nemini talia, niſi aliquo Deo largiente concedi, quorum Deorum nomina non inveniebant, earum rerum nominibus appellabant Deos, quas ab iis ſentiebant dari; aliqua vocabula inde flectentes: ſicut à Bello* Bellonam *nuncupaverunt non* Bellum; *ſicut à cunis* Cuninam *non* Cunam; *ſicut à ſegetibus* Segetiam *non* Segetem; *ſicut à Pomis* Pomonam *non* Pomum; *ſicut à bobus* Bobonam *non* Bovem. *Aut certè nulla vocabuli declinatione ſicut res ipſæ nominantur: ut* Pecunia *dicta eſt Dea quæ dat pecuniam, non omninò pecunia Dea ipſa putata: Ita Virtus quæ dat virtutem, Honor qui honorem, Concordia quæ concordiam, Victoria quæ victoriam dat. Ita, inquiunt, cum Felicitas Dea dicitur, non ipſa quæ datur ſed, Numen illud attenditur, à quo Felicitas datur. Becauſe our Forefathers knew well that theſe things, do not happen to any, without the ſpecial Gift and Favour of ſome God; therefore were thoſe Gods, whoſe names they knew not, called from the names of thoſe very things themſelves, which they perceived to be beſtowed by them, there being only a little Alteration made in them, as when the God that cauſeth War, was called not* Bellum *but* Bellona; *the God which preſideth over Infants Cradles not* Cuna *but* Cunina; *that which giveth Corn* Segetia; *and that which affordeth apples* Pomona, &c. *But at other times, this was done without any Declenſion of the Word at all, they calling both the Thing and the God, which is the Beſtower of it, by one and the ſelf ſame name. As* Pecunia *doth not only ſignifie Money, but alſo the Goddeſs which giveth Money;* Virtus *the Goddeſs which giveth Virtue;* Honor *the God that beſtoweth honour;* Concordia *the Goddeſs that cauſeth Concord; Victory the Goddeſs which affordeth Victory. So alſo when Felicity is called a Goddeſs, by it is not meant, that thing which is given, but that Divine Power, from whence it is given.* Here, I ſay, the Pagans

gans may seem to have understood, by those *Deified Things* of Nature, certain Inferiour *Gods* or *Demons* (One or More) the Ministers of the Supreme God, appointed by him to preside over those several Things respectively, or to dispense the same. Neither can we deny, but that in so much ignorance and diversity of Opinions as there was amongst the Pagans, some might possibly understand, those Political Gods and Deified Things also, after the way of *Vossius*, for so many *Single Minds* or *Spirits*, appointed to preside over those Several Things respectively, throughout the whole World, and nothing else. Nevertheless it seemeth not at all probable, that this should be the General Opinion amongst the Civilized Pagans, that all those Gods of theirs, were so many Single Created Minds or Spirits, each of them appointed to preside over some One certain thing every where throughout the Whole World, and nothing else. As for Example, that the Goddess Victory, was One Single *Created She-Spirit*, appointed to bestow Victory, to whosoever at any time enjoyed it, in all parts of the World: and so, that the Goddess Justice should be such another Single Mind or Spirit, created to dispence Justice every where and meddle with nothing else. And the like of all those other *Accidental Things*, or *Affections Deified*, as *Virtue*, *Honour*, *Concord*, *Felicity*, &c.

And *Lactantius Firmianus*, taking notice of that Profession of the Pagans, to worship nothing but *One Supreme God* and his *Subservient Ministers* Generated or created by him, (according to that of *Seneca* in his Exhortations, *Genuisse Regni sui Ministros Deum*; *that the Supreme God had generated other Inferiour Ministers of his Kingdom under him*, which were called by them also Gods) plainly denies all the Pagan Gods save One, to be the *Created Ministers of that One Supreme*, he making this Reply; *Verum hi neque Dii sunt, neque Deos se vocari, aut coli volunt, &c. Nec tamen illi sunt qui vulgo coluntur, quorum & exiguus & certus est numerus: But these Ministers of the Divine Kingdom, or Subservient Created Spirits, are neither Gods, nor would they be called Gods, or honoured as such,* &c. *Nor indeed are they those Gods, that are now vulgarly worshipped by the Pagans, of which there is but a Small and Certain number.* That is, the Pagan Gods, are reduced into certain Ranks, and the Number of them is determin'd by the Utilities of Humane Life; of which, their *Noble and Select Gods*, are but a few. Whereas, saith he, the *Ministers of the Supreme God*, are according to their own Opinion, not *Twelve* nor *Twenty*, nor *Three Hundred and Sixty*, but Innumerable; Stars, and Demons. *De Fal. Rel. c. 7.*

Moreover *Aristotle* in his Book against *Zeno* (supposing the *Idea of God*, to be this; the *Most Powerful of all things*, or *the Most Perfect Being*) objecteth thus, that according to the *Laws of Cities and Countries* (that is, the *Civil Theology*) there seems to be no One absolutely Powerful Being, but *One God* is supposed to be most *Powerful* as to one thing, and another as to another: ἔπειτα ἅπαντα ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνει τοῦτο δυνατώτατον καὶ βέλτιστον λέγων, ὃ δοκεῖ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν νόμιον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κρείττους εἶναι ἀλλήλων οἱ θεοί· ὅμως ὅμ τῷ δοκοῦντι ἔλιπε ταύτην καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν ὁμολογίαν· *Whereas* Zeno *takes it for granted, that men* *Arist. in Xen. Zen. Gor. p. 1246.*

men have an Idea in their minds of God, as One the most Excellent and most Powerful Being of all; this doth not seem to be according to Law, (that is, the *Civil Theology*) *for there the Gods are mutually Better one than another, respectively as to several things; and therefore* Zeno *took not this Consent of mankind concerning God, from that which vulgarly seemeth.* From which passage of *Aristotle's* we may well conclude, that the Many *Political Gods* of the Pagans, were not all of them vulgarly look'd upon, as the *Subservient Ministers* of One Supreme God, and yet they generally acknowledging, (as *Aristotle* himself confesseth) a Monarchy, and consequently not many Independent Deities; it must needs follow, as *Zeno* doubtless would reply, that these their *Political Gods*, were but *One and the same Supreme Natural God*, as it were *Parcell'd* out, and *Multiplied*; that is, receiving *Several Denominations*, according to *Several Notions* of him; and as he exerciseth *Different Powers*, and produceth *Various Effects*. And this we have sufficiently prov'd already to have been the general sence of the Chief Pagan Doctors; that these Many *Political* and *Popular Gods*, were but the Polyonymy of *One Natural God*, that is, either *Partial Considerations* of him, or his Various *Powers and Vertues*, *Effects and Manifestations* in the World, severally *Personated* and *Deified*.

And thus does *Vossius* himself afterwards confess also; That according to the *Natural Theology*, the Many Pagan Gods, were but so many *Several Denominations of One God*; though this Learned Philologer doth plainly straiten and confine the *Notion* of this *Natural Theology* too much, and improperly call the God thereof, *the Nature of Things*; however acknowledging it such a *Nature*, as was endued with *Sense* and *Understanding*. His Words are these, *Dispar verò sententia Theologorum Naturalium, qui non aliud Numen agnoscebant quàm Naturam Rerum, eóque omnia Gentium Numina referebant, &c. Nempe mens eorum fuit, sicut Natura esset occupata, circa hanc vel illam Affectionem, ita Numina Nominaque Deorum variare. Cum igitur ubicunque Vim aliquam majorem viderent, ita Divinum aliquid crederent: eò etiam devenere, ut immanem Deorum Dearumque fingerent Catervam. Sagaciores interim hæc cuncta, Unum esse Numen aiebant: putà Rerum Naturam, quæ licet una foret, pro variis tamen Effectis varia sortiretur nomina, vario etiam afficeretur cultu. But the Case is very different as to the Natural Theologers, who acknowledged no other God but the Nature of Things, and referred all the Pagan Gods to that. For they conceived that as Nature was occupied about several things, so were the Divine Powers and the Names of Gods, multiplied and diversified. And where-ever they saw any Greater Force, there did they presently conceit something Divine, and by that means came they at length to feign an innumerable company of Gods and Goddesses. But the more sagacious in the mean time affirmed, all these to be but One and the same God; to wit the Nature of Things, which though Really but One, yet according to its various Effects both received divers Names, and was Worshipped after different manners.* Where *Vossius* calls the Supreme God of these Natural Theologers, the *Nature of Things*; as if the *Natural Theology* had been denominated from *Physicks*, or *Natural Philosophy* only, whereas we have already shewed, that the *Natural Theo-*

L. 8. c. 1.

logy

logy of *Varro* and *Scævola*, was of equal extent with the *Philoſophick*; whoſe only *Numen*, that it was not a *Blind and Unintelligible Nature of Things*, doth ſufficiently appear, from that Hiſtory thereof before given by us: as alſo that it was called *Natural* in another ſence, as *Real*; and as oppoſite to *Opinion*, *Phancy* and *Fabuloſity*, or what hath no Reality of Exiſtence any where in the World. Thus does St. *Auſtin* diſtinguiſh betwixt *Natura Deorum*, *the True Nature of the Gods*, and *Hominum Inſtituta*, *the Inſtitutes of Men* concerning them. As alſo he ſets down the Difference, betwixt the *Civil* and *Natural Theology*, according to the Mind of *Varro* in this manner, *Fieri poteſt ut in Urbe, ſecundum Falſas opiniones ea colantur & credantur, quorum in Mundo vel extra Mundum Natura ſit nuſquam: It may come to paſs, that thoſe Things may be worſhipped and believed in Cities, according to Falſe opinions; which have no Nature or Real Exiſtence any where, either in the World or without it.* Wherefore if inſtead of this *Nature of Things*, which was properly the God of none but only of ſuch *Atheiſtick Philoſophers* as *Epicurus* and *Strato*, we ſubſtitute that *Great Mind* or *Soul of the whole World*, *which Pervadeth All Things*, *and is Diffus'd thorough All*; (which was the True God of the Pagan Theiſts) this of *Voſſius* will be unqueſtionably true, concerning their Natural Theologers, that according to them, thoſe Many *Poetical* and *Political Gods* before mentioned, were but One and the ſame *Natural* or *Real God*; who in reſpect of his Different *Vertues*, *Powers*, and *Effects*, was called by ſeveral *Names*, and worſhipped after different manners. Yet nevertheleſs ſo, as that according to thoſe Theologers, there were Really alſo Many other *Inferiour Miniſters* of this *One Supreme God*, (whether called *Minds* or *Demons*) that were ſuppoſed to be the Subſervient Executioners of all thoſe ſeveral Powers of his. And accordingly we had before, this full and true account of the *Pagans Natural Theology* ſet down out of *Prudentius*.

C.D.L.6.c.5.

Ibid.

——— In Uno
Conſtituit jus omne Deo, cui ſerviat ingens
Virtutum ratio, Variis inſtructa Miniſtris.

Viz. *That it acknowledged One Supreme Omnipotent God, ruling over all, who diſplayeth and exerciſeth his Manifold Vertues and Powers in the world*, (all ſeverally Perſonated and Deified in the *Poetick* and *Civil Theologies*) *together with the ſubſervient Miniſtry of other Inferiour Created Minds, Underſtanding Beings; or Demons, called alſo by them Gods.*

It is very true, as we have already declared, that the more *High-flown Platonick Pagans*, did reduce thoſe Many *Poetical* and *Political Gods*, and therefore doubtleſs all the *Perſonated* and *Deified Things of Nature* too, to the *Platonick Ideas*, or Firſt Paradigms and Patterns of Things in the *Archetypal World*, which they affirmed to have been begotten from the Supreme Deity, that is, from the *Firſt Hypoſtaſis* of the *Platonick Trinity*; and which were commonly called by them νοητοὶ θεοὶ, *Intelligible Gods*, as if they had been indeed, ſo many *Diſtinct Subſtances* and *Perſons*. And as we have alſo proved out of *Philo*, that this *High-flown Paganick Theology*, was ancienter than

than either *Julian* or *Apuleius*; so do we think it not unworthy our Observation here, that the very same Doctrine, is by *Celsus* imputed also to the *Egyptian Theologers*, as pretending to worship Brute Animals no otherwise, than as *Symbols* of those *Eternal Ideas*; ἢ φησί γε ἡμᾶς
Orig. C. Cels. L. 3. p. 120. τῶν μὲν Αἰγυπτίων κατηγελᾶν, καί τοι πολλὰ ἢ ὀ φαῦλα παρεχόντων αἰνίγματα ἐπὰν ἰδεῶν ἀϊδίων, ἢ ὄχ (ὡς δοκοῦσι οἱ πολλοὶ) ζώων ἐφημερίων τιμὰς εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα διδάσκωσιν· *Celsus* also addeth, *That we Christians deride the Egyptians, without cause, they having many Mysteries in their Religion, for as much as they profess, that perishing Brute Animals are not worshipped by them, but the Eternal Ideas.* According to which of *Celsus* it should seem, that this Doctrine of *Eternal Ideas*, as the *Paradigms* and *Patterns* of all things here below in this Sensible World, was not proper to *Plato* nor the Greeks; but common with them to the *Egyptians* also. Which *Eternal Ideas*, however supposed to have been Generated from, that First Divine *Hypostasis* of the *Platonick and Egyptian Trinity, and called Intelligible Gods*; were nevertheless acknowledged by them, all to exist in One Divine Intellect, according to that of *Plotinus*, ὃτι ἔξω τοῦ νοῦ τὰ νοητὰ, *that the Intelligibles exist no where of themselves, without Mind or Intellect*; which *Mind* or *Intellect*, being the *Second* Divine *Hypostasis*, these *Intelligible and Invisible Gods*, (however Generated from God) yet are therefore said by *Julian* in his Book against the Christians, both to *Coexist* with God, and to *Inexist* in him. To which purpose also, is this other
P. 347. Passage of *Julian*'s in his Sixth Oration, πάντα γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν, ἔστιν ἢ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τῶν ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας· ἔστε ἀθανάτων ἀθανάτας· ἔστε θνητῶν ἢ θνητὰς ἢδε ἀθανάτων, ἀϊδίους ἢ καὶ μενούσας ἀεὶ, αἳ καὶ τούτοις εἰσὶν αἰτίαι τῆς ἀϊδιότητος· *For God is All things, forasmuch as he conteineth within himself, the Causes of all things, that any way are; whether of Immortal things Immortal; or of Corruptible and Perishing things, not Corruptible but Eternal also, and always remaining; which therefore are the Causes of their perpetual Generation, and New production.* Now these Causes of All things conteined in God, are no other than *The Divine Ideas*. Wherefore from hence it plainly appears, that these *Platonick* and Egyptian Pagans, who thus reduced their Multiplicity of Gods to the *Divine Ideas*, did not therefore make them to be so many *Minds* or *Spirits*, really distinct from the *Supreme God*, (though dependent on him too) but indeed only so many *Partial Considerations* of One God, as being *All things*, that is, conteining within himself the Causes of all things. And accordingly we find in *Origen*, that as the Egyptian Theologers called their Religious Animals, *Symbols of the Eternal Ideas*, so did they also call them,
Or. C. Cels. p. 120. *Symbols of God.* Τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτίων σεμνολογούντων καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων, καὶ φασκόντων εἶναί τινα αὐτὰ καὶ θεοῦ σύμβολα· Celsus *applauds the Egyptian Theologers talking so magnificently and mysteriously of those Brute Animals worshipped by them, and affirming them to be, certain Symbols of God.*

And now we have given some account of the *Polyonymy* of the *One Supreme God*, in the Theologies of the Pagans: or of his being called by *Many Proper Personal Names*, carrying with them an Appearance of *So many Several Gods.* First, that God had many several Names bestowed

beſtowed upon him, from many *Different Notions* and *Partial Conſiderations* of him, according to his *Univerſal* and *All-comprehending Nature*. *Janus*, as the Beginning of the World, and All things, and the Firſt *Original* of the Gods. Whom therefore that ancient Lyrick Poet, *Septimius Apher*, accordingly thus invoked;

O cate rerum Sator! O PRINCIPIUM DEORUM!
Stridula cui Limina, cui Cardinei Tumultus,
Cui reſerata mugiunt aurea Clauſtra Mundi.

Genius, as the *Great Mind* and *Soul* of the whole World. *Saturn*, as that *Hidden Source* and *Principle*, from which all Forms and Lives iſſue forth, and into which they again retire; being there laid up as in their Secret Storehouſe: Or elſe as one of the Egyptian or Hermaick Writers expreſſeth it, that which doth, πάντα ποιεῖν ἢ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀποποιεῖν, *make all things out of it ſelf, and unmake them into it ſelf again.* This *Hetrurian Saturn*, anſwering to the *Egyptian Hammon*, that likewiſe ſignified *Hidden*, and is accordingly thus interpreted by *Jamblichus*, ὁ τῷ ἀφανῆ τῆς νοερυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, *he that bringeth forth the ſecret Power of the Hidden Reaſons of things* (conteined within himſelf) *into Light*. God was alſo called *Athena* or *Minerva*, as *Wiſdom diffuſing it ſelf through all things:* and *Aphrodite Urania, the Heavenly* Venus *or Love.* Thus *Phanes*, *Orpheus* his Supreme God, (ſo called according to *Lactantius*, *Quia cum adhuc nihil eſſet, Primus ex Infinito apparuerit, becauſe when there was yet nothing, he Firſt appeared out of that Infinite Abyſs*, but according to *Proclus*, becauſe he did ἐκφαίνειν τὰς νοητὰς ἑνάδας, *diſcover and make manifeſt the Intelligible Unities* (or *Ideas*) *from himſelf*; though we think the Conjecture of *Athanaſius Kircherus* to be more probable than either of theſe, that *Phanes* was an *Egyptian Name*;)this *Phanes*, I ſay, was in the *Orphick* and *Egyptian Theology*, as *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus* informs us, ſtyled ἀθερὶς ἔρως, *Tender and Soft Love.* And *Pherecydes Syrus* likewiſe affirmed, ὡς ἔρωτα μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, *That* Jupiter *was turned all into Love, when he went about to make the world.* Beſides which, there were other ſuch Names of the *Supreme* God and more than have been mentioned by us; as for example, *Summanus* amongſt the ancient Romans, that afterward grew obſolete,: of which St. *Auſtin* thus; *Romani veteres neſcio quem* Summanum, *cui Nocturna Fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam* Jovem, *ad quem Diurna Fulmina pertinebant. Sed poſtquam* Jovi *Templum inſigne ac ſublime conſtructum eſt, propter ædis dignitatem, ſic ad eum multitudo confluxit, ut vix inveniatur qui* Summani *nomen, quod audiri jam non poteſt, ſe ſaltem legiſſe meminerit: The ancient Romans, worſhipped I know not what God called* Summanus, *more than they did* Jupiter. *But after that a ſtately and magnificent Temple was erected to* Jupiter, *they all betook themſelves thither; in ſo much that the Name of* Summanus *now not at all heard, is ſcarcely to be found in any ancient writings.* C.D.L.4.c.23

Again as the Pagans had certain other Gods, which they called *Special*; ſo were theſe but Several Names of that Supreme God alſo, according to Particular Conſiderations of him, either as Preſiding

ding over certain *Parts of the World*, and Acting in them; or as Exercising certain *Special Powers and Vertues* in the World; which Several *Vertues* and *Powers* of One God, *Personated* and *Deified* by the Pagans, though they had an appearance also of *Many Distinct Gods*; yet were they really nothing but Several *Denominations* of One Supreme God: who as yet is considered as a Thing distinct from the World and Nature.

But Lastly, as God was supposed by these Pagans, not only to *Pervade All things*, and *To Fill All things*, but also, he being the Cause of All things, to be Himself in a manner All things; so was he *called also by the Name of Every thing*, or *Every thing called by His Name*: that is, the several *Things of Nature* and *Parts of the World* were themselves Verbally *Deified* by these Pagans, and called *Gods* and *Goddesses*. Not that they really accounted them such in themselves, but that they thought fit in this manner to acknowledge *God in them*, as the Author of them all. For thus the Pagans in St. *Austin*, *Usque adeone, inquiunt, Majores nostros insipientes fuisse credendum est, ut hæc nescirent Munera Divina esse, non Deos? Can you think that our Pagan Ancestors were so sottish, as not to know, that these Things are but Divine Gifts, and not Gods themselves?* And *Cicero* also tells us, that the meaning of their thus Deifying these *Things of Nature*, was only to signifie, that they acknowledged *The Force of all things to be Divine*, and to be *Governed by God*; and that *whatsoever brought any great Utility to Mankind, was not such Without the Divine Goodness*. They conceiving also, that the Invisible and Incomprehensible Deity, which was the *Cause of All things*, ought to be worshipped in All its Works and Effects, in which it had made it self *Visible*, accordingly as they declare in that place of *Eusebius* before cited in part, μὴ τὰ ὁρώμενα σώματα ἡλίε καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων, μηδέγε τὰ αἰσθητὰ μέρη τῦ κόσμε φάσκοσι θεοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐν τύτοις ἀοράτους δυνάμεις, αὐτῦ δὲ τῦ ὅτι πᾶσαν· ἕνα γὰρ ὄντα θεὸν, παντοίαις δυνάμεσι τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπισατεῖν· ἀσωμάτως γὰρ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν πᾶσιν ὄντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκοντα, καὶ τῦτον εἰκότως διὰ τῶν δεδημιωμένων σέβειν· *That they did not Deifie those Visible Bodies of the Sun, and Moon and Stars, nor the other Sensible Parts of the World themselves, but those Invisible Powers of the God over all, that were displayed in them. For they affirm, that that God who is but One, but yet Filleth all things with his various Powers, and passes through all things, forasmuch as he is Invisibly and Incorporeally present in all, is reasonably to be worshipped in and by those Visible Things.*

Pr. Evan. L. 3. c. 13.

Athanasius Bp. of *Alexandria*, in his Book against the Greeks, reduces all the *False Gods* of the Pagans, under Two general Heads; the First, *Poetical, Fictitious* or *Phantastical Gods*; the Second, *Creatures* or *Real Things of Nature Deified* by them. His words are these; εἰ γὰρ δι' τὰς ποιηταῖς λεγομένους θεὰς, ὅτι εἶναι θεὰς ὁ λόγος ἔδοξε, καὶ τὰς τῷ κτίσιν θεοποιέντας ἤλεγξε πλανωμένας, &c. *Since this Reason or Discourse of ours, hath sufficiently convinced, both the Poetical Gods of the Pagans to be no Gods at all; and also that they who Deifie the Creatures, are in a great Errour; and so hath confuted the whole Pagan Idolatry, proving it to be meer Ungodliness and Impiety, there is nothing*

now

now but the True Piety left; he who is worshipped by us Christians, being the only True God, the Lord of Nature, and the Maker of all Substances. From whence we may observe, that according to *Athanasius*, the *Pagan Poetick Gods*, were no Real Things in Nature, and therefore they could be no other, than the *Several Notions and Powers of the One Supreme God Deified*, or *several Names of him.* So that *Athanasius* his *Poetick Gods*, or οἱ κατὰ ποιητὰς μυθολόμενοι θεοὶ, *Gods fabulously devised by the Poets*, were chiefly those Two Kinds of Pagan Gods, first mentioned by us; that is, the *Various Considerations* of the One Supreme *Numen*, acccording to its general Notion, expressed by so many *Proper Names*; and Secondly his *Particular Powers* diffused thorough the World, severally *Personated* and *Deified.* Which considered, as so many distinct Deities, are nothing but meere *Fiction* and *Phancy*, without any *Reality.* And this do the Pagans themselves in *Athanasius*, acknowledge, ἴσασι γὰρ ὡς αὐτοί φασι, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πέπλασαι; καὶ οὐ ἔστι μὲν ὅλως Ζεὺς, οὐδὲ Κρόνος, οὐδὲ Ἥρα, οὐδὲ Ἄρης· πλάσαντα δὲ τότε, ὡς ὄντας οἱ ποιηταὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην τῶν ἀκουόντων, *They say, that the names of those Gods are meerly Fictitious, and that there does no where Really Exist any such* Jupiter, *or* Saturn, *or* Juno, *or* Mars; *but that the Poets have feigned them to be so many persons Existing, to the deception of their Auditors.* Notwithstanding which, that *Third Sort* of Pagan Gods also mentioned by us, which were *Inanimate Substances* and the *Natures of Things Deified*, may well be accounted *Poetical Gods* likewise; because though those things themselves be *Real* and not *Feigned*, yet is their *Personation* and *Deification* meer *Fiction* and *Phancy*: and however the first occasion thereof sprung, from this *Theological Opinion* or Perswasion, That God who is *In All Things*, and is the *Cause of All Things*, ought to be *worshipped In All Things*, especially he being himself *Invisible*; yet the making of those things themselves therefore to be so many *Persons* and *Gods*, was nothing but *Poetick Fiction* and *Phantastry*, accordingly as their old *Mythology* and *Allegorical Fables* of the Gods, run much upon this strain. P. 14.

XXXIV. Hitherto have we declared the Sence of the Pagans in General, those also being included, who supposed *God* to be a Being *Elevated above the World*, That they agreed in these *Two Things. First* the *Breaking* and *Crumbling* as it were, of the *Simple Deity*, and *Parcelling* out of the same into Many Particular Notions and Partial Considerations, according to the Various Manifestations, of its *Power* and *Providence* in the world; by the Personating and Deifying of which Severally, they made as it were, so *Many Gods* of *One.* The chief Ground whereof was this, because they considered not the Deity according to its *Simple Nature*, and *Abstractly* only; but *Concretely* also with the World, as he *Displayeth* himself therein, *Pervadeth* all, and *Diffuseth* his Vertues thorough all. For as the Sun reflected by Grosser Vapours, is sometimes Multiplied, and the same Object beheld through a Polyedrous Glass, by reason of those many Superficies, being represented in several places at once, is thereby rendred Manifold to the Spectator; So One and the same *Supreme God*, considered *Concretely* with the World as Manifesting his *Several Powers* and *Vertues* in it, was multiplied into Several Names, not with-

out the Appearance of ſo *Many Several Gods.* Whereas πολυώνυμον with thoſe ancient Pagans, was the ſame thing with πολυδύναμον, That which hath *Many Names*, all one with that which hath *Many Powers:* According to this of *Callimachus* concerning *Diana*,

Δός μοι παρθενίῃ αἰώνιον, ἄπτα, φυλάσσειν,
Καὶ πολυωνυμίῃ.

And this of *Virgil* concerning *Alecto*,

——————*Tibi Nomina Mille,*
Mille nocendi Artes.

And accordingly the Many Pagan Gods are in *Plato's Cratylus*, interpreted as the *Many Powers* of One God *Diffuſed* through the World. And the Pagan Theologers ſeemed to conceive, this to be more ſutable to the Pomp, State and Grandeur, of the Supreme God, for him to be conſidered *Diffuſively*, and called by *Many Names*, ſignifying his Many Several *Vertues* and *Powers* (Polyonymy being by them accounted an Honour) rather than to be contracted and ſhrunk all up, into One *General Notion*, of a *Perfect Mind*, the *Maker or Creator of the whole World. The Second Thing* in which the Pagans agreed is, their *Perſonating* and *Deifying* alſo *the Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature* themſelves, and ſo making them ſo many Gods and Goddeſſes too. Their meaning therein being declared to be really no other than this; That God who doth not only *Pervade all things*, but alſo was the *Cauſe of All things*, and therefore himſelf is in a manner *All things*, ought to be *worſhipped* in all the *Things of Nature* and *Parts of the World:* as alſo that the *Force* of every thing was *Divine*, and that in all things that were Beneficial to mankind, *The Divine Goodneſs* ought to be acknowledged.

We ſhall now obſerve how both thoſe forementioned Principles, of Gods *Pervading all things*, and his *Being All things*, which were the Chief Grounds of the *Seeming Polytheiſm* of the Pagans, were improved and carried on further, by thoſe amongſt them, who had no *Higher Notion* of the *Supreme Deity*, than as the *Soul of the World.* Which Opinion that it found entertainment amongſt ſo many of them, probably might be from hence, becauſe it was ſo obvious for thoſe of them that were Religious to conceive, that as themſelves conſiſted of *Body* and *Soul*, ſo the *Body* of the *Whole World*, was not without its *Soul* neither: and that their *Humane Souls* were as well derived from the *Life and Soul of the World*, as the Earth and Water in their Bodies was, from the Earth and Water of the World. Now whereas the more refined Pagans, as was before obſerved, ſuppoſed God to *Pervade and Paſs thorough All things* ἀμιγῶς *Unmixedly*; theſe concluded God to be, (according to that Definition of him in *Quintilian*, taken in a rigid ſence) *Spiritum omnibus Partibus Immiſtum, a Spirit Immingled with all the Parts of the World:* or elſe in *Manilius* his Language,

Infuſumque Deum Cœlo, Terriſque Fretoque,

Infuſed

Infused into the Heaven, Earth, and Seas : Sacroque meatu Conspirare Deum, and *intimately to conspire with his own Work* the World, as being almost one with it. Upon which account he was commonly called *Nature* also, that being thus defined by some of the Stoicks, *Deus Mundo permistus, God Mingled throughout with the World*, and *Divina Ratio toti Mundo insita, The Divine Reason inserted into the whole World.* Which *Nature* notwithstanding, in way of distinction from the *Particular Natures* of things, was called κοινὴ φύσις, and *Communis Natura, the Common Nature.* And it was plainly declared by them, not to be a *Senseless Nature*; according to that of *Balbus* in *Cicero, Natura est quæ continet Mundum omnem, eumque tuetur; atque ea quidem non sine Sensu, atque Ratione : It is Nature by which the whole World is conteined and upheld, but this such a Nature as is not without Sense and Reason.* As it is elsewhere said to be, *Perfect and Eternal Reason*, the *Divine Mind* and *Wisdom* conteining also under it, all the λόγοι σπερματικοὶ, *the Spermatick Principles* by which the things of Nature (commonly so called) are effected. Wherefore we see that such *Naturalists* as these, may well be allowed to be *Theists*; (*Moses* himself in *Strabo* being accounted one of them) whereas those that acknowledge no Higher Principle of the World, than a *Senseless Nature*; (whether *Fortuitous*, or *Orderly* and *Methodical*) cannot be accounted any other than Absolute Atheists. Moreover this *Soul of the World*, was by such of these Pagans as admitted no *Incorporeal Substance*, it self concluded to be a *Body* too, but λεπτότατον καὶ τάχιστον, *a Most Subtil and Most Swift Body*, as was before observed out of *Plato* (though endued with Perfect Mind and *Understanding*, as well as with *Spermatick Reasons*) which insinuating it self into all other Bodies, did *Permeate* and *Pervade* the whole Universe, and frame all things, inwardly Mingling it self with all. *Heraclitus* and *Hippasus* thinking this to be Fire, and *Diogenes Apolloniates* Air; whom *Simplicius*, who had read some of his then extant Works, vindicates from that Imputation of Atheism, which *Hippo* and *Anaximander* lye under.

Again, whereas the more Sublimated Pagans affirmed the *Supreme God* to be *All*, so as that he was nevertheless something *Above All* too, he being *Above* the *Soul of the World*; (and probably *Æschylus* in that forecited passage of his, is to be understood after this manner, ζεὺς τοι τὸ πόντος καὶ τι ἔμπεδον ὑπέρτερον, Jupiter *is the Ether*, Jupiter *is the Earth*, Jupiter *is the Heaven*; Jupiter *is All things, and yet something Higher than all; or Above all :*) those Pagans who acknowledged no *Higher Numen*, than the *Soul of the World*; made God to be *All Things* in a grosser sence, they supposing the whole *Corporeal World Animated* to be also the *Supreme Deity.* For though God to them, were Principally and Originally, that *Eternal Unmade Soul* and *Mind*, which diffuseth it self thorough all things, yet did they conceive, that as the *Humane Soul* and *Body*, both together, make up one whole Rational Animal, or Man; so this *Mundane Soul*, and its *Body* the World, did in like manner both together, make up One Entire *Divine Animal*, or God.

As *Simplicius* describeth God, to be πάντα πρὸ πάντων, *Omnia ante omnia. In Epictet. p.* 234

It is true indeed, that as the *Humane Soul* doth *Principally* act in ſome one Part of the Body, which therefore hath been called the *Hegemonicon* and *Principale*, ſome taking this to be the *Brain*, others the *Heart*, but *Strato* in *Tertullian* ridiculouſly, the *Place betwixt the Eye-browes*; ſo the Stoicks did ſuppoſe the *Great Soul* or *Mind* of the World, to act Principally in ſome one Part thereof, (which what it was notwithſtanding they did not all agree upon) as the *Hegemonicon* or *Principale*; and this was ſometimes called by them, *Emphatically*, *God*. But nevertheleſs they all acknowledged this *Mundane Soul*, as the Souls of other Animals, to *Pervade*, *Animate*, or *Enliven* and *Actuate*, more or leſs its whole *Body*, *The World*. This is plainly declared by *Laertius* in the Life of *Zeno*. Τὸν δὲ κόσμον διοικεῖσθαι κατ' νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν, εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος διήκοντος τοῦ νοῦ, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τ' ψυχῆς· ἀλλ' ἤδη δι' ὧν μᾶλλον, δι' ὧν δ' ἧττον, δι' ὧν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἕξις κεχώρηκεν, ὡς διὰ τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν νεύρων· δι' ὧν δ' ὡς νοῦς, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ· ὅτω δὲ καὶ τ' ὅλον κόσμον ζῶον ὄντα καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικὸν, ἔχειν ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν τ' αἰθέρα, ἢ τ' οὐρανὸν, ἢ τ' ἥλιον. ὃ καὶ πρῶτον θεὸν λέγουσιν αἰθηπικῶς ὥσπερ κεχαρηκέναι, διὰ τῶν ἐν ἀέρι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ζώων ἁπάντων καὶ φυτῶν, διὰ δὲ τ' γῆς αὐτῆς καθ' ἕξιν· *The Stoicks affirm, that the World is governed by Mind and Providence, this Mind paſſing through all the Parts of it, as the Soul doth in us: Which yet doth not act in all parts alike, but in ſome more, in ſome leſs: it paſſing through ſome parts only as a Habit, (as through the bones and Nerves) but through others as Mind or Underſtanding, (as through that which is called the* Hegemonicon *or* Principale.) *So the whole World being a Living and Rational Animal, hath its* Hegemonicon *or Principal Part too, which according to* Antipater *is the* Æther, *to* Poſſidonius *the Air, to* Cleanthes *the Sun*, &c. *And they ſay alſo, that this Firſt God is, as it were, ſenſibly Diffuſed through all Animals and Plants, but through the Earth it ſelf, only as a Habit.* Wherefore the *whole World*, being thus *Acted* and *Animated* by one *Divine Soul*, is it ſelf according to theſe Stoicks alſo *The Supreme God*. Thus *Didymus* in *Euſebius*, ὅλον δὲ τ' κόσμον προσαγορεύεσθαι θεὸν, *The Stoicks call the whole World God*; and *Origen* againſt *Celſus*, σαφῶς δὲ τ' ὅλον κόσμον λέγουσιν εἶναι θεὸν, Στωικοὶ μὲν τ' πρῶτον· *The Greeks univerſally affirm the World to be a God, but the Stoicks, the Firſt and Chief God*. And accordingly *Manilius*,

P. Ev. L. 15. c. 25.

L. 5 p. 235.

Quâ pateat Mundum Divino Numine verti
Atque Ipſum eſſe Deum:

Whereby it may appear the World to be Governed by a Divine Mind, and alſo it ſelf to be God. As likewiſe *Seneca* the Philoſopher, *Totum hoc quo continemur, & Unum eſt, & Deus eſt*; *This whole World, within which we are contained, is both One thing, and God.* Which is not to be underſtood, of the Meer Matter of the World, as it is nothing but a *Heap of Atoms*, or as endued with a *Plaſtick* and *Senſleſs Nature* only; but of it as Animated by ſuch a Soul, as beſides Senſe was originally endued with perfect Underſtanding; and as deriving all its *Godſhip* from thence. For thus *Varro* in St. *Auſtin* declares, both his own, and the Stoical Sence concerning this Point, *Dicit idem* Varro, *adhuc de Naturali Theologia præloquens, Deum ſe arbitrari*

C. D. L. 7. c. 6.

eſſe

esse Animam Mundi (quem Græci vocant κόζμον) & hunc ipsum Mundum esse Deum. Sed sicut Hominem Sapientem, cum sit ex Corpore & Animo, tamen ab Animo dici Sapientem; ita Mundum Deum dici ab Animo, cum sit ex Animo & Corpore: The same Varro *discoursing concerning* Natural Theology, *declareth that according to his own sence God is the Soul of the World, (which the Greeks call* Cosmos) *and that this World it self is also God. But that this is so to be understood, that as a Wise man, though consisting of Soul and Body, yet is denominated Wise only from his Mind or Soul; so the World is denominated God, from its Mind or Soul only, it consisting both of Mind and Body.*

Now if the Whole *Animated World* be the *Supreme God*, it plainly follows from thence, that the Several Parts and Members thereof, must be the *Parts and Members* of God; and this was readily acknowledged by *Seneca*, *Membra sumus Corporis magni*; *We are all Members of One great Body:* and *Totum hoc Deus est, Socii ejus & Membra sumus*; *This whole World is God, and we are not only his Members, but also his Fellows or Companions*; as if our Humane Souls, had a certain kind of *Fellowship* also, with that Great *Soul of the Universe*. And accordingly, the *Soul of the World*, and the whole *Mundane Animal*, was frequently worshipped by the Pagans, in these its several Members; the chief *Parts of the World*, and the most important *Things of Nature*; as it were by Piece-meal. Nevertheless it doth not at all follow from thence, that these were therefore to them *Really* so many Several Gods; for then not only every Man, and every Contemptible Animal, every Plant and Herb and Pile of Grass, every River and Hill, and all things else whatsoever, must be so many several Gods. And that the Pagans themselves did not take them for such, *Origen* observes against that Assertion of *Celsus*; *That if the Whole were God, then the Several Parts thereof must needs be Gods*, or Divine too: ὡς ἔνιαι θεῖα ἃ μόνον ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, *L.5.p.234.* μέρη ὄντα τοῦ κόζμου, πρὸς ὃ τούτοις καὶ τὰ φυτά· εἰ ὃ μέρη τοῦ κόζμου καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ, καὶ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ αἱ θάλασσαι· ἆρ' ἐπεὶ ὅλῳ ὁ κόζμῳ θεός ἐζτιν, ἤδη καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ θάλασσαι θεοί εἰσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο φήσουσιν Ἕλληνες· τοὺς δ' ὁπισατοῦντας (εἰ ἄρα δαίμονας, ἢ θεοὺς, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ὀνομάζουσι) ποταμοῖς καὶ θαλάσσαις, τούτους ἂν λέγοιεν θεούς. Καὶ τὸ καθολικὸν κέλσος γίνεται καὶ καθ' Ἕλληνας ψεῦδος, ὅτι ἐάντι ὅλον ᾖ θεὸς, πάντως τὰ μέρη τούτου ζτὶ θεῖα· ᾗ τοῦτο γὸ θεῖα ἔσαι ζῶα, καὶ μῦαι, καὶ σκνίφες, καὶ σκώληκες, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πτηνὸν ὄφεων εἶδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πτηνὸν ὀρνέων, καὶ τὸ πτηνὸν ἰχθύων· ἅπερ οὐ λέγουζι θεὸν ἔναι τὸν κόσμον, φήσουσιν· *From hence it would follow, that not only Men must be Divine and Gods, but also all Brute Animals too (they being Parts of the World) and Plants to boot. Nay Rivers, and Mountains, and Seas, being Parts of the World likewise, (if the Whole World be God) must according to* Celsus *needs be Gods also. Whereas the Greeks themselves will not affirm this; but they would only call those Spirits or Demons, which preside over these Rivers and Seas, Gods. Wherefore this Universal Assertion of* Celsus, *is false even according to the Greeks themselves; That if the whole be God, then all the Parts thereof must needs be Divine or Gods. It following from thence that Flyes, and Gnats, and Worms, and all kind of Serpents, and Birds, and Fishes, are all Divine Animals or Gods: Which they themselves, who assert the World to be God, will not affirm.*

Wherefore

Wherefore though it be true, that the Pagans did many times *Personate* and *Deifie*, the Chief *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, as well as they did the *Several Powers* and *Vertues* of the Mundane Soul, diffused through the whole World, yet did not the intelligent amongst them, therefore look upon these, as so many *True* and *Proper Gods*, but only worship them as *Parts* and *Members* of One *Great Mundane Animal*; or rather, Worship the *Soul of the whole World*, their *Supreme Deity*, in them all, as its various *Manifestations*. This St. *Austin* intimates, when writing against *Faustus* the Manichean, he prefers even the *Pagan Gods* before the *Manichean*; *Jam verò Cœlum, & Terra, & Mare, & Aer, & Sol, & Luna, & cætera sydera omnia, hæc manifesta oculis apparent, atque ipsis sensibus præsto sunt. Quæ cum Pagani tanquam Deos colunt, vel tanquam PARTES UNIUS MAGNI DEI (nam universum Mundum quidam eorum putant MAXIMUM DEUM) ea colunt quæ sunt. Vos autem cum ea colatis, quæ omninò non sunt, propinquiores essetis Veræ Pietati, si saltem Pagani essetis, qui Corpora colunt, etsi non colenda, tamen vera. Now the Heaven, Earth, Sea, and Air, Sun, Moon, and Stars, are Things all manifest and really present to our senses, which when the Pagans Worship as Gods, or as PARTS OF ONE GREAT GOD, (for some of them think the Whole World to be the GREATEST GOD) they Worship things that are; so that you worshipping things that are not, would be nearer to true Piety than you are, were you Pagans and worshipped Bodies too; which though they ought not to be worshipped, yet are they True and Real Things.* But this is further insisted upon by the same St. *Austin* in his Book *De C. D.* where after that large Enumeration of the Pagan Gods before set down; he thus convinces their Folly in worshipping the Several Divided *Members*, *Parts* and *Powers*, of the *One Great God*, after that manner *Personated*; *Hæc omnia quæ dixi, & quæcunq; non dixi (non enim omnia dicenda arbitratus sum) Hi omnes Dii Deæque sit Unus* Jupiter; *sive sint ut quidam volunt omnia ista Partes ejus, sive Virtutes ejus, sicut eis videtur quibus eum placet esse Mundi Animum; quæ sententia velut magnorum, multorumq; Doctorum est. Hæc, inquam, si ita sint, quod quale sit, nondum interim quæro, Quid perderent, si Unum Deum colerent prudentiori Compendio? Quid enim ejus contemneretur, cum ipse coleretur? Si autem metuendum sit nè Prætermissæ sive Neglectæ Partes ejus irascerentur: non ergo ut volunt velut Unius Animantis hæc tota vita est, quæ Omnes simul continet Deos, quasi Suas VIRTUTES, vel MEMBRA, vel PARTES: sed suam quæque Pars habet vitam à cæteris separatam, si præter alteram irasci altera potest, & alia placari alia concitari. Si autem dicitur Omnia simul, id est, Totum ipsum* Jovem *potuisse offendi, si PARTES ejus non etiam singillatim, minutatimque colerentur, stultè dicitur. Nulla quippe earum prætermitteretur, cum ipse Unus qui haberet Omnia, coleretur. All these things, which we have now said, and many more which we have not said (for we did not think fit to mention all) All these Gods and Goddesses, let them be One and the same* Jupiter: *whether they will have them to be his PARTS, or his POWERS and VERTUES, according to the sence of those who think God to be the Soul or Mind of the Whole World; which is the opinion of many and great Doctors. This I say, if it be so, which what it is, we will not now examine; What would these*

L. 4. c. 11.

these Pagans lose, if in a more prudent compendium, they should worship One only God? For what of him could be despised, when his whole self was worshipped? But if they fear, lest his PARTS pretermitted, or neglected, should be angry or take offence; then is it not as they pretend, the Life of One Great Animal, which at once conteins all the Gods, as his VERTUES or MEMBERS or PARTS, but every Part hath its own Life by it self, separate from the rest, since One of them may be angry when another is pleased, and the contrary. But if it should be said that all together, that is, the whole Jupiter *might be offended, if his Parts were not worshipped all of them Severally and Singly, this would be foolishly said, because none of the Parts can be pretermitted, when He, that hath All, is Worshipped.*

Thus do the Pagans in *Athanasius* also decl are, that they did not worship the several *Parts of the World*, as Really so many *True and Proper Gods*, but only as the Parts or *Members*, of their One Supreme God, that *Great Mundane Animal* (or Whole Animated World) taken all together as one thing; ἀλλ' ἴσως διαιρέμενα μὲν, ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὰ λαμβανόμενα, ὕπιδεῆ αὐτὰ ἢ αὐτοὶ συνομολογοῦσιν, ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντα συνάπτοντες, ἢ ὡς ἓν ἀποτελοῦντες μέγα σῶμα, τὸ ὅλον θεὸν εἶναι φήσουσι· *But the* Pagans *themselves will acknowledge, that the Divided Parts of the World, taken severally, are but indigent and imperfect things; nevertheless do they contend, that as they are by them joyned all together, into One Great Body* (enlivened by one Soul) *so is the whole of them truly and properly God.* And now we think, it is sufficiently evident, that though these Pagans *Verbally Personated and Deified*, not only the several *Powers* and *Vertues*, of the One Supreme God or Mundane Soul, diffused thoroughout the whole World, but also the *several Parts of the World it self*, and the *Natures of Things*, yet their meaning herein was not, to make these in themselves really, so many several *True and Proper Gods*, (much less Independent Ones) but to worship *One Supreme God* (which to them was the whole *Animated World*) in those his several *Parts* and *Members*; as it were by Piece-meal, or under so many *Inadequate Conceptions*,

The Pagans therefore were plainly Divided in their *Natural Theology*, as to their opinions concerning the *Supreme God*; some of them conceiving him to be nothing Higher, than a *Mundane Soul*: Whereas others of them, to use *Origen*'s Language, did ὑπερβαίνειν πᾶσαν τὴν αἰσθητὴν φύσιν, ἢ μηδαμοῦ αὐτὸν νομίζειν ἱδρύσθαι ἢ θεὸν, ἄνω ἢ καὶ ὑπερ τὰ σώματα ζητεῖν αὐτὸν, *Transcend all the sensible Nature, and thinking God not at all to be seated there, look'd for him, above all Corporeal things.* Now the Former of these Pagans, worshipped the whole Corporeal World, as the *Body of God*; but the Latter of them, though they had Higher thoughts of God, than as a *Mundane Soul*; yet supposing Him to have been the Cause of all things, and so at first to have Conteined all things within himself; as likewise that the World after it was made, was not Cut off from him, nor subsisted alone by it self, as a Dead Thing, but was Closely united to him, and Livingly dependent on him; these, I say, though they did not take the World to be *God*, or the Body of God, yet did they also look upon it

Cont. Celf. p. 260.

as θεῖον, as that which was *Divine and Sacred*; and supposed that God was to be worshipped in *All*, or that the whole World was to be worshipped, as his *Image* or *Temple*. Thus *Plutarch*, though much disliking the *Deifying of Inanimate Things*, doth himself nevertheless approve, of worshipping God in the whole Corporeal World, he affirming it to be ἱερὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ θεοπρεπέστατον, *a most Holy, and most God-becoming Temple*. And the ancient Persians or *Magi*, who by no means would allow of worshipping God in any *Artificial Temples* made with mens hands, did notwithstanding thus worship God, *Sub Dio*, and upon the Tops of Mountains, in the whole *Corporeal World*, as his *Natural Temple*, as *Cicero* testifieth; *Nec sequor Magos Persarum, quibus auctoribus* Xerxes *inflammasse Templa* Græciæ *dicitur, quod Parietibus includerent Deos quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumq; hic Mundus Omnis Templum esset & Domicilium: Neither do I adhere to the Persian Magi, by whose suggestion and perswasion,* Xerxes *is said to have burnt all the Temples of the Greeks, because they enclosed and shut up their Gods within walls, to whom all things ought to be open and free, and whose Temple and Habitation this whole World is.* And therefore when *Diogenes Laertius* writeth thus of these *Magi*, that they did, θεὸς ἀποφαίνεσθαι πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, τὸ δ' ξοάνων καταγινώσκειν, *make Fire and Earth and Water to be Gods, but condemn all Statues and Images*; we conceive the meaning hereof to be no other than this, that as they worshipped God in no Temple, save only that of the whole World, so neither did they allow any other Statues or Images of him, than the *Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World*; such as Fire, and Earth, and Water, called therefore by them, in this sence and no other, Gods. For thus are they clearly represented by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and that according to the expres Testimony of *Dino*; θύειν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὸς Μάγος ὁ Δίνων λέγει, θεῶν ἀγάλματα μόνα τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ νομίζοντας. Οὐκ ἀπειρῳθάμην δὲ καὶ τούτων ἄγνοιαν. Εἰ γὲ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀποφεύγειν οἴονται τ' πλάνης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑτέραν κατολισθαίνουσιν ἀπάτην. Ἀγάλματα μὲν θεῶν τὰ ξύλα καὶ λίθος ὑπειλήφασιν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες· δὲ μὲν Ἰβίδας καὶ Ἰχνεύμονας καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι· ἀλλὰ πῦρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ ὡς φιλόσοφοι· Dinon *affirmeth, that the Persian* Magi *sacrificed under the open Heavens, they accounting Fire and Water to be the only Statues and Images of the Gods. For I would not here conceal their ignorance neither, who thinking to avoid One Errour fall into another; whilest they allow not Wood and Stones to be the Images of the Gods, as the Greeks do, nor* Ichneumones *and* Ibides, *as the Egyptians, but only Fire and Water, as Philosophers.* Which difference betwixt the Pagan Theologers, that some of them look'd upon the whole World as *God*, or as *the Body of God*, others only as the *Image*, or *the Temple of God*; is thus taken notice of by *Macrobius* upon *Scipio*'s Dream, where the World was called a *Temple*. *Benè autem Universus Mundus Dei Templum vocatur, propter illos qui æstimant, nihil esse aliud Deum, nisi Cœlum ipsum & Cælestia ista quæ cernimus. Ideò ut Summi Omnipotentiam Dei, ostenderet posse vix intelligi, nunquam posse videri, quicquid humano subjicitur aspectui Templum ejus vocavit; ut qui hæc veneratur ut Templa, cultum tamen maximum debeat Conditori; sciatque quisquis in usum Templi hujus inducitur, ritu sibi vivendum Sacerdotis: The whole World is well called here the Temple of God, in way of opposition to those, who think*

De Leg. L. 2. p. 335.

Protrept. p. 43.

L. 1. c. 14.

think God to be nothing else, but the Heaven it self, and those Heavenly things which we see, (or the whole Sensible World Animated:) *Wherefore* Cicero, *that he might shew the Omnipotence of the First and Supreme God, to be such as could scarcely be understood, but not at all perceived by Sense, he calleth whatsoever falleth under humane sight, His Temple; that so he that worshippeth these things as the Temple of God, might in the mean time remember, that the chief Worship is due to the Maker and Creator of them; as also that himself ought to live in the World like a Priest or* Mysta, *holily and religiously.* And thus we see that the Pagans were universally *Cosmolatræ*, or *World-worshippers*, in one sence or other: not that they worshipped the World as a *Dead and Inanimate thing*, but either as the *Body of God*, or at least *as the Temple or Image of him.* Neither of which terminated their worship, in that which was Sensible and Visible only, but in that great *Mind* or *Soul*, which Framed and Governeth the whole World Understandingly: though this was called also by them (not the *Nature of Things*; but) φύσις κοινὴ, *The Common Nature*, and φύσις τοῦ παντὸς or τοῦ ὅλων, *the Nature of the Universe*, because it contained under it, the *Spermatick Reasons*, or *Plastick Principles* of the whole World.

Furthermore these Pagan Theists Universally acknowledging the whole World to be an *Animal*, and that *Mundane Animal* also to be *a God*; those of them who supposed it not to be the *First* and *Highest God*, did consequently all conceive it, as hath been already observed, to be either a *Second* or at least a *Third God.* And thus *Origen*, σαφῶς δὴ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον λέγουσιν εἶναι θεὸν, Στωικοὶ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος τὸν δεύτερον, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν τρίτον· *The Greeks do plainly affirm the whole World to be a God; some of them, as the Stoicks, the First God; others, as the Platonists,* (to whom may be added the *Egyptians* also) *the Second God: though some of these Platonists call it the Third God.* Those of the Platonists who called the *Mundane Animal*, or *Animated World*, the *Second God*, look'd upon that whole *Platonick Trinity* of *Divine Hypostases* (Ταγαθὸν, Νοῦς and Ψυχὴ) all but as *One First God:* but those others of them who called it a *Third God*, supposed a greater distinction betwixt those Three *Hypostases*, and made so many several *Gods* of them; the First, a *Monad* or *Simple Goodness*; the Second, *Mind* or *Intellect*; the Third, *Psyche* or the Universal Soul, which also without any more ado they concluded to be the *Immediate Soul of this Corporeal World*, Existing likewise from Eternity with it. Now this *Second God*, which was the whole *Animated World* as well to the Egyptians as the Platonists, was by them both said to be, not only the *Temple* and *Image*, but also the *Son of the First God.* That the Egyptians called the *Animated World*, the Son of God, hath been already proved; and that the other Pagans did the like also, is evident from this of *Celsus*, where he pretends, that the Christians called their *Jesus*, the *Son of God*, in imitation of those Ancient Pagans, who had styled the *World* so; Ὁπόθεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς, θεοῦ υἱὸν καλεῖν, σημαίνω· Ἄνδρες παλαιοὶ, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγόμενον, παῖδά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀΐθεον προσεῖπον. Πάνυ γὰρ ὅμοιόν τε καὶ θεοῦ πᾶς θεός· *Whence these Christians came to call their* Jesus, *the Son of God, I shall now declare. Namely because our Ancestors had called, the World as*

P. 329, 330, 331.

Orig. C. Cels. p. 308.

made by God, the Son of God, and God. Now is there not a goodly similitude (think you) *betwixt these two Sons of God, theirs and ours?* Upon which words of his, *Origen* writeth thus, οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν θεὸν ἡμᾶς λέγων, ἀδιαποιήσαντας τὸ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενομένου, καὶ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ θεόν, Celsus *supposed, us Christians to have borrowed, this Appellation of the Son of God, from the Pagans, they calling the World, as made by God, the Son of God, and God.* Wherefore these Pagans, who look'd upon the whole Animated World only as the *Second God*, and *Son of God*, did unquestionably also worship the *First God*, in the World, and that probably by *Personating and Deifying* his several *Parts and Members* too. Thus do we understand, what that was which gave occasion to this mistake of late Writers, that the Pagans worshipped the *Inanimate Parts* of the World, as such, for *True and Proper Gods*; *viz.* their not perceiving, that they worshipped these only, as the *Parts or Living Members* of *One Great Mundane Animal*, which was to them, if not the *First God*, yet at least the *Second God*; the *Temple*, *Image*, and *Son*, *of the First God.*

Orig. C. Cels. p. 208.

And now have we (as we conceive) given a full account of the *Seeming Polytheism* of the Pagans, not only in their *Poetical* and *Fabulous*, but also their *Political* or *Civil Theology*; the Former of which was nothing but *Phancy* and *Fiction*, and the Conforming of Divine, to Humane Things; the Latter nothing but *Vulgar Opinion and Errour*, together with the *Laws and Institutes of States-men and Politicians*, designed Principally to amuze the Vulgar, and keep them the better in obedience and subjection to Civil Laws. Besides which the Intelligent Pagans, generally acknowledged *another Theology*, which was neither *Fiction*, nor meer *Opinion* and *Law*, but *Nature* and *Philosophy*, or *Absolute Truth* and Reality: according to which *Natural* and *Philosophick Theology* of theirs, there was only One *Unmade Self-originated Deity*, and many other *Created Gods*, as his *Inferiour Ministers.* So that those many *Poetical* and *Political* Gods, could not possibly be look'd upon otherwise, than either as the *Created Ministers* of One Supreme God, whether taken Singly or Collectively; or else as the *Polyonymy* and *Various Denomination* of him, according to several Notions and Partial Conceptions of him; and his several *Powers* and *Manifestations* in the World, *Personated and Deified.* Which latter we have already proved to have been the most generally received Opinion of the Pagan Theologers; according to that of *Euclides* the Philosopher, ἓν Τἀγαθὸν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον, *There is One Supreme Good* (or Highest Deity) *called by Many Names:* and according to that of *Antisthenes* before cited, *That the Many Popular Gods, were but One and the same Natural God, viz.* as *Lactantius* adds, *Summæ totius Artifex, The Maker of the whole World.*

L. 1. c. 5.

We shall conclude with repeating what hath been already suggested, that though the Intelligent Pagans, did Generally disclaim their *Fabulous Theology*; St. *Austin* telling us, that when the absurdities thereof were urged against them, they would commonly make such replies as these, *Absit, inquiunt, Fabularum est ista Garrulitas*; and again, *Rursus, inquiunt, ad Fabulas redis*; *Far be it from*

C. D. L. 4. c. 10.

from us (ſay they) to think ſo or ſo, this is nothing but the garrulity of idle Fables, and, *You would bring us again to Fables*; and though they owned another Theology beſides their *Civil* alſo, which was the *Natural and Philoſophical*, as the only *True*, yet did they notwithſtanding acknowledge a kind of neceſſity, that in thoſe times at leaſt, there ſhould be beſides the *Natural and Philoſophical Theology*, which the Vulgar were not ſo capable of, another Theology framed and held forth, that might be more accommodate to their apprehenſions. Thus that Roman Pontifex *Scævola* in St. *Auſtin* declareth, *Expedire exiſtimat falli in Religione Civitates, That it was expedient (as he thought) that Cities and Commonwealths, ſhould be deceived in their Religion, or have ſomething Falſe or Fabulous intermingled with it.* He giving this reaſon for the ſame, Becauſe the *Natural* and *Philoſophick Theology*, contained many things in it, which though True, yet would be hurtful for the Vulgar to know; as for example, *Quod Verus Deus nec Sexum habeat, nec Ætatem, nec definita Corporis Membra, That the True God hath neither Sex, nor Age, nor bodily Members; and that* Hercules *and* Æſculapius, &c. *were not Gods but Men, obnoxious to the ſame infirmities with others*, and the like. And the Learned *Varro*, in his Book of Religions, publickly maintained the ſame Doctrine; Varro *de Religionibus loquens, evidenter dicit, Multa eſſe Vera quæ vulgo ſcire non ſit Utile; Multaque quæ tametſi Falſa ſint, aliter exiſtimare Populum expediat: & ideò Græcos Teletas & Myſteria taciturnitate parietibuſque clauſiſſe, &c, That there were many things True in Religion, which it was not convenient for the Vulgar to know; as likewiſe many things Falſe, of which it was expedient they ſhould think otherwiſe: and that for this cauſe, the Greeks encloſed their* Teletæ *or Myſteries within walls, and kept them under a Seal of Secrecy.* Upon which of *Varro* St. *Auſtin* thus noteth, *Hîc certè totum Conſilium prodidit Sapientium, per quos Civitates & Populi regerentur*; Varro *here plainly diſcovers and betrays the whole counſel and ſecrecy of States-men and Politicians, by whom Cities and Nations were governed, and their very* Arcanum *of Government, namely this, That People were to be deceived in their Religion, for their own good and the good of their Governours.* The ſame Father there adding, *That Evil Demons were much gratified with this Doctrine, and liked this Fraud and Impoſture very well, which gave them an advantage to Rule and Tyrannize, as well over the Deceivers as the Deceived.* Laſtly *Strabo* alſo, though otherwiſe a grave and ſober Writer, ſpeaks freely and broadly to the ſame purpoſe, ὁ γὰρ ὄχλον τε γυναικῶν καὶ πάνυ τῶν χυδαίων πλήθος ἐπαγάγειν λόγῳ δυνατὸν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ πίστιν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ διὰ δεισιδαιμονίας, τοῦτο δ' ἐκ ἄνευ μυθοποιΐας καὶ τερατείας· *It is not poſſible, that women and others of the Vulgar ſort, ſhould be conducted and carried on towards Piety, Holineſs and Faith, meerly by Philoſophick Reaſon and Truth; but this muſt be done by Superſtition, and that not without the help of Fables and Prodigious or Wonderful Narrations.* From whence it is plain, that *Strabo* did not only allow a neceſſity of a *Civil Theology* beſides the *Natural and Philoſophical*, but alſo of a *Fabulous* and *Poetical* one too. And this is a thing the leſs to be wondred at in theſe Pagans, becauſe ſome Chriſtians alſo ſeem to acknowledge a kind of truth herein; *Syneſius* himſelf writing after this manner;

ner; τὸ ἐᾶσον καταγελάσεσθαι ὁ δῆμος· δεῖται γὰρ περιτέρας· *That which is easie and ordinary will be contemned by the Vulgar, or Common People; and therefore there is need of something Strange and Prodigious in Religion for them.* C. Ap. L. 2. *Flavius Josephus*, making this Free Acknowledgment, concerning the Wise men among the Greeks, ταῦτα περὶ θεοῦ φρονεῖν οἱ σοφώτατοι δοκοῦσι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, *That they held the same things concerning God which the Jews did*, adds notwithstanding afterwards, εἰς πλῆθος δόξαις περιπεπλεγμένον, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, *That they were afraid to declare the Truth of this their Doctrine to the Vulgar, prepossessed with other Opinions.* And indeed they did not think it safe to declare the *Natural and True Theology*, promiscuously to all; *Plato* himself intimating as much in these Words, ἔστι ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τόνδε τοῦ παντὸς, εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν· *That as it was hard, to find out the Maker of this Universe, so neither, being found out, could he be declared to the vulgar.* Wherefore since God was so hard to be understood, they conceived it necessary, that the Vulgar should be permitted, to Worship him in his *Works*, by *Parts* and *Piecemeal*, according to the various Manifestations of himself; that is, should have a *Civil Theology* at least, distinct from the *Natural* and *Philosophical*, if not another *Fabulous* one too.

XXXV. We have now dispatched the First of those Three Heads proposed to be insisted on, *viz.* That the Pagans worshipped One and the same Supreme God, under Many Personal Names, so that much of their *Polytheism*, was but *Seeming* and *Phantastical*, and indeed nothing but the *Polyonymy of One Supreme God*, they making Many *Poetical* and *Political Gods* of that *One Natural God*: and thus worshipping God by Parts and Piece-meal; according to that clear acknowledgement of *Maximus Madaurensis* before cited; *Unius Summi Dei Virtutes, per Mundanum Opus Diffusas, nos multis Vocabulis invocamus; & dum Ejus quasi quædam Membra carptim variis Supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere videmur*; *The vertues of the One Supreme God diffused throughout the whole World, we* (Pagans) *invoke under many several Names, and so prosecuting with our supplications, his as it were Divided Members, must needs be thought to worship him whole, we leaving out nothing of him.* We shall proceed to the *Second Head* proposed, That besides this *Polyonymy of One Supreme God*, in the *Poetical* and *Civil Theology* of the Pagans, which was their *Seeming* and *Phantastick Polytheism*, they had another *Real Polytheism* also, they acknowledging in their *Natural and Philosophick Theology* likewise, a *Multiplicity of Gods*, that is, of *Substantial Understanding Beings*, Superiour to men, really Existing in the world. Which though they were called by them *Gods*, yet were they not therefore supposed to be ἀγένητοι and αὐτογενεῖς, *Unmade and Self-existent, or Independent Beings*, but all of them (One only excepted) γενητοὶ θεοὶ, Pag. 243, 254. *Generated Gods*, according to the larger Notion of that word before declared, that is, though not κατὰ χρόνον, yet at least, ἀπ' αἰτίας γενητοὶ, though not as *Made in time*, yet as *Produced from a Superiour Cause*. *Plutarch* propounding this for one amongst his *Platonick Questions*, Why ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεὸς, *the Highest or Supreme God*, was called by *Plato*, both *The Father and Maker of all things*, gives this Reply to it in the Words

Words before cited; ἢ τὸν μὲν Θεῶν τὸν γενητὸν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα εἶναι (ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐπονομάζει) ποιητὴν δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀψύχων, *That perhaps he was said to be the Father of all the Generated Gods, and of Men, (as he is also stiled in* Homer) *but the Maker of all other Irrational and Inanimate Beings.* From which Passage of *Plutarch*'s it plainly appears, that the ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεὸς, *The One Highest God*, being every way ἀγένητος, *Unmade* and *unproduced*, was thought to be the Maker or Father of all the other Gods, therefore called γενητοὶ. Which is further plainly declared elsewhere by the same *Plutarch* in these words; Πλάτων τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τόδε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενητῶν, τὸν Ἀγέννητον καὶ Ἀΐδιον θεὸν ἐπονομάζοντα. *Sympos. L. 8, c. 1.*
Plato *calleth the One Unmade and Eternal God, the Father and Maker of the World, and of all other things Generated.* And though some of those Many Gods of *Plato*'s were by him also called Ἀΐδιοι or *Eternal*, yet were they likewise, γενητοὶ too, in another sence, that is *Produced* and *Derived* by way of Emanation, from that One, who is every way Ἀγένητος, *Underived and Independent upon any other Cause.* And thus *Proclus* Universally pronounces; Τὸ εἶναι θεοὶ, πάντες οἱ θεοὶ, διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔχειν θεόν· *Theol. P. L. 3, c. 7.*
All the Gods owe, their Being Gods, to the First God. He adding, that he is therefore called πηγὴ τῆς Θεότητος, *The Fountain of the Godhead.*

Wherefore the *Many Gods* of the Intelligent Pagans, were derived from One God, and but ὑπηρετικὰ δυνάμεις, (as *Plutarch* somewhere calls them) *The Subservient Powers*, or *Ministers of the One Supreme Unmade Deity.* Which (as hath been before observed) was frequently called by these Pagans θεὸς, *God*, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or in way of Eminency; as likewise were those other *Inferiour* or *Generated Gods*, in way of distinction from him called θεοὶ *The Gods.* And accordingly the sence of *Celsus* is thus represented in *Origen*, θεοὺς δημιουργοὺς εἶναι πάντων σωμάτων, μόνης ψυχῆς ἔργον ὄντας θεοῦ· *That the Gods were the Makers of the Bodies of all Animals, the Souls of them only, being the Work of God.* *L. 4. p. 202.*
Moreover these Inferiour Gods, are styled by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Substantiales Potestates*, *Substantial Powers*, probably in way of distinction from those other Pagan Gods, that were not *Substantial*, but only so many *Names* and *Notions* of the *One Supreme God*, or his *Powers* severally *Personated* and *Deified*. Which *Substantial Powers* of *Am. Marcellinus*, (as Divination and Prophecy was by their means imparted to men) were all said to be subject to that One Sovereign Deity called *Themis*: whom (saith he) the ancient Theologers seated *In Cubili & Solio* Jovis, *in the Bed-chamber and Throne of* Jupiter; as indeed some of the Poets have made her to be the wife of *Jupiter*, and others his Sister. And *Anaxarchus* in *Plutarch* styles her πάρεδρον τοῦ Διὸς, *Jupiter's Assessor*, though that Philosopher abused the *Fable*, and grosly depraved the meaning of it, as if it signified πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον, *That whatsoever is done by the Sovereign Power, is therefore Just and Right*: whereas the True Moral thereof was this, That *Justice* or *Righteousness* sits in Counsel with God, and in his Mind and Will, prescribes Laws to Nature and the whole World. *Themis* therefore was another *Name of God*, amongst the Pagans, according to his Universal Consideration, besides those before mentioned: and when *Plato* in his *Vit. Alex.*

Book

L. 11.

Book of Laws, would have men to ſwear by the Names of thoſe Three Gods, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Themis*; theſe were but ſo many ſeveral Partial Notions of the One Supreme Deity; the meaning thereof being no other than this, as *Pighius* obſerveth, *Timore Divino, Veritate ipſa, ac Æquitate ſanciri debere Juramenta. In* Jove *enim Summi Numinis Poteſtatem, Falſi ac Perjurii Vindicem; in* Apolline *Veritatis Lumen; in* Themide, *Jus, Fas atque Licitum eſſe intelligitur. Eſt enim* Themis, *ipſa Lex æterna atq; Univerſalis, Mundo ac Naturæ præſcripta*; or according to *Cicero*, *Ratio recta Summi* Jovis. And *Ficinus* in his Commentary as to the main agreeth herewith. So that, when the Pagan Theologers affirmed, the *Numen of Themis* to preſide over the *Spirits of the Elements*, and all thoſe other *Subſtantial Powers*, from whom Divination was participated to men; their meaning therein was clearly no other than this; That there was One *Supreme Deity* ruling over all the other Gods, and that the *Divine Mind*, which preſcribeth Laws to Nature and the whole World, and conteins all the *Fatal Decrees* in it, according to the Evolution of which, things come to paſs in the World, was the Fountain from whence all Divination proceeded; as theſe Secrets were more or leſs imparted from thence to thoſe Inferiour Created Spirits. The Philoſophy of the Pagan Theology amongſt the Greeks was plainly no other than this; That there is *One Unmade Self-exiſtent Deity* the Original of all, and that there are many other *Subſtantial Powers* or *Spirits*, created by it, as the *Miniſters* of its Providence in the World: but there was much of *Poetry* or *Poetick Phancy*, intermingled with this Philoſophy, as the Flouriſh to it, to make up their *Pagan Theology*.

De Dea Themide p. 39.

Thus, as hath been before declared, the Pagans held both *One God*, and *Many Gods*, in different ſences: *One Unmade Self-exiſtent Deity*, and *Many Generated or Created Gods. Onatus* the Pythagorean declaring that they who aſſerted one only God and not Many, *Underſtood not what the Dignity and Majeſty of the Divine Tranſcendency conſiſted in, namely in ruling over Gods:* and *Plotinus* conceiving that the Supreme God was moſt of all Glorified, not by being *Contracted into One*, but *by having Multitudes of Gods, Derived from him, and Dependent on him*; and that the Honour done to them, redounded unto him. Where there are Two Things to be diſtinguiſhed; Firſt, that according to the Pagan Theiſts, God was no *Solitary Being*; but that there were Multitudes of Gods, or *Subſtantial Powers*, and Living Underſtanding Natures, Superiour to men, which were neither *Self-exiſtent*, nor yet *Generated out of Matter*, but all Generated or Created from *One Supreme*. Secondly, that foraſmuch as theſe were all ſuppoſed to have ſome Influence more or leſs, upon the Government of the World, and the Affairs of Mankind, they were therefore all of them conceived to be the due Objects of mens Religious Worſhip, Adoration and Invocation; and accordingly was the Pagan Devotion ſcattered amongſt them all. Nor were the Gods of the Oriental Pagans neither, meer *Dead Statues* and *Images*, as ſome would conclude from the Scripture, but *Living Underſtanding Beings, Superiour to men*, (though worſhipped in Images) according to that Reply of the Chaldeans in *Daniel* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he required them to tell his Dream;

Dream; *There is none other that can ſhew this thing before the King, Except Thoſe Gods whoſe Dwelling is not with Fleſh*; that is, The *Immortal Gods*, or who are exalted above the Condition of Humane Frailty. Though ſome conceive, that theſe words are to be underſtood of a Peculiar ſort of Gods; namely, that this was ſuch a thing, as could not be done by thoſe *Demons* and Lower *Aerial Gods*, which frequently converſe with men, but was reſerved to a *Higher Rank* of Gods, who are above humane converſe. Now as to the Former of theſe Two Things, that God is no *Solitary Being*, but that there are Multitudes of Underſtanding Beings Superiour to Men, the *Creatures* and *Miniſters* of One Supreme God; the Scriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament fully agree with the Pagans herein. *Thouſand Thouſands miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him*, and *Ye are come to an innumerable Company of Angels*. But the Latter of them, That Religious Worſhip and Invocation doth of right belong to theſe Created Spirits, is conſtantly denied and condemned in theſe Writings, that Being a thing peculiarly reſerved, to that one God, who was the Creator of Heaven and Earth. And thus is that Prophecy of *Jeremy* to be underſtood, expreſſed in the Chalday Tongue, that ſo the Jews might have it in readineſs for thoſe Chaldean Idolaters, when they came into *Babylon*, *Thus ſhall ye ſay unto them, the Gods that have not made the Heavens and the Earth, ſhall periſh from the Earth, and from under theſe Heavens*. That is, there ſhall come a time, when none ſhall be *Religiouſly Worſhipped* any where upon the face of the whole Earth, ſave only that God who made the Heavens and the Earth, and he without Images too. Which Prophecy, but in part yet fulfilled, ſhall then have its complete accompliſhment, when the Kingdoms of this world, ſhall become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of his Chriſt. And thus is the Controverſie rightly ſtated betwixt the Pagans and the Chriſtians by *Lactantius*. *Sed fortaſſe quærat aliquis à nobis, quod apud* Ciceronem *quærit* Hortenſius; *Si Deus Unus eſt, quæ eſſe beata Solitudo queat? Tanquam nos qui unum eſſe dicimus, Deſertum ac Solitarium eſſe dicamus. Habet enim Miniſtros, quos vocamus* Nuntios. *Et eſt iſtud verum quod dixiſſe* Senecam *ſuprà retuli: Genuiſſe Regni ſui Miniſtros Deum. Verùm hi neque Dii ſunt, neque Deos ſe vocari aut coli volunt: quippe, qui nihil præter Juſſum ac Voluntatem Dei faciant. As if we who ſay, there is but one God, therefore made a Solitary and Deſerted Deity. Whereas we acknowledge that God hath his Miniſters, whom we call Angels: And we grant that to be true, which was before cited out of* Seneca, *That God hath Generated or Created Miniſters of his Kingdom. But theſe are neither Gods, nor would they be called Gods, nor worſhipped; foraſmuch as they only Execute the will and command of God.* And again afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, *Si eos multitudo delectat, non Duodecim dicimus, nec Trecentos ſexaginta quinque (ut* Orpheus) *ſed innumerabiles, & arguimus eorum errores in diverſum, qui tam paucos putant. Sciant tamen quo nomine appellari debeant; nè Deum Verum violent, cujus Nomen exponunt, dum Pluribus tribuunt, &c. If Multitude delight them, we ſay not, that there are Twelve, nor yet three hundred ſixty five, as* Orpheus, *but innumerable. And we tax their errour on the contrary who think them to be ſo few. Nevertheleſs let them know, by what name they*

Daniel 7. 10. Heb. 12. 22.

Jerem. 10. 11.

Rev. 11. 15.

Lact. l. 1.

they ought to be called, Leſt they violate the true God, whoſe Name is profaned, when it is given to many. From which paſſages of *Lactantius* it plainly appeareth, that the main Controverſie between the Chriſtians and the Pagans, was then only this, *Whether or no, the Created Miniſters of the Supreme God, might be called Gods, and Religiouſly Worſhipped.* But this Pagan Objection againſt the *Solitary Deity* of the Chriſtians, is by ſome ancient Chriſtian Writers alſo otherwiſe anſwered; namely from thoſe Three *Hypoſtaſes* or *Perſons* of the *Trinity*; they affirming upon that account, that though Chriſtians did not acknowledge ſuch a Multitude of Gods, as the Pagans, yet did they not therefore make God a *Solitary* and *Steril Being*, before the Creation neither, as the Jews did; but went in a middle way betwixt Jews and Pagans: they interpreting alſo *Moſes* his *Faciamus Hominem*, to this ſence.

XXXVI. We ſhall now ſhew Particularly what theſe *Many Gods* of the Pagans were. It hath been often obſerved, That the Pagans were divided in their *Philoſophick* or *Natural Theology*, as to their Opinions concerning the *Supreme God:* ſome of them thinking, τὸ θεῖον ἐξῃρημένον εἶναι τ̃ ὅλης φύσεως, *That the Supreme Deity was an Abſtract Being, Elevated above Nature and the Whole World:* but others that he was nothing higher, than an *Anima Mundi*, or *Soul of the World.* Now the former of theſe Two were chiefly amongſt the Greeks, the *Pythagoreans* and the *Platoniſts*, who had accordingly ſeveral Diſtinctions amongſt them concerning their Gods, as between the ὑπερκόσμιοι θεοὶ and the ἐγκόσμιοι, *The Supermundane and the Mundane Gods*; The θεοὶ ἀΐδιοι and the γεννητοὶ, the *Eternal* and the *Generated Gods*; that Latter word being now taken in a narrower and more confined ſence, for ſuch as were made in Time, or had a Beginning of their Exiſtence: and Laſtly, the νοητοὶ θεοὶ and the αἰσθητοὶ, the *Intelligible* and the *Senſible Gods.* And the ὑπερκόσμιοι, ἀΐδιοι and νοητοὶ θεοὶ, *Supermundane, Eternal,* and *Intelligible Gods*, of theſe *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*, were firſt of all and Principally, thoſe τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις, (as *Plotinus* calls them) thoſe *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes*, that have the Nature of *Principles* in the Univerſe, *viz. Tagathon* or *Hen*, *Nous* and *Pſyche*; or *Monad*, *Mind*, and *Soul*.. That this *Trinity* was not firſt of all a meer Invention of *Plato*'s, but much ancienter than him, is plainly affirmed by *Plotinus* in theſe words,

En. 5 *L.* 1. Καὶ εἶναι τὰς λόγας τόσδε μὴ καινὰς, μὴ ὢ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν εἰρῆσθαι μὴ ἀναπεπταμένως, τὰς δ' νῦν λόγας ἐξηγητὰς ἐκείνων γεγονέναι· μαρτυρίοις πιστωσαμένοις τὰς δόξας ταύτας παλαιὰς εἶναι, τοῖς αὐτ̃ τ̃ Πλάτωνος γράμμασιν· ἥπτετο μὲν ἓν καὶ Παρμενίδης περὶ τ̃ τοιαύτης δόξης· *That theſe Doctrines are not new, nor of yeſterday; but have been very anciently delivered, though obſcurely (the diſcourſes now extant, being but Explications of them) appears from* Plato's *own writings*; Parmenides *before him having inſiſted on them.*

Now it is well known, that *Parmenides* was addicted to the *Pythagorick Sect*, and therefore probable, that this Doctrine of a *Divine Triad* was one of the *Arcanums* of that School alſo. Which is further confirmed from hence, becauſe *Numenius* a famous Pythagorean entertained

entertained it, as such. And *Moderatus* (as *Simplicius* informeth us) plainly affirmeth, this *Trinity of Principles*, to have been a *Pythagorick Cabbala*; ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τὰς Πυθαγορείας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἓν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὂν καὶ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἀποφαίνεται· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἕν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄντως ὂν καὶ νοητόν, τὰς ἰδέας φησὶν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὅπερ ἐστὶ ψυχικόν, μετέχειν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν· *This* (Moderatus) *declareth, that according to the Pythagoreans, the First One or Unity, is above all Essence; that the Second One, which is that which truly is, and Intelligible, according to them, is the* Ideas; *and that the Third, which is Psyclical or Soul, partaketh both of the Frist Unity, and of the* Ideas. Lastly we have *Jamblichus* his Testimony also in *Proclus* to the same purpose; τρεῖς εἶναι θεὰς τότας καὶ τοῖς πυθαγορείοις ὑμνουμένας, *That there were Three Gods also praised by the Pythagoreans.* Now we have before shewed, that *Pythagoras* his *Philosophy*, was derived from the *Orphick Cabala*, which *Proclus* in another place thus fully testifieth, ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ παρ' Ἕλλησι θεολογία τε καὶ Ὀρφικῆς ἐστὶ μυσαγωγίας ἔκγονος· πρῶτος μὲν Πυθαγόρας παρὰ Ἀγλαοφήμου τὰ περὶ θεῶν ὄργια διδαχθείς· δεύτερος δὲ Πλάτων ὑποδεξαμένος τὴν παντελῆ περὶ τούτων ἐποπτείαν, ἔκ τε τῶν πυθαγορείων καὶ Ὀρφικῶν γραμμάτων· *All the Theology of the Greeks, was derived from the Orphick* Mystagogia; Pythagoras *being first instructed by* Aglaophemus *in the Orphick* Orgia, *or Mysteries concerning the Gods; and* Plato *being the next who received a perfect knowledge of all these Divine things, both out of the Pythagorick and the Orphick writings.* And that a *Trinity* was part of that *Orphick Cabala*, we have already proved, out of *Amelius*, he affirming (in *Proclus*) that *Plato's Three Kings* were the same with *Orpheus* his *Trinity*, of *Phanes*, *Uranus*, and *Cronus*. Moreover, since all these Three, *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, travelling into *Egypt*, were there initiated in that *Arcane Theology* of the Egyptians (called Hermaical) it seemeth probable (as was before observed) that this Doctrine of a *Divine Triad*, was also part of the *Arcane Theology* of the *Egygptians.* It hath been also noted, that there were some footsteps of such a Trinity in the *Mithraick Mysteries* amongst the Persians, derived from *Zoroaster*; as likewise that it was expresly conteined in the *Magick* or *Chalday Oracles*, of whatsoever authority they may be. Moreover it hath been signified, that the Samothracians had very anciently a certain *Trinity of Gods*, that were the Highest of all their Gods, and that called by an Hebrew name too, *Cabbirim*, or *the Mighty Gods*: and that from thence the Roman *Capitoline Trinity* of *Gods*, was derived. The second whereof was *Minerva*, which amongst the Latins, as *Athena* amongst the Greeks, was understood to signifie the *Divine Wisdom.* Lastly, the *Ternary* or *Triad*, was not only accounted a *Sacred Number* amongst the Pythagoreans, but also as conteining some *Mystery in Nature*, was therefore made use of by other Greeks and Pagans, in their Religious Rites; as *Aristotle* informeth us; διὸ καὶ τῆς φύσεως εἰληφότες ὥσπερ νόμους ἐκείνης, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἁγιστείας τοῖς θεοῖς χρώμεθα τῷ ἀριθμῷ τούτῳ· *Wherefore from Nature, and as it were observing her Laws, have we taken this Number of Three, making use of the same in the Sacrifices of the Gods, and other Purifications.*

In. Ar. Phys. fol. 50.

Theol. Plat. L. 1. c. 5.

De Cœlo L. 1. c. 5.

Now since it cannot well be conceived, how such a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, should be first discovered meerly by humane Wit and Rea-

ſon, though there be nothing in it (if rightly underſtood) that is repugnant to Reaſon: and ſince there are in the ancient Writings of the Old Teſtament, certain ſignifications of a *Plurality* in the *Deity*, or of more than one *Hypoſtaſis*, we may reaſonably conclude, that which *Proclus* aſſerteth of this *Trinity*, as it was conteined in the Chaldaick Oracles, to be true, that it was at firſt Θεοπαράδοτος Θεολογία, *a Theology of Divine Tradition or Revelation*, or a *Divine Cabala*, *viz.* amongſt the Hebrews firſt, and from them afterwards communicated to the Egyptians and other Nations. Neither ought it to be thought any conſiderable Objection to the contrary, becauſe the Platoniſts, Pythagoreans, and other Pagan Theologers, did not expreſs this their *Trinity*, in the very words of the *Athanaſian Creed*, nor according to the *Form of the Nicene Council*. Foraſmuch as this *Myſtery* was gradually imparted to the World, and that firſt but ſparingly to the Hebrews themſelves, either in their Written or Oral *Cabala*; but afterwards more fully under Chriſtianity, the whole Frame whereof was built thereupon. Nevertheleſs was it not ſo diſtinctly and preciſely determined, nor ſo punctually and ſcrupulouſly ſtated amongſt the Chriſtians neither, till after the riſing up of Hereſies concerning it. Nor when all was done, did the Orthodox themſelves at firſt Univerſally agree, in the ſignification of the word Ὁμοούσιος *Co-eſſential* or *Conſubſtantial*. Nor laſtly is it a thing at all to be wondred at, that in ſuch a *Difficult* and *Myſterious Point*, as this, there ſhould be ſome diverſity of apprehenſions amongſt the reputed Orthodox Chriſtians themſelves; and much leſs therefore amongſt Pagans and Philoſophers. However we freely acknowledge, that as this *Divine Cabala*, was but little underſtood by Many of thoſe who entertained it among the Pagans, ſo was it by divers of them, much Depraved and Adulterated alſo.

For firſt, the Pagans univerſally called, this their *Trinity*, a *Trinity of Gods*, ἡ πρῶτον, ἡ δεύτερον, and ἡ τρίτον θεὸν, *the Firſt*, *the Second*, and *the Third God*; as the more Philoſophical amongſt them, called it alſo a *Trinity* of *Cauſes*, and a Trinity of *Principles*, and ſometimes a Trinity of *Opificers*; thus is this *Cabala* of the Trinity ſtyled in *Proclus*, ἡ περὶ τριῶν θεῶν παράδοσις, *the Tradition of the Three Gods*. And accordingly is it ſaid of *Numenius* by him, that τρεῖς ἀνυμνήσας θεὸς, he did τραγῳδῶν καλεῖν, πάππον, ἔγγονον, ἀπόγονον, *having praiſed the Three Gods, Tragically or Affectedly called them, the Grandfather, the Son, and the Nephew*. *Numenius* thereby intimating, that as the *Second* of theſe Gods, was the Off-ſpring of the *Firſt God*, ſo the *Third* called the *Nephew* of the *Firſt*, was derived both from him and from the *Second*, from the *Firſt* as the *Grandfather*, and from the *Second*, as the *Father* of him. *Harpocration* likewiſe, *Atticus*, and *Amelius*, are ſaid by *Proclus*, to have entertained this ſame *Cabala* or *Tradition* of the *Three Gods*, the Latter of theſe ſtyling them, βασιλέας τρεῖς, and τριηλὸν δημιουργὸν, *Three Kings*, and *Three Opificers* or *Makers* of the whole world. In like manner *Plotinus* ſpeaking of the *Second* of theſe *Three Hypoſtaſes*, (that is, νοῦς *the Firſt Mind* or *Intellect*) calls him δεύτερον θεὸν *the Second God*, Καὶ θεὸς αὕτη ἡ φύσις, ἢ θεὸς δεύτερος, περφαίνων ἑαυτὴ, πρὸν ὁρᾶν ἐκεῖνον· ὁ δ' ἐφαρμόσθηται ἢ ἐφήρμοται ὅτι καλῆς ἕτως οἷον κεντρίδος· ἢ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐξήρτηται· ἔστι γὰρ ἐκεῖνον

In Timæ. Plat. p. 93. *Ibid.*

Enn. 5. L. 5. c. 3.

βαίνοντα μὴ ἐπ' ἀψύχῳ τινὸς, μὴ δ' αὖ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ὑθὺς βεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτῷ κάλλος ἀμήχανον πρὸ αὐτοῦ προϊόν· *And this Nature is God, I say a Second God, offering himself to view, before that other God can be seen, who is Seated above, this being as it were the Glorious Throne of him. For it is not fit, that he should be immediately Seated in any thing that is Inanimate; nor in meer Soul neither, but that there should be such an immense Pulchritude and Splendour shining before him; like the Pomp and Procession before the Great King.* He also elsewhere mentions all these *Three Gods* together, making this World to be an *Image* of them all. Εἰκότως ὂν λέγεται ὅτος ὁ κόσμος εἰκὼν, ἀεὶ εἰκονιζόμενος· ἑστηκότων μὲν τῶν πρώτου, καὶ δευτέρου, τοῦ δὲ τρίτου, ἑστηκότος μὲν καὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ, καὶ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς κινουμένου· *Wherefore this World may well be called an Image, it depending upon that above, as an Image in a Glass, which is Threefold. Whereof the First and Second God always stand Immovably; the Third likewise is in it self Stable too, but accidentally moved, by reason of the Mobility of matter, and things below it.* And that we may here give a Taste of the *Mystical Theology* and *Enthusiasm* of these Platonists too; *Porphyrius* in the Life of *Plotinus* affirmeth, that both *Plotinus* and Himself, had sometimes experience of a kind of *Ecstatick Union* with the *First* of these *Three Gods*, that which is above *Mind* and *Understanding*; πολλάκις ἐνάγοντι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἐπέκεινα θεὸν ταῖς ἐννοίαις, ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος ὁ μήτε μορφὴ, μὴ τέ τινα ἰδέαν ἔχων, ὑπερ ὃν νοῦν καὶ πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν ἱδρυμένος· ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ Πορφύριος ἅπαξ λέγω πλησιάσαι καὶ ἑνωθῆναι· Plotinus *often endeavouring to raise up his mind to the First and Highest God; That God sometimes appeared to him, who hath neither Form nor Idea, but is placed above Intellect, and all that is Intelligible: to whom I* Porphyrius *affirm my self to have been once united in the Sixty eighth year of my age.* And again afterwards, τέλος αὐτῷ καὶ σκοπὸς ἦν, τὸ ἑνωθῆναι καὶ πελάσαι τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ, ἔτυχε δ' τετράκις ὅτε συνήμεν αὐτῷ τοῦ σκοποῦ τότε, Plotinus *his chief aim and scope was, to be united to, and conjoyned with the Supreme God, who is above all, which scope he attained unto, Four several times, whilst my self was with him, by a certain ineffable Energie.* That is, *Plotinus* aimed at such a kind of *Rapturous* and *Ecstatick Union* with the Τὸ ἓν, and Τ'αγαθον, *the First of the Three Highest Gods*, (called *The One* and *The Good*) as by himself is described towards the latter end of his Last Book. Where he calls it ἐπαφὴν, and παρουσίαν ἐπιστήμης κρείττονα, and τὸ ἑαυτῷ κέντρον, τῷ οἷον πάντων κέντρῳ συνάπτειν, *a kind of Tactual Union*, and *a certain Presence better than Knowledge*, and *the joyning of our own Centre, as it were, with the Centre of the Universe.* Thus we see that the *Platonick Trinity*, is a *Trinity of Gods*, of which *Three Gods* therefore, the *Second* and the *Third* must of necessity be *Inferiour Gods*, because otherwise, they would be *Three Independent Gods*, whereas the Pagan Theology Expresly disclaims a *Plurality*, of *Independent* and *Self-originated Deities*,

En. 2. L. 3. c. 18.

But since according to the Principles of Christianity, which was partly designed to oppose and bear down the Pagan Polytheism, there is *One only God* to be acknowledged; the meaning whereof notwithstanding seems to be chiefly directed, against the *Deifying of Created Beings*, or giving Religious Worship to any, besides the Uncrea-

ted, and the Creatour of all: moreover, ſince in the Scripture which is the only true Rule and Meaſure of this *Divine Cabala* of the *Trinity*, though the λόγος or *Word* be ſaid to have been, *With God* (that is, *God* the *Father*) and alſo it ſelf to *Be God* (that is, not a *Creature*) yet is it no where called *An Other*, or *Second God*. Therefore cannot we Chriſtians entertain this Pagan Language of a *Trinity of Gods*, but muſt call it either a Trinity of *Divine Hypoſtaſes*, or *Subſiſtences*, or *Perſons*, or the like. Nevertheleſs it is obſervable, that *Philo*, though according to his Jewiſh Principles, he was a zealous Oppoſer of the *Pagan Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry*, yet did he not for all that, ſcruple to call the θεῖον λόγον *the Divine Word*, after the Platonick way, δεύτερον θεὸν *a Second God*; as not ſuſpecting this to claſh with the Principles of his Religion, or that Second Commandment of the Decalogue, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before my Face*; poſſibly becauſe he conceived, that this was to be underſtood of Creature-Gods only; whereas his *Second God*, the *Divine* λόγος or *Word*, is declared by him to be ἀΐδιος, *Eternal*, and therefore according to the Jewiſh Theology *Uncreated*. However this Language of a *Second* and *Third God*, is not ſo excuſable in a Jew, as it might be in a Pagan; becauſe the Pagans according to the Principles of their Religion, were ſo far from having any Scrupuloſity, againſt a *Plurality of Gods*, (ſo long as there was only One *Fountain of the Godhead* acknowledged) that they rather accounted it an honour to the Supreme God, as hath been already ſhewed, that he ſhould have Many other, not only *Titular Gods* under him, but alſo ſuch as were *Religiouſly Worſhipped*: Wherefore beſides this *Second* and *Third God*, they alſo did luxuriate in their other Many *Creature-gods*. And indeed St. *Auſtin* doth upon this accompt, ſeem ſomewhat to excuſe the Pagans for this their *Trinity of Gods*, and *Principles*, in theſe words, *Liberis enim verbis loquuntur Philoſophi, nec in rebus ad intelligendum difficillimis, offenſionem religioſarum aurium pertimeſcunt. Nobis autem ad certam Regulam loqui fas eſt, ne Verborum licentia, etiam in rebus, quæ in his ſignificantur, impiam gignat opinionem. Nos autem non dicimus Duo vel Tria Principia, cum de Deo loquimur: ſicut nec Duos Deos vel Tres, nobis licitum eſt dicere, quamvis de Unoquoque loquentes, vel de Filio, vel de Spiritu Sancto, etiam ſingulum quemque Deum eſſe fateamur. The Philoſophers uſe Free Language, nor in theſe things which are extremely difficult to be underſtood, did they at all fear the offending of any Religious and Scrupulous ears. But the Caſe is otherwiſe with us Chriſtians, for we are tied up to Phraſes, and ought to ſpeak according to a certain Rule, leſt the licentious uſe of words, ſhould beget a wicked Opinion in any concerning thoſe things that are ſignified by them.* That is, though this might be in a manner excuſable in the Pagans, becauſe each of thoſe *Three Hypoſtaſes* is God, therefore to call them ſeverally *Gods*, and all of them a *Trinity of Gods*, and *Principles*; they having no ſuch Rule then given them to govern their Language by as this, *That though the Father be God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghoſt God, yet are they not Three Gods, but One God*: yet is not this allowable for us Chriſtians, to ſpeak of a *Second* or *Third God* or Principle, or to call the *Holy Trinity* a *Trinity* of Gods, notwithſtanding that when we ſpeak of the Father or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghoſt ſeverally, we confeſs each of them to be God.

C. D. L. 10. c. 23.

And

And indeed when the Pagans thus ſpake of a *Firſt*, *Second*, and *Third* God, and no more, though having Innumerable other Gods beſides, they did by this Language plainly imply, that theſe *Three Gods* of theirs, were of a very different kind, from all the reſt of their Gods; that is, not θεοὶ γεννητοὶ but ἀΐδιοι, not *Created*, but *Eternal* and *Uncreated Ones*. And that many of them did really take this Whole *Trinity of Gods*, for the Τὸ θεῖον in general, the *Divine Numen*, and ſometimes call it the *Firſt God* too, in way of diſtinction from their *Generated Gods*; will be ſhowed afterward. So that the πρῶτος θεὸς the *Firſt God*, was uſed in different ſences by theſe Pagans, ſometimes in a larger ſence, and in way of oppoſition to all the γεννητοὶ θεοὶ the *Generated* or Created *Gods*, or the Gods that were made in Time together with the World; and ſometime again, more Particularly, in way of diſtinction from thoſe *Two other Divine Hypoſtaſes Eternal*, called by them the *Second* and *Third God*. Which Firſt of the *Three Gods*, is alſo frequently by them called θεὸς, *God*, *Emphatically* and by way of Excellency, they ſuppoſing a *Gradual Subordination* in theſe *Principles*.

Neither was this *Trinity* of *Divine Subſiſtences* only thus ill-languag'd by the Pagans generally, when they called it a *Trinity of Gods*; but alſo the *Cabala* thereof, was otherwiſe much Depraved and Adulterated, by ſeveral of the Platoniſts and Pythagoreans. For firſt, the *Third* of theſe *Three Hypoſtaſes* commonly called *Pſyche*, is by ſome of them made to be ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος *the Immediate Soul of the Corporeal World*, informing, acting, and enlivening it, after the ſame manner as the Souls of other Animals do their reſpective Bodies; inſomuch that this Corporeal World it ſelf, as together with its Soul it makes up one Complete Animal, was frequently called the *Third God*. This *Proclus* affirmeth of *Numenius* the Pythagorean, ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Τρίτος ἐστὶ θεὸς, *That the World according to him, was the Third God*. And *Plotinus*, being a great Reader of this *Numenius*, ſeems to have been ſomewhat infected by him with this conceit alſo, though contrary to his own Principles; from thoſe words befored cited out of him, ὁ κόσμος θεὸς, ὥσπερ συνηθὲς λέγειν, Τρίτος, *the World, as is commonly ſaid, is the Third God*.

Now if the World be not a *Creature*, then is there no *Created Being* at all, but all is God. But not only *Timæus Locrus*, but alſo *Plato* himſelf, calls it, θεῖον γενητὸν, that is, a *Created God*, the word γενητὸν being here put for that, which after it once was not, is brought into Being; which is the proper Notion of a *Creature*. So that the *Animated World*, is by *Plato* made to be only the chief of all the γεννητοὶ θεοὶ, that is, the *Creature-Gods*. Wherefore it is plain that in this Trinity of ſome Platoniſts and Pythagoreans, wherein the World is made to be the *Third God*, there is a confuſed Jumble of *Created*, and *Uncreated Beings* together. For the Firſt of thoſe Gods is the Father and Fountain of all, or the Original of the Godhead. And the Second, foraſmuch as he is called by them, both ποιητὴς and δημιουργὸς, *the Maker*, and *the Opificer of the whole World*, he therefore

fore can be no Creature neither: whereas the *Third*, which is said to be the World, was by *Numenius* himself also expressly called, both ποίημα and τὸ δημιουργόμενον, *the Work* or *Thing Made*, that is, plainly, the *Creature* of both the Former. *Proclus* thus fully represents his sence, Πατέρα μὲν καλεῖ τὸ πρῶτον, ποιητὴν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ποίημα δὲ τὸ τρίτον· ὥστε ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργὸς διττὸς, ὅ, τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος θεὸς, τὸ δὲ δημιουργόμενον ὁ τρίτος· Numenius *called the First of the Three Gods, the Father; the Second of them the Maker; and the Third the the Work or Thing Made; so that according to* Numenius *there were two Opificers or Creators of the World, the First and the Second God; and the World it self* (that *is*, the Thing *Made* and *Created* by them both) *is said to be the Third God.*

And that this Notion of the Trinity, is an Adulterated One, may be also further concluded from hence, because according to this *Hypothesis*, they might have said that there were *Three Hundred* and more Gods, as well, as that there are *Three:* since all the other γεννητοὶ θεοὶ, *Generated Gods*, might have come into the Number too, as well as the World, they being Parts thereof, and Gods that differ not in kind from it but only in degree. Wherefore these Philosophers ought not to have made a *Trinity of Gods*, distinguished from all the rest, but rather First to have distributed their Gods into θεοὶ ἀΐδιοι and γεννητοὶ, that is *Eternal* or *Uncreated*, and *Created Gods*, and then to have subdivided those *Created Gods*, into the *Whole World*, and the *Parts* thereof *Animated*.

But because it may be here alledged in favour of this Spurious *Hypothesis* of the *Trinity*, That the World was accounted the *Third God*, only by Accident, in respect of its Soul, which is properly that *Third God*; though *Numenius* with others plainly affirm the World it self, as ποίημα and δημιουργόμενον, as the *Work* and *Thing Made*, to be the *Third*; we shall therefore reply to this, that even the *Soul* of the *Mundane Animal* it self, according to *Timæus*, and *Plato*, and others, is affirmed to be γεννητὸς θεὸς, *a Generated God*, that is, such as was produced from Non-existence into Being, and therefore truly and properly a *Creature*. Which *Aristotle* observing, therefore took occasion to taxe *Plato* as contradicting himself, in making the Soul of the World a *Principle*, that is, the *Third God*, and yet supposing it to be ὕστερον μὲν ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ, *not Eternal but Made or Created together with the Heaven*, of which something before. Wherefore we conclude, that this ancient *Cabala of the Trinity*, was *Depraved* and *Adulterated*, by those Platonists and Pythagoreans, who made either the *World* it self, or else ψυχὴν ἐγκόσμιον, *an Informing Soul of the World*, to be the *Third Hypostasis* thereof, they Mingling *Created* and *Uncreated Beings* together, in that which themselves notwithstanding call a *Trinity* of *Causes* and of *Principles*.

And we think it highly probable that this was the true Reason, why *Philo*, though he admitted the *Second Hypostasis* of the *Platonick*, and *Pythagorick* (if not Egyptian) *Trinity*, called by him θεῖος λόγος, *the Divine Word*, and styled δεύτερος θεὸς, *the Second God*, and as *Eusebius*

ſebius adds, δεύτερον αἴτιον *The Second Cauſe*, yet he would not *Platonize* or *Pythagorize* any further, ſo as to take in that *Third God* or *Cauſe*, ſuppoſed by ſo many of them to be *the Soul of the whole World*, as an Animal; becauſe he muſt then have offer'd violence to the Principles of his own Religion, in making the whole *Created World a God*: which Practice is by him condemned in the Pagans. It is true, that he ſomewhere ſticks not to call God alſo, the *Soul of the World*, as well as the *Mind thereof*, whether he meant thereby ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεὸν, *That God who is before the Word*, or elſe rather the *Word* it ſelf, the *Second God*, (according to him the Immediate Creator and Governour of the ſame) nevertheleſs he does not ſeem to underſtand thereby, ſuch a deeply *Immerſed Soul*, as would make the World an *Animal*, and a God, but a more Elevated One, that is, ψυχὴν ὑπερκόσμιον, *a Supermundane Soul.*

To this Firſt Depravation of that θεοπαράδοτος θεολογία, that *Theology* of Divine Tradition, and ancient *Cabbala of the Trinity*, by many of the Platoniſts and Pythagoreans, may be added another, That ſome of them declaring the *Second Hypoſtaſis* of their *Trinity* to be the *Archetypal World*, or ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἰδεῶν παγκόσμιον νόμον, as *Philo* calls it, *the World that is compounded and made up of Ideas*, and conteineth in it all thoſe kinds of things *Intelligibly* that are in this Lower World *Senſibly*; and further concluding, that all theſe ſeveral *Ideas* of this *Archetypal* and *Intelligible World*, are really ſo many diſtinct *Subſtances*, *Animals*, and *Gods*; have thereby made that *Second Hypoſtaſis*, not to be *One God*, but a *Congeries and Heap of Gods*. Theſe are thoſe Gods commonly called by them, νοητοὶ θεοὶ *Intelligible Gods*, not as before in way of diſtinction from the αἰσθητοὶ the *Senſible Gods* (which is a more general notion of the word) but from from thoſe other *Gods* of theirs (afterwards to be inſiſted on alſo) called νοεροὶ θεοὶ *Intellectual Gods*. *Proclus* upon *Plato*'s *Politia* concludes, that there is no *Idea of Evil*, for this reaſon, becauſe if there were, ἡ τῶν κακῶν ἰδέα θεὸς ἔσται, ἐπεὶπερ πᾶσα ἰδέα θεὸς ὡς παρμενίδης εἴρηκεν· *that very Idea of Evil alſo would it ſelf be a God, becauſe Every Idea is a God, as* Parmenides *hath affirmed.* Neither was *Plotinus* himſelf, though otherwiſe more ſober, altogether uninfected with this Phantaſtick Conceit, of the *Ideas* being all of them *Gods*, he writing thus concerning the *Second God*, *The Firſt Mind or Intellect*; γεννώμενον ὑπ' ἤδη τὰ ὄντα σὺν αὐτῷ γεννῆσαι, πᾶν μὲν τὸ τῆς ἰδεῶν κάλλος, πάντας δὲ θεοὺς νοητούς, *That he being begotten by the Firſt God*, (that is, by way of Emanation, and from Eternity) *generated all Entities together with himſelf, the Pulchritude of the Ideas, which are all Intelligible Gods.* *Apuleius* alſo (as hath been already noted) groſly and fulſomely imputes the ſame to *Plato*, in thoſe words, *Quos Deos* Plato *exiſtimat, Veros, Incorporales, Animales, ſine ullo neque fine neque exordio, ſed prorſus ac retrò æviternos, ingenio ad ſummam beatitudinem porrecto, &c.* And he with *Julian* and others, reduce the Greater part of the Pagan Gods, to theſe *Ideas* of the *Intelligible* or *Archetypal World*, as making *Apollo* for Example, to be the *Intelligible Sun*, the *Idea* of *the Senſible*; and *Diana*, the *Intelligible Moon*, and the like for the reſt. Laſtly, it hath been obſerved alſo that the Egyptian Theologers, pretended in like manner, to

P. 357.

En. 5. *L.* 1. *c.* 7.

worſhip

Worſhip theſe *Intelligible Gods*, or *Eternal Ideas*, in their Religious Animals, as *Symbols* of them.

Philo indeed Platonized ſo far, as to ſuppoſe God to have made an *Archetypal* and *Intelligible World*, before he made this *Corporeal* and *Senſible*: Βελητεὶς (ὁ θεὸς) τὸ ὁρατὸν τοῦτο κόσμον δημιεργῆσαι, προεξετύπωσε τὸ νοητὸν, ἵνα χρώμενος ἀσωμάτῳ καὶ θεοειδεστάτῳ παραδείγματι, τὸν σωματικὸν ἀπεργάσηται, πρεσβυτέρᾳ νεώτερον ἀπεικόνισμα, τοιαῦτα περιέξοντα αἰσθητὰ γένη, ὅσα καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητά· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδεῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ ὑπονοεῖν ἀδύνατον· *God intending to make a Viſible World, firſt formed an Intelligible One; that ſo having an Incorporeal, and moſt God-like Pattern before him, he might make the Corporeal World agreeably to the ſame, this Younger an Image of that Older, that ſhould contein as many Senſible kinds in it, as the other did Intelligible. But it is not poſſible* (ſaith he) *to conceive this World of Ideas to exiſt in any place.* Nay according to him, *Moſes* himſelf philoſophized alſo after the ſame manner, in his *Coſmopœia*, deſcribing in the Firſt Five Verſes of *Geneſis*, the making of an *Intelligible Heaven and Earth*, before the *Senſible*; πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον, καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν καὶ κενὸν, εἶθ' ὕδατος ἀσωμάτου οὐσίαν καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ὅπερ πᾶσιν ἑβδόμῳ φωτὸς, ὃ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν καὶ νοητὸν ἡλίου παράδειγμα, &c. *The Creator firſt of all made, an Incorporeal Heaven and an Inviſible Earth; the Ideas of Air and* Vacuum; *Incorporeal Water and Air; and laſt of all Light, which was alſo the Incorporeal and Intelligible Paradigm of the Sun and Stars, and that from whence their Senſible Light is derived.* But *Philo* does not plainly make theſe *Ideas* of the *Intelligible* and *Archetypal World*, to be ſo many diſtinct *Subſtances*, and *Animals*; much leſs *Gods*: though he ſomewhere takes notice of thoſe, who admiring the Pulchritude of both theſe Worlds, did not only *Deifie* the whole of them, but alſo their ſeveral Parts; that is, the *Several Ideas* of the *Intelligible World* alſo, as well as the Greater *Parts* of the *Senſible*; an *Intelligible Heaven* and *Earth*, *Sun* and *Moon*; they pretending to worſhip thoſe *Divine Ideas*, in all theſe *Senſible things*. Which high-flown *Platonick Notion*, as it gave Sanctuary and Protection, to the groſſeſt and fouleſt of all the Pagan *Superſtitions* and *Idolatries*, when the Egyptians would worſhip Brute Animals, and other Pagans, all the Things of Nature, (*Inanimate Subſtances*, and meer *Accidents*) under a pretence of worſhipping the *Divine Ideas* in them; ſo did it directly tend to abſolute Impiety, Irreligion, and Atheiſm; there being few that could entertain any thoughts at all of thoſe Eternal *Ideas*, and ſcarcely any who could thoroughly perſwade themſelves, that theſe had ſo much Reality in them, as the *Senſible things of Nature*; as the *Idea* of a Houſe, in the mind of an Architect, hath not ſo much Reality in it, as a *Material Houſe*, made up of Stones, Mortar and Timber; ſo that their Devotion muſt needs ſink down wholly into thoſe *Senſible Things*, and themſelves naturally at length fall, into this Atheiſtick Perſwaſion; *That the Good Things of Nature, are the only Deities.*

De Mun. Opif. p. 6.

P. 6.

Here therefore have we a Multitude of Pagan Gods *Supermundane* and *Eternal*, (though all depending upon *One Supreme*) the Gods by them

them properly called, νοητοὶ *Intelligible*, or the *Divine Ideas*. And we cannot but account this for another *Depravation* of the ancient *Moſaick Cabbala of the Trinity*, that the Second *Hypoſtaſis* thereof, is made to be the *Archetypal World*, and all the *Divine Ideas*, as ſo many diſtinct *Subſtances*, *Animals*, and *Gods*; that is, not One God, but a whole *World of Gods*.

But over and beſides all this, ſome of theſe Platoniſts and Pythagoreans, did further Deprave and Adulterate, the ancient *Hebrew* or *Moſaick Cabbala* of the Trinity, (the certain Rule whereof is now only the Scriptures of the New Teſtament) when they concluded, that as from the *Third Hypoſtaſis* of their *Trinity*, called ἡ πρώτη ψυχὴ, *The Firſt Soul*, there were Innumerable other *Particular Souls* derived, namely the Souls of all Inferiour Animals, that are Parts of the World; ſo in like manner, that from their *Second Hypoſtaſis*, called ὁ πρῶτος νοῦς, *The Firſt Mind or Intellect*, there were innumerable other Μερικοὶ Νόες *Particular Minds* or *Intellects Subſtantial Derived*, Superiour to the Firſt Soul; and not only ſo, but alſo, That from that Firſt and Higheſt *Hypoſtaſis* of all, called Τὸ Ἕν, and Τἀγαθὸν, *The One*, and *The Good*, there were derived likewiſe many *Particular* Ἑνάδες, and Ἀγαθότητες, *Unities* and *Goodneſſes Subſtantial*, Superiour to the *Firſt Intellect*. Thus *Proclus* in his Theologick Inſtitutions, Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἓν ἄρα τὸ πρῶτον, ἑνάδες· εἶτα μετὰ νοῦν ἢ πρῶτον, νόες· εἶτα μετὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν πρώτην, ψυχαὶ· εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ὅλον φύσιν, φύσεις· *After the Firſt One, (and from it) there are many Particular* Henades *or Unities; after the Firſt Intellect and from it, many Particular* Noes, *Minds or Intellects; after the Firſt Soul, many Particular and Derivative Souls; and laſtly, after the Univerſal Nature, many Particular Natures, and Spermatick Reaſons*. N. 21. Where it may be *obiter* obſerved, that theſe Platoniſts ſuppoſed, below the *Univerſal Pſyche*, or Mundane Soul, a *Univerſal* φύσις, or *Subſtantial Nature* alſo, but ſo as that beſides it, there were other Particular Λόγοι σπερματικοὶ, *Seminal Reaſons*, or *Plaſtick Principles* alſo.

As for theſe *Noes*, and that beſides the Firſt *Univerſal Mind* or *Intellect*, there are other *Particular Minds* or *Intellects Subſtantial*, a Rank of Beings not only immutably *Good and Wiſe*, but alſo every way *Immovable*, and therefore above the Rank of all Souls, that are *Self-moveable Beings*; *Proclus* was not ſingular in this, but had the concurrence of many other Platoniſts with him; amongſt whom *Plotinus* may ſeem to be one, from this Paſſage of his beſides others, ὅτι ἀθάνατοι ἡ αἱ ψυχαὶ, καὶ νοῦς πᾶς, ἐν ἄλλοις διὰ πλειόνων εἴρηται· *That Souls are Immortal, and every Mind or Intellect, we have elſewhere largely proved*. P. 653. Upon which words *Ficinus* thus, *Hîc, & ſuprà & infrà ſæpè, per verba* Plotini *notabis, Plures eſſe Mentium Animarumque Subſtantias inter ſe diſtinctas, quamvis inter eas Unio ſit Mirabilis: Here and from many other places, before and after, you may obſerve, that according to* Plotinus *there are many Subſtantial Minds, diſtinct from Souls, though there be a wonderful Union betwixt them*. Moreover, that there was alſo above theſe *Noes* or *Immovable* but *Multiform Minds*, not only one *Perfect Monad*, and *Firſt Good*, but alſo a Rank of Many *Particular Henades* or *Monades*, and *Agathotetes*; was,

In Epist. Ench. p. 9. besides *Proclus* and others, asserted by *Simplicius* also; ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν πάντα παράγῃ, τάττε πρῶτα, καὶ τὰ μέσα, καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσεχῆ, ὅμοια ἑαυτῷ παράγει, μιὰ ἀγαθότης πολλὰς ἀγαθότητας, καὶ μία ἑνὰς ἡ ὑπερ πάσας, πολλὰς ἑνάδας· *The Highest Good* (saith he) *produceth all things from himself, in several Ranks and Degrees; The First, the Middle, and the Last or Lowest of all. But the First and the next to himself, doth he produce like himself, One Goodness Many Goodnesses, and one Unity or Henade, Many Henades.* And that by these *Henades* and *Autoagathotetes*, he means *Substantial Beings*, that are Conscious of themselves, appears also from these following words,

P. 11. τὰ μὲν ὄν πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀγαθοῦ παραγόμενα, διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸ ὁμόφυες, ὂν ἐξέσι τοῦ εἶναι ἀγαθὰ, ἀκίνητα ὄντα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀεὶ μακαριότητι ἱδρυμένα, ὂν ἐνδεῆ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοαγαθότητές εἰσι· *Those Beings which are first produced from the First Good, by reason of their Sameness of Nature with him, are immovably and unchangeably Good, always fixed in the same Happiness, and never indigent of Good or falling from it, because they are all Essentially Goodnesses.* Where afterward he adds something concerning the νόες also, that though these were a Rank of *Lower Beings*, and not αὐτοαγαθὰ, not *Essentially Goodnesses*, but only by *Participation*; yet being by their own Nature also *Immovable*, they can never degenerate, nor fall from that *Participation* of Good. Notwithstanding which, we must confess that some of these Platonists, seem to take the word *Henades* sometimes in another sence, and to understand nothing else thereby, but the *Intelligible Ideas* before mentioned; though the ancient Platonists and Pythagoreans were not wont to call these *Unities*, but *Numbers*.

And now have we discovered, more of the Pagans *Inferiour Gods*, *Supermundane* and *Eternal*; *viz.* besides those νοητοὶ θεοὶ, those *Intelligible Gods*; Troops of *Henades* and *Autoagathotetes*, *Unities* and *Goodnesses*; and also of *Noes*, Immovable *Minds* or *Intellects*; or as they frequently call them, θεοὶ ἑνιαῖοι, and θεοὶ νοεροὶ, *Henadical* (or *Monadical*) *Gods*, and *Intellectual Gods*.

But since these *Noes*, or νοεροὶ θεοὶ, are said to be all of them in their own nature a Rank of Beings above *Souls*, and therefore Superiour to that *First Soul*, which is the *Third Hypostasis* of this *Trinity*; as all those *Henades* or ἑνιαῖοι θεοὶ, those *Simple Monadical Gods*, are likewise yet a higher Rank of Beings above the *Noes*, and therefore Superiour to the *Second Hypostasis* also, the *First Mind*; and yet all these *Henades* and *Noes*, however supposed by these Philosophers to be *Eternal*, forasmuch as they are *Particular Beings* only, and not *Universal*, cannot be placed higher than in the Rank of *Creatures*; it follows from hence unavoidably, that both the *Second* and *Third Hypostasis* of this *Trinity*, as well the *First Mind* as the *First Soul*, must be accounted *Creatures* also; because no *Created Being*, can be Superiour to any thing *Uncreated*. Wherefore *Proclus* and some others of those Platonists, plainly understood this Trinity no otherwise, than as a certain *Scale* or *Ladder* of Beings in the Universe; or a *Gradual Descent* of things from the *First* or *Highest*, by steps downward, lower and lower, so far as to the *Souls of all Animals*. For which

which cauſe, *Proclus* to make up this *Scale* complete, adds to theſe three Ranks and Degrees, below that *Third of Souls*, a *Fourth of Natures* alſo; under which there lies nothing but the Paſſive Part of the Univerſe, Body and Matter. So that, their Whole Scale, of all that is above Body, was indeed not a *Trinity*, but a *Quaternity*, of *Four Ranks* and Degrees of Beings, one below another; the Firſt of *Henades* or *Unities*, the Second of *Noes*, *Minds* or *Intellects*, the Third of *Souls*, and the Laſt of *Natures*: theſe being as it were ſo many Orbs and Spheres, one within and below another. In all which ſeveral Ranks of Being, they ſuppoſed *One Firſt Univerſal*, and *Unparticipated*, as the Head of each reſpective Rank, and Many Particular, or Participated Ones: as One Firſt *Univerſal Henade*, and Many *Secondary Particular Henades*; One Firſt Univerſal *Nous*, Mind or Intellect, and Many *Secondary* and *Particular Noes* or *Minds*; One Firſt *Univerſal Soul*, and *Many Particular Souls*; and Laſtly One *Univerſal Nature*, and *Many Particular Natures*. In which Scale of Beings, they Deified, beſides the Firſt Τὸ ἓν and Τἀγαθὸν, *One*, and *Good*, not only the *Firſt Mind*, and the *Firſt Soul*, but alſo thoſe other *Particular Henades*, and *Noes* univerſally; and all *Particular Souls* above Humane: leaving out beſides them and Inferiour Souls, that Fourth Rank of Natures, becauſe they conceived, that nothing was to be accounted a *God*, but what was *Intellectual* and *Superiour to Men*. Wherein though they made Several Degrees of Gods, one below another, and called ſome ἀϊδίους and ſome γενητοὺς, ſome *Eternal*, and ſome *Generated*, or *Made in time*; yet did they no where clearly diſtinguiſh, betwixt the *Deity* properly ſo called, and the *Creature*, nor ſhew how far in this Scale, the True Deity went, and where the Creature began. But as it were melting the Deity by degrees, and bringing it down lower and lower, they made the Juncture and Commiſſure betwixt God and the Creature, ſo ſmooth and cloſe, that where they indeed parted, was altogether undiſcernible. They rather implying them, to differ only in Degrees, or that they were not Abſolute but Comparative Terms, and conſiſted but in *More* and *Leſs*. All which was doubtleſs a groſs Miſtake of the ancient *Cabbala* of the Trinity.

This is therefore that *Platonick Trinity*, which we oppoſe to the *Chriſtian*, not as if *Plato*'s own *Trinity* in the very Eſſential Conſtitution thereof, were quite a Different Thing from the *Chriſtian*; it ſelf in all probability having been at firſt derived from a *Divine* or *Moſaick Cabbala*; but becauſe this *Cabbala*, (as might well come to paſs in a thing ſo Myſterious and Difficult to be conceived) hath been by divers of theſe Platoniſts and Pythagoreans, *Miſunderſtood*, *Depraved* and *Adulterated*, into ſuch a *Trinity*, as *Confounds the Differences* between *God* and the *Creature*, and removes all the Bounds and Land-marks betwixt them: ſinks the Deity lower and lower by Degrees; (ſtill multiplying of it, as it goes) till it have at length brought it down to the *Whole Corporeal World*, and when it hath done this, is not able to ſtop there neither, but extends it further ſtill, to the *Animated Parts* thereof, Stars and Demons. The Deſign or Direct Tendency thereof, being nothing elſe but to lay a Foundation, for *Infinite Poly-*

theism, *Cosmolatry* (or *World-Idolatry*) and *Creature-Worship*. Where it is by the way observable, that these *Platonick Pagans*, were the only Publick and Professed Champions against Christianity; for though *Celsus* were suspected by *Origen* to have been indeed an Epicurean, yet did he at least Personate a Platonist too. The reason whereof might be; not only because the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick Sect*, was the Divinest of all the Pagans, and that which approached nearest to Christianity and the Truth, (however it might by accident therefore prove the worst, as the *Corruption* of the *Best thing*,) and by that means could with greatest confidence, hold up the Bucklers against Christianity and encounter it; but also because the *Platonick Principles*, as they might be understood, would of all other, serve most plausibly to defend the Pagan *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*.

Concerning the Christian Trinity, we shall here observe only *Three Things*; First, that it is not a *Trinity of meer Names* or *Words*, nor a *Trinity of Partial Notions* and *Inadequate Conceptions*, of One and the Same Thing. For such a kind of Trinity as this, might be conceived, in that First *Platonick Hypostasis* it self, called τὸ ἓν and τἀγαθὸν *The One* and *The Good*, and perhaps also in that *First Person* of the *Christian Trinity*; namely of *Goodness*, and *Understanding* or *Wisdom*, and *Will* or *Active Power*, Three Inadequate Conceptions thereof. 'Tis true, that *Plotinus* was so high flown, as to maintain, that the First and Highest Principle of all, by reason of its Perfect *Unity* and *Simplicity*, is above the Multiplicity of Knowledge and Understanding, and therefore does not so much as νοεῖν ἑαυτὸ, in a proper sence, *Understand it self*: Notwithstanding which, this Philosopher himself adds that it cannot therefore be said to be *Ignorant* nor *Unwise* neither; these Expressions belonging only to such a Being, as was by Nature Intellectual, νοῦς μὲν γὰρ μὴ νοῶν, ἀνόητος, *Intellectus nisi intelligat, damens meritò judicatur.* And he seems to grant, that it hath a certain *Simple Clarity* and *Brightness* in it, Superiour to that of Knowledge: As the Body of the Sun has a certain *Brightness* Superiour to that Secondary Light which streameth from it; and that it may be said, to be νόησις αὐτὴ *Knowledge it self*, that does not *Understand*, as Motion it self does not Move. But this can hardly be conceived by ordinary Mortals, that the Highest and most Perfect of all Beings, should not fully comprehend it self, the Extent of its own Fecundity and Power, and be conscious of all that proceedeth from it, though after the most Simple manner. And therefore this high-flown conceit of *Plotinus* (and perhaps of *Plato* himself too) has been rejected by latter Platonists, as *Phantastical*, and Unsafe: for thus *Simplicius*, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνῶσιν ἔχειν ἀνάγκη τῷ ἀπροστάτῳ, ὃ γὰρ ἄν τι γένηται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγνοήσειεν, *But it must needs have also the most perfect Knowledge, since it cannot be ignorant of any thing, that is produced from it self.* And St. *Austin* in like manner, confutes that Assertion of some Christians, that the λόγος, or *Eternal Word*, was that *very Wisdom and Understanding by which the Father himself was wise*; as making it nothing, but an *Inadequate Conception of God*. But this opinion, that the *Christian Trinity* is but a *Trinity of Words*, or meer *Logical Notions*, and *Inadequate Conceptions of God*, hath been plainly condemned by the Christian Church

En. 6. L. 7. c. 37.

In Epict. p. 235.

Church in *Sabellius* and others. Wherefore we con-clude it to be a Trinity of *Hypostases*, or Subsistences, or Persons.

The Second Thing that we observe concerning the Christian Trinity is this, that though the *Second Hypostasis* or *Person* thereof, were begotten from the First, and the *Third* Proceedeth both from the *First* and *Second*; yet are neither this *Second* nor *Third*, *Creatures*; and that for these following Reasons. First, because they were not made ἐξ ὐκ ὄντων, as *Arius* maintained, that is, from an Antecedent Non-existence brought forth into being, nor can it be said of either of them, *Erat Quando Non erant*, *that once they were not*, but *their Going forth Was from Eternity*, and they were both Coeve and Coeternal with the *Father*. Secondly, because they were not only *Eternal Emanations* (if we may so call them) but also *Necessary*, and therefore are they both also, *Absolutely Undestroyable* and *Unannihilable*. Now according to true Philosophy and Theology, no *Creature* could have existed from *Eternity*, nor be *Absolutely Undestroyable*, and therefore that which is both *Eternal*, and *Undestroyable*, is *ipso facto Uncreated*. Nevertheless, because some Philosophers have asserted (though erroneously) both the whole World's *Eternity*, and its being a *Necessary Emanation* also from the Deity, and consequently, that it is *Undestroyable*; we shall therefore further add, that these *Second* and *Third Hypostases* or *Persons* of the *Holy Trinity*, are not only therefore *Uncreated*, because they were both *Eternal*, and *Necessary Emanations*, and likewise are *Unannihilable*; but also because they are *Universal*, each of them comprehending the Whole World, and all created things under it; which *Universality* of theirs, is the same thing with *Infinity*: Whereas all other Beings besides this Holy Trinity, are *Particular* and *Finite*. Now we say, that no *Intellectual Being*, which is not only *Eternal*; and *Necessarily Existent*, or *Undestroyable*; but also *Universal* or *Infinite*, can be a Creature.

Again in the Last place we add, that these *Three Hypostases* or *Persons*, are truly and really *One God*. Not only because they have all Essentially One and the same Will, according to that of *Origen*, *C. Cels. p. 386.* Θρησκεύομεν τὸν τοῦ πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὼ ἀληθειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἓν δὲ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς βουλήσεως, *We worship, the Father of Truth, and the Son the Truth itself, being Two Things as to* Hypostasis; *but one in Agreement, Consent, and Sameness of Will:* but also because they are *Physically* (if we may so speak) *One* also; and have a *Mutual* Περιχώρησις, and Ἐνύπαρξις, *Inexistence*, and *Permeation of one another*; according to that of our Saviour Christ, *I am In the Father, and the Father In Me. And the Father that Dwelleth In Me, he doth the Works.* We grant indeed, that there can be no Instance of the like Unity or Oneness found in any Created Beings; nevertheless we certainly know from our very selves, that it is not impossible, for two distinct Substances, that are of a very different Kind from one another, the One Incorporeal, the other Corporeal, to be so closely united together, as to become *One Animal* and *Person*; much less therefore should it be thought impossible, for these *Three Divine Hypostases*, to be *One God*.

We

We ſhall conclude here with Confidence, that the *Chriſtian Trinity*, though there be very much of *Myſtery* in it, yet is there nothing at all of *plain Contradiction* to the Undoubted Principles of Humane Reaſon, that is, of *Impoſſibility* to be found therein, as the Atheiſts would pretend, who cry down all for *Non-ſence* and *Abſolute Impoſſibility*, which their Dull Stupidity cannot reach to, or their Infatuated Minds eaſily comprehend, and therefore even the Deity it ſelf. And it were to be wiſhed, that ſome *Religioniſts* and *Trinitarians* did not here ſymbolize too much with them, in affecting to repreſent the *Myſtery* of the *Chriſtian Trinity*, as a thing directly contradictious to all Humane Reaſon and Underſtanding; and that perhaps out of deſign to make men ſurrender up themſelves and Conſciences, in a Blind and *Implicit Faith*, wholly to their Guidance: as alſo to debauch their Underſtandings by this means, to the ſwallowing down of other Opinions of theirs, plainly repugnant to Humane Faculties. As who ſhould ſay, he that believes the *Trinity*, (as we all muſt do, if we will be Chriſtians) ſhould boggle at nothing in Religion never after, nor ſcrupulouſly chew or examine any thing: as if there could be nothing more Contradictious or Impoſſible to Humane Underſtanding propounded, than this Article of the *Chriſtian Faith*.

But for the preſent we ſhall endeavour only to ſhew, that the *Chriſtian Trinity* (though a Myſtery, yet) is much more agreeable to Reaſon, than that *Platonick* or *Pſeudo-Platonick Trinity* before deſcribed; and that in thoſe Three Particulars then mentioned. For Firſt, when thoſe *Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans*, interpret their *Third God*, or Laſt *Hypoſtaſis* of their *Trinity* to be either the *World*, or elſe a ψυχὴ ἐνκόσμιος, ſuch an *Immediate Soul* thereof, as together with the World its Body, makes up *One Animal* and *God*; as there is plainly too great a *Leap* here betwixt their *Second* and *Third Hypoſtaſis*, ſo do they *Debaſe the Deity* therein too much, confound God and the Creature together, laying a Foundation not only for *Coſmo-Latry* or *World-Idolatry* in general, but alſo for the groſſeſt and moſt ſottiſh of all Idolatries, the worſhipping of the *Inanimate Parts* of the World themſelves, in pretence as Parts and Members of this great *Mundane Animal*, and *Senſible God*.

It is true indeed that *Origen* and ſome others of the ancient Chriſtian Writers, have ſuppoſed, that God may be ſaid in ſome ſence to be the *Soul of the World*. Thus in that Book *Peri Archon*, *Sicut Corpus noſtrum unum ex multis Membris aptatum eſt, & ab una Anima continetur, ita & Univerſum Mundum, velut Animal quoddam Immane opinandum puto; quod quaſi ab una Animâ, Virtute Dei ac Ratione teneatur. Quod etiam à Sanctâ Scripturâ indicari arbitror, per illud quod dictum eſt per Prophetam; Nonne Cœlum & Terram ego repleo, dicit Dominus? & Cœlum mihi Sedes, Terra autem Scabellum pedum meorum; Et quod Salvator cum ait, non eſſe jurandum neque per Cœlum, quia Sedes Dei eſt, neque per Terram quia Scabellum pedum ejus. Sed & illud quod ait* Paulus, *Quoniam in ipſo Vivimus & Movemur & Sumus. Quomodo enim in Deo Vivimus, & Movemur, & Sumus, niſi quod in Virtute ſuâ Univerſum conſtringit & continet Mundum? As our own Body is made up of many Members, and conteined by*

L. 2. c. 1.

One

One Soul, so do I conceive that the whole World is to be looked upon, as One huge great Animal, which is conteined as it were by One Soul, the Vertue and Reason of God. And so much seems to be intimated by the Scripture in sundry places; as in that of the Prophet, Do not I fill Heaven and Earth? And again, Heaven is my Throne and the Earth my Footstool. And in that of our Saviour, Swear not at all, neither by Heaven, because it is the Throne of God, nor by the Earth because it is his Footstool. And lastly in that of Paul *to the Athenians, For in him we Live and Move, and have our Being. For how can we be said to Live and Move, and have our Being in God, unless because he by his Vertue and Power, does Constringe and Contein the whole World? And how can Heaven be the Throne of God, and the Earth his Footstool, unless his Vertue and Power fill all things both in Heaven and Earth?* Nevertheless, God is here said by *Origen*, to be but *Quasi-Anima, As it were The Soul of the World:* As if he should have said, That all the Perfection of a *Soul*, is to be attributed to God, in respect of the *World*; he *Quickening* and *Enlivening* all things, as much as if he were the Very Soul of it, and all the Parts thereof were his Living Members. And perhaps the whole Deity ought not to be look'd upon, according to *Aristotle*'s Notion thereof, meerly as ἀκίνητον οὐσία, *an Immovable Essence*, for then it is not conceivable, how it could either Act upon the World, or be Sensible of any thing therein: or to what purpose any Devotional Addresses should be made by us to such an *Unaffectible, Inflexible, Rockie* and *Adamantine Being*. Wherefore all the Perfection of a *Mundane Soul*, may perhaps be attributed to God in some sence, and he called, *Quasi Anima Mundi, As it were the Soul thereof:* Though St. *Cyprian* would have this, properly to belong to the *Third Hypostasis* or *Person* of the Christian Trinity, *viz.* The *Holy Ghost*. But there is something of Imperfection also, plainly cleaving and adhering to this Notion of a *Mundane Soul*, besides something of Paganity likewise necessarily consequent thereupon, which cannot be admitted by us. Wherefore *God*, or the *Third Divine Hypostasis*, cannot be called the *Soul of the World* in this sence, as if it were so Immersed thereinto, and so Passive from it, as our Soul is Immersed into, and Passive from its Body. Nor as if the World and this Soul together, made up one *Entire Animal*, each Part whereof, were incomplete alone by it self. And that God or the *Third Hypostasis* of the *Christian Trinity*, is not to be accounted in this Sence properly, the Soul of the World, according to *Origen* himself, we may learn from these words of his; *Solius Dei, id est, Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Naturæ, id proprium est; ut sine Materiali Substantia, & absque ulla Corporeæ adjectionis societate intelligatur subsistere: It is proper to the Nature of God alone, that is, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to subsist without any Material Substance, or Body Vitally United to it.* Where *Origen* affirming, that all *Created Souls* and *Spirits* whatsoever, have always some *Body* or other *Vitally United* to them, and that it is the Property only of the *Three Persons* of the *Holy Trinity*, not to be *Vitally United* to any Body, as the Soul thereof; whether this Assertion of his be true or no (which is a thing not here to be discussed) he does plainly hereby declare, that God or the *Third Hypostasis* of the *Trinity*, is not to be accounted in a true and proper sence, the *Soul of the World.* And

Peri Arch. L. 1. c. 6.

And it is certain that the more *Refined Platonists*, were themselves also, of this Perswasion; and that their *Third God*, or *Divine Hypostasis*, was neither the Whole World (as supposed to be Animated) nor yet ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος, *the Immediate Soul of this Mundane Animal*, but only ψυχὴ ὑπερκόσμιος, *a Supermundane Soul*; that is, such a thing as though it Preside over the Whole World, and take Cognizance of all things in it, yet is not properly an *Essential Part* of that *Mundane Animal*, but a Being Elevated above the same. For thus *Proclus* plainly affirmeth, not only of *Amelius* but also of *Porphyrius* himself, who likewise pretended to follow *Plotinus* therein; μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀμέλιον ὁ Πορφύριος οἰόμενος τῷ Πλωτίνῳ συνᾴδειν, τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον ἀποκαλεῖ δημιουργὸν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν αὐτῆς, πρὸς ὃν ἀπέρριπται, τὸ αὐτοζῶον, ὡς εἶναι τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κατὰ τοῦτον· *After* Amelius, Porphyrius *thinking to agree with* Plotinus, *calls the Supermundane Soul, the Immediate Opificer or Maker of the World, and that Mind or Intellect, to which it is converted, not the Opificer himself, but the Paradigm thereof.* And though *Proclus* there make a question whether or no, this was *Plotinus* his true meaning, yet *Porphyrius* is most to be credited herein, he having had such an intimate acquaintance with him. Wherefore according to these Three Platonists, *Plotinus*, *Amelius*, and *Porphyrius*, the *Third Hypostasis* of the *Platonick Trinity*, is neither the *World*, nor the *Immediate Soul* of the *Mundane Animal*; but a certain *Supermundane Soul*, which also was δημιουργὸς *the Opificer and Creator of the World*, and therefore no *Creature*. Now the Corporeal World, being supposed by these Platonists also, to be an *Animal*, they must therefore needs acknowledge a Double Soul, one ψυχὴν ἐγκόσμιον, *the Immediate Soul* of this *Mundane Animal*, and another ψυχὴν ὑπερκόσμιον, *a Supermundane Soul*, which was the *Third* in their Trinity of Gods, or Divine *Hypostases*, the *Proper* and *Immediate Opificer* of the World. And the same in all probability, was *Plato*'s opinion also, and therefore that Soul, which is the only Deity, that in his Book of Laws he undertakes to prove, was ψυχὴ ὑπερκόσμιος *a Supermundane Soul*, and not the same with that ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος *that Mundane Soul*, whose *Genesis* or Generation is described in his *Timæus*; the Former of them being a *Principle* and *Eternal*; the Latter made in Time, together with the World; though said to be Older than it, because in order of Nature before it. And thus we see plainly, that though some of these Platonists and Pythagoreans, either Misunderstood or Depraved, *the Cabbala of the Trinity*, so as to make the Third *Hypostasis* thereof, to be the *Animated World*, which themselves acknowledged to be, ποίημα and δημιουργούμενον, *a Creature* and *Thing made*; yet others of the more Refined of them, supposed this *Third Hypostasis* of their Trinity, to be, not a *Mundane* but a *Supermundane Soul*, and δημιουργὸν, not a *Creature*, but the *Creator* or *Opificer* of the *Whole World*.

In Timæ p. 93, 94.

And as for the *Second Particular proposed*; it was a gross Absurdity in those Platonists also, to make the *Second*, in their *Trinity of Gods*, and *Hypostases*, not to be one *God* or *Hypostasis*, but a *Multitude* of *Gods* and *Hypostases*: as also was that a Monstrous Extravagancy of theirs, to suppose the *Ideas*, all of them, to be so many distinct *Sub-*

stances

ſtances and *Animals.* Which beſides others *Tertullian* in his Book *De Anima* thus imputes to *Plato*; *Vult* Plato *eſſe quaſdam Subſtantias Inviſibiles, Incorporeales, Supermundiales, Divinas, & Æternas, quas appellat Ideas, id eſt, Formas & Exempla, & Cauſas Naturalium iſtorum manifeſtorum, & ſubjacentium Corporalibus: & illas quidem eſſe Veritates, hæc autem Imagines earum:* Plato *conceiveth, that there are certain Subſtances; Inviſible, Incorporeal, Supermundial, Divine and Eternal; which he calls* Ideas, *that is, Forms, Exemplars and Cauſes of all theſe Natural and Senſible Things, they being the Truths; but the other the Images.* Neither can it be denied, but that there are ſome odd Expreſſions in *Plato*, ſounding that way, who therefore may not be juſtified in this, nor I think in ſome other *Conceits* of his, concerning theſe *Ideas*; as when he contends that they are not only the *Objects of Science*, but alſo the Proper and Phyſical Cauſes of all things here below; as for example, that the *Ideas* of *Similitude and Diſſimilitude*, are the Cauſes of the Likeneſs and Unlikeneſs of all things to one another by their Participation of them. Nevertheleſs it cannot be at all doubted, but that *Plato* himſelf and moſt of his Followers very well underſtood, that theſe *Ideas*, were all of them, really nothing elſe but the *Noemata* or *Conceptions*, of that one *Perfect Intellect*, which was their *Second Hypoſtaſis*; and therefore they could not look upon them in good earneſt, as ſo many *Diſtinct Subſtances* Exiſting ſeverally and apart by themſelves out of any Mind; however they were guilty of ſome Extravagant Expreſſions concerning them. Wherefore when they called them, οὐσίας, *Eſſences or Subſtances* (as they are called in *Philo* ἀναγκαιότατα ὄντα *the moſt neceſſary Eſſences*) their true meaning herein was only this, to ſignifie that they were not ſuch *Accidental* and *Evanid things*, as our Conceptions are, they being the *Standing Objects* of all Science, at leaſt, if not the Cauſes alſo of Exiſtent Things. Again when they were by them ſometimes called Animals alſo, they intended only to ſignifie thereby that they were not meer *Dead Forms*, like *Pictures drawn upon Paper*, or *Carved Images* and *Statues*. And thus *Amelius* the Philoſopher, plainly underſtood that Paſſage of St. *John* the Evangeliſt, concerning the Eternal λόγος, he pointing the Words otherwiſe than our Copies now do, ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, *That which was made, in him was Life:* this Philoſopher gloſſing after this manner upon it, ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζωὴν, καὶ ὂν πεφυκέναι, *In whom whatſoever was made, was Living, and Life, and True Being.* Laſtly no wonder if from Animals theſe *Ideas* forthwith became Gods too, to ſuch men, as took all occaſions poſſible to multiply Gods; in which there was alſo ſomething of that Scholaſtick Notion, *Quicquid eſt in Deo, eſt Deus, Whatſoever is in God is God.* But the main thing therein, was a piece of *Paganick Poetry*; theſe Pagan Theologers being Generally poſſeſſed with that *Poetick humour* of *Perſonating Things* and *Deifying* them. Wherefore though the *Ideas* were ſo many *Titular Gods* to many of the Platonick Pagans, yet did *Julian* himſelf (for Example) who made the moſt of them, ſuppoſe them all συνυπάρχειν καὶ ἐνυπάρχειν, *to Coexiſt with God and Inexiſt in him*, that is, in the *Firſt Mind*, or *Second Hypoſtaſis* of their Trinity.

P. 320. Rig.

So *Clem. Al. S. Cyril. S. Aug.* and other Latins.

Laſtly whereas *Proclus* and others of the Platoniſts intermingle Many *Particular Gods* with thoſe *Three Univerſal Principles* or *Hypoſtaſes*, of their *Trinity*, as *Noes*, *Minds*, or *Intellects* Superiour to the *Firſt Soul*; and *Henades* and *Agathotetes*, *Unities* and *Goodneſſes* Superiour to the *Firſt Intellect* too; thereby making thoſe Particular Beings, which muſt needs be Creatures, Superiour to thoſe *Hypoſtaſes* that are *Univerſal* and *Infinite*, and by conſequence Creaturizing of them; this *Hypotheſis* of theirs (I ſay) is altogether Abſurd and Irrational alſo: there being no Created Beings Eſſentially *Good* and *Wiſe*, but all by *Participation*, nor any *Immovable Natures* amongſt them whoſe οὐσία is their ἐνέργεια, their *Eſſence* their *Operation*; but all *Mutable* and *Changeable*, and probably, as *Origen* and others of the Fathers add, *Lapſable* and *Peccable*. *Nulla Natura eſt, quæ non recipiat Bonum & Malum, Exceptâ Dei Naturâ, quæ Bonorum omnium Fons eſt; & Chriſti Sapientia, Sapientiæ enim Fons eſt, & Sapientia utique Stultitiam recipere non poteſt; & Juſtitia eſt, quæ nunquam profecto Injuſtitiam capiet; & Verbum eſt vel Ratio, quæ utique Irrationalis effici non poteſt; Sed & Lux eſt, & Lucem certum eſt quod Tenebræ non comprehendent. Similiter & Natura Spiritus Sancti, quæ ſancta eſt, non recipit Pollutionem; Naturaliter enim vel Subſtantialiter Sancta eſt. Siqua autem alia Natura Sancta eſt, ex Aſſumptione hoc vel Inſpiratione Spiritus ſancti habet, ut ſanctificetur, non ex ſuâ Naturâ hoc poſſidens, ſed ut Accidens; propter quod & decidere poteſt, quod accidit.* *There is no Nature, which is not capable both of Good and Evil, excepting only the Nature of God, who is the Fountain of all Good; and the Wiſdom of Chriſt, For he is the Fountain of Wiſdom, and Wiſdom it ſelf never can receive Folly; he is alſo Juſtice it ſelf which can never admit of Injuſtice and the Reaſon and Word it ſelf, which can never become Irrational; he is alſo the Light it ſelf, and it is certain that Darkneſs cannot comprehend this Light, nor inſinuate it ſelf with it. In like manner the Nature of the Holy Ghoſt, is ſuch as can never receive Pollution, it being Subſtantially and Eſſentially Holy. But whatſoever other Nature is Holy, it is only ſuch in way of Participation and by the Inſpiration of this Holy Spirit; ſo that Holineſs is not its very Nature and Eſſence, but only an Accident to it, and whatſoever is but Accidental may fail. All Created Beings therefore having but Accidental Goodneſs and Wiſdom, may Degenerate and fall into Evil and Folly.* Which of *Origen*'s is all one as if he ſhould have ſaid, there is no ſuch *Rank* of *Beings* as *Autogaathotetes*, *Eſſential Goodneſſes*, there being only one Being Eſſentially Good, or Goodneſs it ſelf. Nor no ſuch Particular Created Beings exiſting in Nature, as the Platoniſts call *Noes* neither, that is, *Minds* or *Intellects Immovable*, *Perfectly and Eſſentially Wiſe*, or *Wiſdom it ſelf*, whoſe οὐσία is their ἐνέργεια, whoſe *Eſſence* is their *Operation*, and who conſequently have no Flux at all in them, nor *Succeſſive Action*; (only the *Eternal Word* and *Wiſdom of God* being ſuch) who alſo are abſolutely Ununitable to any *Bodies*. It is true that *Origen* did ſometimes make mention of Νόες, *Minds* or *Intellects*, but it was in another ſence, he calling all *Souls*, as firſt Created by God, and before their Lapſe, by that name: which

Peri Archon L. 1. *c.* 8. *p.* 685.

was

was as much as if he ſhould have ſaid, though ſome of the Platoniſts talk much of their *Noes*, yet is there nothing anſwerable to that name, according to their Notion of them, but the only *Noes* really exiſting in Nature, are, *Unfallen* but *Peccable Souls*; he often concluding, that the Higheſt Rank of Created Beings, are indeed no better than thoſe which the Platoniſts commonly call ψυχαὶ, or *Souls*. By which *Souls* he underſtood firſt of all, Beings in their own nature *Selfmoveable*, and *Active*; whereas the *Noes* of the Platoniſts are altogether *Immoveable* and *above Action*. And then again, ſuch Beings or *Spirits Incorporeal*, as exiſt not Abſtractly and Separately from all Matter, as the *Noes* of the Platoniſts were ſuppoſed to do, but are *Vitally Unitable to Bodies*, ſo as together with thoſe Bodies, to compound and make up *One Animal*. Thus, I ſay, *Origen* conceived even of the *Higheſt Angelical*, and *Arch-Angelical Orders*, that they wer eall of them ψυχαὶ, *Souls* United to Bodies, but ſuch as were Pure, Subtil and Ethereal: however he ſuppoſed it not Impoſſible for them to ſink down into Bodies, more Groſs and Feculent. And it is certain that many of the Ancient Chriſtian Writers concurred with *Origen* herein, that the *Higheſt Created Spirits* were no *Naked* and *Abſtract Minds*, but *Souls* cloathed with ſome *Corporeal Indument*. Laſtly, *Origen*'s Souls were alſo ſuppoſed to be all of them, endowed with *Liberum Arbitrium* or *Free-Will*, and conſequently to be *Self-improvable* and *Self-impairable*; and no Particular Created Spirits to be abſolutely in their own Nature *Impeccable*, but *Lapſible* into *Vitious Habits*: Whereas the *Platonick Noes*, are ſuppoſed to be ſuch Beings, as could never *Fall* nor *Degenerate*. And the Generality of the Chriſtian Writers ſeem'd to have conſented or conſpir'd with *Origen* in this alſo, they ſuppoſing him who is now the *Prince of Devils*, to have been once an *Angel* of the *Higheſt Order*. Thus does St. *Jerome* determine; *Solus Deus eſt, in quem Peccatum non cadit; cætera cùm ſint Liberi Arbitrii, poſſunt in utramque partem ſuam flectere voluntatem: God is the only Being, that is abſolutely uncapable of ſin, but all other Beings, having Free Will in them, may poſſibly turn their Will to either way*, that is, to *Evil* as well as to *Good*. It is certain, that God in a ſence of Perfection, is the moſt *Free Agent* of all, neither is *Contingent Liberty* Univerſally denied to him; but here it is made the only Privilege of God, that is, of the *Holy Trinity*, to be devoid of *Liberum Arbitrium*, namely as it implieth Imperfection, that is, *Peccability* and *Lapſibility*, in it.

It is true that ſome of the Platonick Philoſophers, ſuppoſe that even in that Rank of Beings called by them *Souls*, though they be not *Eſſentially Immutable* but all *Self-moveable*, and Active, yet there are ſome of them of ſo high a Pitch and Elevation, as that they can never Degenerate, nor ſink down into Vitious Habits. Thus *Simplicius* for one; ἀλλὰ αἱ μὲν πρῶται τῶν ψυχῶν, ἅτε προσεχῶς ὑπὸ αὐτοαγαθῶν παρεχθεῖσαι, πᾶν ἔχουν τὸ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ὑφειμένον, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀγαθότητες, ἀλλὰ ὀρέγεσθαι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, πλὴν ὡς συνγενεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸ, συμφυῶς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναποσπάστως ὀρέγονται, καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν μονοειδῶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τεταμένην ἔχουσι, οὐδέποτε ἀποκλίνουσαι πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον· καὶ εἴπερ ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτῶν ἄλλου τινός ἐστιν αἵρεσις, τάχα ἂν εἴη προαίρεσις ἐκείνοις; εἰ μήτις αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν *In Epict. p. 12, 13.*

ὡς τὰ πρῶτα ἀγαθὰ αἱρεσμῷλιω καλοῖ· *But the Firſt and Higheſt of Souls which were Immediately produced from what are Eſſentially Good, although they have ſome abatement in them, they being not Goodneſſes Eſſentially, but deſirous of Good; nevertheleſs are they ſo near a kin to that Higheſt Good of all, as that they do Naturally and Indivulſively cleave to the ſame, and have their Volitions always uniformly directed towards it, they never declining to the worſer. Inſomuch that if* Proæreſis, *be taken for the Chooſing of one thing before another, perhaps there is no ſuch thing as* Proæreſis *to be imputed to them, unleſs one ſhould call the chooſing of the Firſt Goods,* Proæreſis. By theſe higher Souls, *Simplicius* muſt needs underſtand, either the *Souls of the Sun, Moon and Stars,* or elſe thoſe of the *Superiour Orders* of *Demoniack* or *Angelick Beings.* Where though he make a Queſtion, Whether *Proæreſis* or *Deliberation* belong to them, yet does he plainly imply that they have none at all of that *Lubricous Liberum Arbitrium* or *Free-will* belonging to them, which would make them capable of *Vice* and *Immorality* as well as *Vertue.*

But whatever is to be ſaid of this, there ſeems to be no neceſſity at all, for admitting that Aſſertion of *Origen*'s, that all Rational Souls whatſoever, even thoſe of Men and thoſe of the higheſt Angelical Orders are Univerſally of one and the ſame Nature, and have no *Fundamental* or *Eſſential Difference* in their Conſtitution; and conſequently that all the difference that is now betwixt them, did ariſe only from the Difference of their Demeanour, or Uſe of that *Power* and *Liberty,* which they all alike once had. So that *Thrones,* and *Dominions,* and *Principalities,* and *Powers,* were all made ſuch by their *Merits*; and Humane Souls though now ſunk ſo low, yet are not abſolutely Uncapable of *Commencing Angels*, or aſcending to thoſe higheſt Altitudes: as it is not impoſſible, according to him neither, but that the Higheſt Angels alſo, the Seraphim and Cherubim, might in length of time, not only Degenerate into Devils, but alſo ſink down into Humane Bodies, His reaſon for which Monſtrous Paradox is only this, that the Divine Juſtice cannot otherwiſe well be ſalved, but God muſt needs be a προσοπολήπτης, *an Acepter of Perſons,* ſhould he have Arbitrarily made ſuch vaſt Differences amongſt Intellectual Beings, Which Ground he alſo extendeth ſo far, as to the *Humane Soul* of our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, as being not Partially appointed to that tranſcendent Dignity, of its *Hypoſtatick Union,* but by reaſon of its moſt faithful adherence to the *Divine Word* and *Wiſdom,* in a *Pre-exiſtent State,* beyond all others Souls, which he endeavours thus to prove from the Scripture, *Quòd dilectionis Perfectio, & affectus ſinceritas, ei inſeparabilem cum Deo fecerit Unitatem, ità ut non fortuita fuerit, aut cum Perſonæ acceptione, Animæ ejus aſſumptio, ſed Virtutum ſuarum ſibi merito delata; audi ad eum Prophetam dicentem, Dilexiſti Juſtitiam & odiſti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ præ participibus tuis: Dilectionis ergo merito ungitur Oleo lætitiæ Anima Chriſti, id eſt, cum Verbo Dei Unum efficitur. Ungi namque oleo lætitiæ, non aliud intelligitur quam Spiritu Sancto repleri. Præ Participibus autem dixit; quia non Gratia Spiritus ſicut Prophetis ei data eſt, ſed ipſius Verbi Dei in ea Subſtantialis inerat Plenitudo. That the*

περὶ ἀρχῶν, *L.* 1. *c.* 6.

the Perfection of Love and Sincerity of Divine Affection, procured to this Soul its Inseparable Union with the Godhead, so that the Assumption of it was neither Fortuitous nor Partial, or with Prosopolepsie (the Acception of Persons) but bestowed upon it justly for the Merit of its Vertues; hear (saith he) *the Prophet thus declaring to him; Thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity, therefore hath God, even thy God, anointed thee with the oil of Gladness above thy Fellows. The Soul of Christ therefore was anointed with the oil of Gladness or made one with the Word of God, for the Merits of Love and faithful adherence to God; and no otherwise. For to be anointed with the oil of Gladness, here properly signifies nothing else, but to be repleniſh'd with the Holy Ghost. But when it is said, that he was thus anointed above his Fellows, this intimateth, that he had not the Holy Ghost bestowed upon him, only as the Prophets and other Holy men had, but that the Substantial Fulness of the Word of God dwelt in him.* But this Reason of *Origen*'s seems to be very weak, because if there be a Rank of Souls below Humane, specifically differing from the same, as *Origen* himself must needs confess (he not allowing the Souls of Brutes to have been Humane Souls Lapsed, as some Pythagoreans and Platonists conceited, but renouncing and disclaiming that Opinion as monstrously Absurd and Irrational)there can be no reason given, why there might not be as well other Ranks and Orders of Souls Superiour to those of Men, without the *Injustice* of Prosopolepsie, as besides *Simplicius*, *Plotinus* and the Generality of other Platonists conceived.

But least of all can we assent to *Origen*, when from this Principle, that *Souls* as such, are Essentially endowed with *Liberum Arbitrium* or *Free Will* and therefore never in their own Nature *Impeccable*, he infers those *Endless Circuits* of Souls *Upwards* and *Downwards*, and so makes them to be never at rest, denying them any Fixed State of Holiness and Happiness by Divine Grace; such as wherein they might be free from the Fear and Danger of ever losing the same. Of whom St. *Austin* therefore thus, *Illum & propter alia nonnulla, & maximè propter alternantes sine cessatione beatitudines & miserias, & statutis seculorum intervallis ab istis ad illas, atque ab illis ad istas Itus ac Reditus Interminabiles; non immeritò reprobavit Ecclesia: quia & hoc quod Misericors videbatur, amisit, faciendo sanctis Veras Miserias, quibus pœnas luerent, & Falsas Beatitudines, in quibus verum ac securum, hoc est, sine Timore certum, sempiterni boni gaudium, non haberent. The Church hath deservedly rejected* Origen, *both for certain other opinions of his, and especially for those his Alternate Beatitudes and Miseries without end, and for his infinite Circuits, Ascents and Descents of Souls from one to the other, in restless Vicissitudes and after Periods of Time. For-asmuch as hereby he hath quite lost, that very Title of Pitiful or Merciful, which otherwise he seemed to have deserved, by making so many True Miseries for the best of Saints, in which they should successively undergo Punishment and Smart; and none but False Happinesses for them, such as wherein they could never have any True or Secure joy, free from the Fear of losing that Good which they possess.* For this *Origenical Hypothesis*, seems directly contrary to the whole Tenour of the Gospel, promising *Eternal and Everlasting Life*, to those, who believe in Christ, and Per-

Perſeveringly obey him; 1 *Joh.* 2. *This is the Promiſe that he hath Promiſed us, even Eternal Life:* and Titns 1. 2. *In hope of Eternal Life, which God that cannot Lye hath promiſed.* And, *God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only Begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have Everlaſting Life:* and leſt all this ſhould be taken for a *Periodical Eternity* only, *John* 3. 26. *He that believeth in me ſhall never die.* And poſſibly this might be the Meaning of St. *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 10. when he affirmeth of our Saviour Chriſt, That *he hath aboliſhed Death, and brought Life and Immortality to Light thorough the Goſpel*; not becauſe he was the Firſt who had diſcovered and publiſhed to the World, the Souls Immortality, which was believed before, not only by all the *Phariſaick Jews*, but alſo by the Generality of *Pagans* too; but becauſe theſe for the moſt part held their *Endleſs Circuits* and *Tranſmigrations of Souls*; therefore was he the Firſt who brought *Everlaſting Life to Light*, and gave the World aſſurance, in the Faith of the Goſpel, of a *Fixed* and *Permanent State of Happineſs*, and a never fading Crown of Glory to be obteined, *Him that overcometh, will I make a Pillar in the Temple of my God, and he ſhall go no more out*, Apoc. 3. 12.

Now the Reaſon why we mention'd *Origen* here, was becauſe he was a Perſon, not only thoroughly skilled in all the *Platonick Learning*, but alſo one who was ſufficiently addicted to thoſe *Dogmata*, he being commonly conceived to have had too great a kindneſs for them; and therefore had there been any Solidity of Reaſon, for either thoſe *Particular Henades*, or *Noes* of theirs, Created Beings above the *Rank of Souls*, and conſequently according to the *Platonick Hypotheſis*, Superiour to the *Univerſal Pſyche* alſo, (which was the *Third Hypoſtaſis* in their *Trinity*, and ſeems to anſwer to the *Holy Ghoſt* in the *Chriſtian:*) *Origen* was as likely to have been favourable thereunto, as any other. But it is indeed manifeſtly repugnant to Reaſon, that there ſhould be any ſuch *Particular*, that is, *Created Henades*, and αὐτοαγαθότητες *Eſſential Goodneſſes*, Superiour to the Platonick *Firſt Mind*; or any ſuch *Noes*, and αὐτοσοφίαι, *Eſſential Wiſdoms*, Superiour to their *Univerſal Pſyche*, it being all one, as if in the *Chriſtian Trinity*; beſides the Firſt Perſon or the *Father*, one ſhould ſuppoſe a Multitude of *Particular Paternities* Superiour to the *Second*, and alſo beſides that *Second Perſon*, the *Son* or *Word*, a Multitude of *Particular Sons* or *Words*, all Superiour to the *Third Perſon* the Holy Ghoſt. For this is plainly to make a Breach upon the Deity; to confound the Creator and Creature together; and to ſuppoſe a company of ſuch *Creaturely-Gods*, as imply a manifeſt contradiction in the very Notion of them.

Wherefore we ſhall here obſerve, that this was not the *Catholick Doctrine* of the Platonick School, that there were ſuch *Henades* and *Noes*, but only a *private Opinion* of ſome Doctors amongſt them, and that of the latter ſort too. For Firſt, as for thoſe *Henades*, as there are not the leaſt Footſteps of them to be found any where in *Plato's* Writings, ſo may it be plainly gather'd from them, that he ſuppoſed no ſuch thing. Foraſmuch as in his *Second Epiſtle*, where

where he describes his *Trinity*, he doth not say of the First, περὶ τὸ πρῶτον τὰ πρῶτα *about the First are the First*, as he doth of the Second δεύτερον περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, and of the Third τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα, *about the Second are the Second*, and *about the Third the Third*; but of the First he saith, περὶ ὃ πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' εἶναι, καὶ ἕνεκα ἐκείνου πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον ἁπάντων τοῦ καλῶν, *About the King of all things, are all things; and for his sake are all Things; and he is the cause of all Things that are good:* Wherefore here are no Particular *Henades* and *Autoagathotetes*, *Unities and Goodnesses*, about the First Τὸ Ἕν and Τἀγαθὸν, *One* and *Good*; but all Good things are about him, he being both the *Efficient* and *Final Cause* of all. Moreover *Plotinus* throughout all his Works discovers not the Least suspicion neither, of these *Henades* and *Agathotetes*, this Language being scarcely to be found any where in the Writings of any Platonists, Seniour to *Proclus:* who also as if he were conscious that this *assumentum* to the *Platonick Theology*, were not so defensible a thing, doth himself sometime as it were tergiversate and decline it by equivocating in the Word *Henades*, taking them for the *Ideas*, or the *Intelligible Gods* before mentioned. As perhaps *Synesius* also uses the Word, in his First Hymn, when God is called by him

Ἑνοτήτων ἑνὰς ἁγνὴ,
Μονάδων μονάς τε πρώτη.

The First Henad of Henades; and the First Monad of Monades: That is, *The First Idea of Good, and Cause of all the Ideas.* And as for the *Particular Noes, Minds* or *Intellects*, these indeed seem to have crept up somewhat before *Plotinus* his time, he besides the Passage before cited, elsewhere giving some Intimations of them, as *Enn.* 6. *L.*4.*c.*4. *P.* 847, 848. ἀλλὰ πῶς ψυχαὶ πολλαὶ καὶ νοῦς πολλοί; *But how can there be many Souls, and many Minds, and not only one, but many Entia?* From which and other places of his, *Ficinus* concluded *Plotinus* himself really to have asserted, above the *Rank of Souls*, a Multitude of other *Substantial Beings*, called νόες or νοῦς, *Minds* or *Intellects.* Nevertheless *Plotinus* speaking of them so uncertainly, and making such an Union betwixt all these *Noes*, and their *Particular Respective Souls*; it may well be question'd, whether he really took them, for any thing else, but the *Heads* and *Summities* of those Souls; he supposing that all Souls, have a *Mind* in them, the *Participation* of the *First Mind*; as also a *Unity* too, the Participation of the *First Unity*; whereby they are capable of being conjoyn'd with both: δεῖ νοῦν εἶναι ἐν ἡμῖν ἕναι, καὶ νοῦ ἀρχὼ, καὶ αἰτίαν, καὶ θεὸν· ὥσπερ τὸ κέντρον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ὄζιν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ σημεῖον ἐν αὑτῷ· καὶ αἱ γραμμαὶ τὸ ἴδιον προσφέρουσι πρὸς τοῦτο· τῷ δὴ τοιούτῳ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡμεῖς ἐφαπτόμεθα, καὶ σύνεσμεν, καὶ ἀνηρτήμεθα, ἐνισχύμεθα δὲ, οἷ ἂν συνδύωμεν ἐκεῖ· *There must needs be Mind in us, as also the Principle and Cause of Mind, God. Not as if he were divided, but because though remaining in himself, yet he is also considered in Many, as capable to receive him. As the Centre, though it remain in it self, yet is it also in every Line, drawn from the Circumference, each of them, by a certain Point of its own, touching it. And by some such Thing in us, is it, that we are capable of touching God, and of being United* *Enn.* L. 5. *c.* 11.

to

to him, when we direct our Intention towards him. And in the next Chapter he adds, ἔχοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀργοῦμεν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐνεργείαις τὰ πολλὰ· οἱ δ' ὅδ' ὅλως ἐνεργοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὄντα ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνεργείαις αἰεὶ, νοῦς ὢν καὶ τὸ πρὸ νοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, &c. *That though we have these things, in us, yet do we not perceive them, being for the most part idle and asleep as to these higher Energies; as some never at all exercise them. However those do always act; Mind, and that which is before Mind, Unity; but every thing which is in our Souls, is not perceived by us unless come to the Whole, when we dispose our selves towards it, &c.* Where *Plotinus* seems to make, the *Noes* or *Minds*, to be nothing else, but something in *Souls*, whereby they partake of the *First Mind*. And it is said of *Porphyrius*, who was well acquainted with *Plotinus* his Philosophy that he quite discarded and rejected these *Noes* or *Intellects*, as Substances really distinct from the *First Mind*, and separate from *Souls*. And it is certain that such *Minds* as these, are no where plainly mentioned by *Plato*, he speaking only of *Minds in Souls*, but not of any Abstract and Separate Minds save only one. And though some might think him to have given an Intimation of them in his δεύτερον περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, (before mentioned) his *Second about the Second Things*, or *Second Things about the Second*; yet by these may very well be understood, the *Ideas*; as by the *Third Things about the Third*, all *Created Beings*. Wherefore we may conclude, that this *Platonick* or rather *Pseudo-Platonick Trinity*, which confounds the *Differences* betwixt *God* and the *Creature*, and that probably in favour of the *Pagan Polytheism* and *Idolatry*; is nothing so agreable to Reason it self, as that *Christian Trinity* before described, which distinctly declares how far the *Deity goes*, and where the *Creature* begins: namely, that the *Deity* extends so far as to this *Whole Trinity* of *Hypostases*; and that all other things whatsoever, this Trinity of Persons only excepted, are truly and properly their *Creatures*, produced by the joynt concurrence and Influence of them all, they being really but *One God*.

But it is already manifest, that all the forementioned *Depravations* and *Adulterations* of that *Divine Cabbala* of the *Trinity*, and that *Spurious Trinity* described, (which because asserted by some Platonists, was called *Platonical*, in way of distinction from the *Christian*) cannot be justly charged neither upon *Plato* himself, nor yet upon all his Followers Universally. But on the contrary we shall now make it appear, that *Plato* and some of the Platonists, reteined much of the *Ancient Genuine Cabbala*, and made a very near approach to the *True Christian Trinity*; forasmuch as their Three *Hypostases*, distinguish'd from all their other *Gods*, seem to have been none of them accounted *Creatures*, but all other things whatsoever the *Creatures* of them.

First therefore we affirm, that *Plato* himself, does in the beginning of his *Timæus*, very carefully distinguish betwixt *God* and the *Creature*, he determining the Bounds between them, after this manner: Ἐστιν δὴ ὃ κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν πρῶτον διαιρετέον τάδε· τί τὸ ὂν μὲν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον· καὶ τί τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε· τὸ μὲν δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν, ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὄν· τὸ δ' αὖ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου, δοξαστὸν, γιγνόμενον

γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν· πᾶν δὲ αὖ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπ' αἰτίας τινὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαι· *We being here to treat, concerning the Universe, judge it neceſſary to begin with a Diſtinction, betwixt that which always Is, and hath no* Ortus *or Generation; and that which is Made, but never truly Is. The Former of which, being always like it ſelf and the ſame, is comprehenſible by Intellection with Reaſon, or is the Object of Knowledge; the latter of them, that which is Made and Periſheth, but never truly Is, is not properly Knowable, but Opinable only, or the Object of Opinion together with Irrational Senſe. Now every thing that is made muſt of neceſſity be made by ſome Cauſe.* The reaſon why *Plato* being to treat of the Univerſe, begins here with this Diſtinction, was, as *Proclus* well obſerves, becauſe, ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν ἐννοίαις ἀπόκειται, τὸ εἶναί τι ἀεὶ ὄν· *It is either one of our Common Notions, or a thing Mathematically Demonſtrable, that there muſt be ſomething Eternal, or which was never Made, but alwayes was, and had no Beginning.* And it is evident by Senſe and experience that all things are not ſuch, but that ſome things are Made and Periſh again, or Generated and Corrupted. Now the Latter Platoniſts, being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a Prejudice, of the *World's Eternity*, or that it had *no Beginning*, have offered ſtrange violence to *Plato*'s Text in this place, and wreſted his words to quite a different ſence from what he intended; as if by his τὸ γιγνόμενον *That which is Made*, he did not at all mean, That which had a *Beginning*, but only, that whoſe Duration is, *Flowing and Succeſſive or Temporary*, which might notwithſtanding be without Beginning; and as if he ſuppoſed the whole Corporeal World to be ſuch, which though it hath a *Succeſſive and Temporary Duration*, yet was without any Beginning. And the Current ran ſo ſtrong this way, that even *Boetius*, that Learned Chriſtian Philoſopher, was himſelf alſo carried away with the force thereof, he taking it for granted likewiſe, that *Plato* held the Eternity of the World in this ſence, that is, its Being *without Beginning*, *Non rectè quidam* (ſaith he) *qui cum audiunt viſum* Platoni, *Mundum hunc nec habuiſſe Initium Temporis, nec habiturum eſſe Defectum; hoc modo Conditori Conditum Mundum fieri Coæternum putant. Aliud eſt enim, per Interminabilem duci vitam, quod Mundo* Plato *tribuit; aliud Interminabilis Vitæ totam pariter complexum eſſe præſentiam; quod Divinæ Mentis proprium eſſe manifeſtum eſt. Neque Deus, Conditis rebus Antiquior videri debet, Temporis Quantitate, ſed Simplicis potius proprietate Naturæ. Some when they hear,* Plato *to have held, that the World had no beginning, nor ſhall never have an end, do not rightly from thence infer, That* Plato *therefore made the World Co-Eternal with God, becauſe it is One Thing always to Be, and another thing, to poſſeſs an Endleſs Life all at once; which is proper to the Divine Mind. Neither ought God to be thought Older than the World, in reſpect of Time, but only in Reſpect of the Simplicity of his Nature.* To which purpoſe he adds afterwards, *Itaque ſi dignæ rebus Nomina velimus imponere,* Platonem *ſequentes, Deum quidem Æternum, Mundum verò dicemus eſſe Perpetuum: Therefore, if we would give proper Names to things agreeable to their Natures, following* Plato, *we ſhould ſay, That God was Eternal; but the World only Perpetual.* But as this Doctrine of the latter Platoniſts, quite fruſtrates *Plato*'s Deſign in this place, which was to prove or

Conſol. Phil. L. 5. Pro. 6.

assert a *God*, because if the World had no beginning, though its Duration be never so much Successive, yet would it not follow from thence, that therefore it must needs have been made by some other Cause; so is it directly contrary to that Philosopher's own Words; himself there declaring, that by his τὸ γιγνόμενον, *Ortum*, or *That which is Made* he did not understand only, That whose Duration is *Successive*, but also τὸ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχον, *That which had a beginning of its Generation*, and τὸ ἀπ ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξάμενον, *That which begun from a certain Epocha of Time*; or *that which Once was not*, and therefore must needs be brought into being by some *other Cause*. So that *Plato* there plainly supposed, all *Temporary Beings*, once to have had a Beginning of their Duration, as he declareth in that very *Timæus* of his, that *Time it self was not Eternal*, or *without Beginning*, but *Made together with the Heaven or World*; and from thence does he infer, that there must of necessity be, another *Eternal being, viz.* such as hath both a *Permanent Duration*, and was without *Beginning*, and was the *Cause* both of *Time* and the *World*: for as much as nothing can possibly be made without a Cause; that is, nothing which once was not, could of it self come into Being, but must be produced by some other thing; and so at last we must needs come, to something which had no Beginning. Wherefore *Plato*, thus taking it for granted, that whatsoever hath a *Temporary and Flowing Duration*, was not without Beginning; as also that whatsoever was without *Beginning*, hath a *Permanent Duration* or *Standing Eternity*; does thus state the Difference betwixt *Uncreated* and *Created Beings*, or betwixt *God* and *Creature*: namely, that Creature is That whose, *Duration* being *Temporary* or *Successive*, once had a Beginning; and this is his, τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν, ὂν δ' οὐδέποτε, *That which is Made, but never truly Is*, and that which ὑπ' αἰτίου τινος ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεται; *Must of necessity be Produced by some Cause*; but that whatsoever is *without Beginning*, and hath a *Permanent Duration*, is *Uncreated* or *Divine*; which is his τὸ ὂν μὲν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δ' οὐκ ἔχον, *That which always Is, and hath no Generation, nor was ever Made.* Accordingly as God is styled in the Septuagint Translation, of the Mosaick Writings, ὁ Ὤν, *He that Truly is.*

Now as for this αἰδίου θεία or φύσις, *this Eternal Nature*, which alwayes *Is*, and was never *Made*, *Plato* speaks of it, not Singularly only, as we Christians now do, but often in the Paganick way Plurally also; as when in this very *Timæus*, he calls the World, τῶν ἀϊδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα, *a Made or Created Image, of the Eternal Gods.* By which *Eternal Gods* he there meant doubtless that τὸ πρῶτον, and τὸ δεύτερον, and τὸ τρίτον, *that First*, and *Second*, and *Third*; which in his Second Epistle to *Dionysius*, he makes to be the *Principles of All things*; that is, his *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, by whose Concurrent Efficiency, and according to whose Image and Likeness, the whole World was made; as *Plotinus* also plainly declareth in these words of his before cited, ὅτι μὲν ὁ κόσμος εἰκὼν ἀεὶ εἰκονιζόμενος, ἑστηκότων μὲν τῶν πρώτων καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου· *This World is an Image always Iconized, or perpetually Renewed* (as the Image in a Glass is) *of that First, Second, and Third Principle, which are always Standing*; that is, fixed in Eternity, and were never Made. For thus *Eusebius* records, that

that the Ancient Interpreters of *Plato* expounded this First, Second and Third of his in the forementioned Epistle, of a *Trinity of Gods*; ταῦτα δὶ τ Πλάτωνα διασαφῆν πειρώμενοι, ὅτι τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἀνάγκαιον; ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον, καὶ τρίτον τὴν τῦ κόσμυ ψυχήν, θεὸν τρίτον καὶ αὐτὴν δεχόμενοι εἶναι. *These things do the Interpreters of* Plato *refer, to the First God; and to the Second Cause; and to the Third the Soul of the World; they calling this also the Third God.* Wherefore we think there is good reason to conclude, that those *Eternal or Uncreated Gods* of *Plato* in his *Timæus*, whose *Image or Statue* this whole Generated or Created World is said by him to be, were no other than his *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, the Makers or Creators thereof. And it was before (as we conceive) rightly guessed, that *Cicero* also was to be understood of the same *Eternal Gods*, as Platonizing, when he affirmed; *A Diis omnia à Principio facta, That all things were at first made by the Gods*, and *à Providentiâ Deorum, Mundum & omnes Mundi partes constitutas esse, That the World and all its Parts were constituted by the Providence of the Gods.* *Pr. Ev. L. 11. c. 20.*

But that the *Second Hypostasis* in *Plato*'s *Trinity*, *viz. Mind or Intellect*, though said to have been Generated, or to have Proceeded by way of Emanation from the First called *Tagathon*, The *Good*; was notwithstanding unquestionably acknowledged, to have been *Eternal* or without *Beginning*, might be proved by many expres Testimonies of the most Genuine Platonists; but we shall here content our selves only with Two, one of *Plotinus* writing thus concerning it, *Enn.* 5. *L.* 1. *c.* 6. ἐκποδὼν ὁ ἡμῖν ἔστω γένεσις ἡ ἐν χρόνῳ, ὁ λόγον περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ ὄντων ποιουμένοις, *&c. Let all Temporal Generation here, be quite banished from our thoughts, whilst we treat of things Eternal, or such as alwayes are, we attributing Generation to them only in respect of Causality and Order, but not of Time.* And though *Plotinus* there speak particularly of the *Second Hypostasis* or *Nous*, yet does he afterwards extend the same also to the Third *Hypostasis* of that Trinity, called *Psyche*, or the Mundane Soul; which is there said by him likewise to be the *Word of the Second*, as that *Second* was the *Word of the First*, Καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἀπὸ κρείττονος Νοῦ, Νοῦν εἶναι, καὶ κρειττόνων ἁπάντων Νοῦς, ὅτι τἄλλα μετ' αὐτὸν, δεύτερον καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ λόγος νοῦ; καὶ ἐνέργειά τις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, *That which is Generated from what is better than Mind, can be no other than Mind, because Mind is the Best of all things; and every thing else is after it, and Junior to it, as Psyche or Soul, which is in like manner the Word of Mind, and a certain Energy thereof, as Mind is the Word and Energy of the First Good.* The other Testimony is of *Porphyrius*, cited by S. *Cyril* out of the Fourth Book of his *Philosophick History*, where he sets down the Doctrine of *Plato* after this manner, ἐπὶ τοῦ πλάτωνος περὶ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ ὅτως· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τρόπον τινὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀνεπινόητον νοῦν γενέσθαι τε ὅλον καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑφεστῶτα, ἐν ᾧ δὴ τὰ ὄντως ὄντα, καὶ ἡ πᾶσα οὐσία τῶν ὄντων· ὁ δὲ καὶ πρώτως καλὸν καὶ αὐτοκαλὸν, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ καλλονῆς ἔχον τὸ εἶναι· περιλλάμψει δὲ περιαυγεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἁρμηνέως, αὐτογέννητος ὢν καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ· ὃ γὰρ ἐκείνου κινουμένου πρὸς γένεσιν τῷ τότου ἡ περὶ οὗ γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τότου παρελθόντος αὐτογόνως ἐκ θεοῦ, παρελθόντος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος χρονικῆς, ὅπου δὲ χρόνος ἦν· ἀλλὰ δὲ χρόνου γενομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τι ὁ χρόνος, ἄ- *S. Cyril. C. Jul. L. 1. p. 32.*

χρόνῳ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡ μόνος αἰώνιος ὁ νοῦς· Plato *thus declareth concerning the First Good, That from it was Generated a certain Mind Incomprehensible to Mortals; in which subsisting by it self, are contained the things that truly are, and the Essences of all Beings. This is the First Fair, and Pulchritude it self, which proceeded or sprung out of God from all Eternity as its Cause, but notwithstanding after a peculiar manner, as Self-begotten, and as its Own-Parent. For it was not begotten from that as any way moved towards its Generation; but it proceeded from God as it were Self-begottenly. And that not from any Temporal beginning, there being as yet no such thing as Time. Nor when Time was afterwards made, did it any way affect him; for Mind is alwayes Timeless, and alone Eternal.* Here besides the Eternity of Mind or Intellect, the Second Divine *Hypostasis* in the Platonick Trinity, there are other strange and unusual expressions concerning it; for though it be acknowledged to have been *Generated* from the First *Original Deity*, yet is it called αὐτοπάτωρ and αὐτογέννητος, Its *Own-Parent*, and its *Own-Ofspring*, and said to have sprung out, αὐτογόνως *Self-begottenly.*

Now becauſe this is ſo great a Riddle or Myſtery, it is worth the while to conſider its true meaning and the ground thereof; which is thus declared by *Porphyrius*. Mind though it *ſprung from the Firſt Good* or *Supreme Deity* from *Eternity*, yet is it ſaid to be *Self-Begotten*, becauſe it did not ſpring from that, as any wayes moved towards its Generation, but as alwayes ſtanding ſtill or quieſcent. Which Doctrine was before delivered by *Plotinus* after this manner, ὁ πρωτόγονος φατέον γίγνεσθαι, εἰ γὰρ πρωτόγονος αὐτῷ τὶ γίγνοιτο, τρίτον ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸ γιγνόμενον μετὰ τὴν κίνησιν ἂν γίγνοιτο, ἡ ὁ δεύτερον· δεῖ ἓν ἀκίνητον ὄντος, εἶτα δεύτερον μετ' αὐτὸ, ὁ περιουσιαστὸς, ὁδὲ βουλητὸς, ὁδὲ ὅλως πρωτόγονος, ὑποστῆναι αὐτό. *That which was immediately generated from the First, did not proceed from it as any wayes moved towards its Generation, becauſe then it would not have been the Second, but the Third after that Motion. Wherefore if there be any Second after that Firſt Good, it muſt needs proceed from that Firſt, as remaining Immoveable, and not ſo much as actively conſenting thereto, nor willing it, which would be Motion.* Now this in *Porphyrius* his Language, is paraphraſed to be, a Being produced from the Firſt Good or Original Deity, αὐτογόνως *Self-Begottenly*, , or in a way of *Self-Generation.* But the plain meaning thereof, ſeems to be no other than this, that though this Second Divine *Hypoſtaſis*, did indeed proceed from the Firſt God, yet was it not produced thence after a Creaturely, or in a Creating Way, by the arbitrary will and Command thereof, or by a particular *Fiat* of that Supreme Deity, but by way of *Natural* and *Neceſſary Emanation.* Neither was *Porphyrius* ſingular in this Language, we finding the very ſame expreſſion, of αὐτοπάτωρ and αὐτόγονος *Self-Parent* and *Self-Begotten*, in *Iamblichus* his Myſteries, where it is likewiſe by him applied not to the *Firſt Principle* of all, but to a *Second Divine Hypoſtaſis*, ἀπὸ ἧς τοῦ ἑνὸς τούτου, ὁ αὐτάρκης θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξέλαμψε, διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ καὶ αὐτογόνος. *From this One, the Self-Sufficient God, made himſelf to ſhine forth into light; and therefore is he called* Sui-Pater, *and* Seipſo-Genitus, *his own Father, and Self begotten.* But of this God or Divine *Hypoſtaſis* in *Iamblichus* more afterward. We cannot Juſtifie ſuch kind of Language as this in the Chriſtian Trinity, becauſe

En. 5. L. 1. c. 6.

we

we have no warrant for it from the Scripture; though we are not ignorant that ſome late Divines have ventured to call the Chriſtian *Logos*, after the ſame manner αὐτόθεον, and *ex ſeipſo Deum, God from himſelf*.

Dionyſius Petavius having rightly declared the Doctrine of *Arius* after this manner, That the Father was the only Eternal God, and that the Son or Word, was a *Creature* made by him in Time, and out of nothing; that is, after he had not been, produced into Being; ſubjoyns theſe Words, *In ea verò profeſſione, quod ſuprà memoravi, planiſſimè conſtat, Germanum Platonicum Arium extitiſſe. From the profeſſion of this Doctrine, it is moſt undeniably manifeſt (what was before affirmed) that* Arius *was a German or Genuine Diſciple of* Plato's. But from what we have now cited out of *Plato* himſelf, and others of his moſt Genuine Followers, it is certain, that *Petavius* (though otherwiſe Learned and Induſtrious) was herein groſly miſtaken, and that *Arius* was no Platoniſt at all. And indeed for either *Plato* or *Plotinus*, to have denied the Eternity of that *Second Hypoſtaſis* of his, called *Nous* or *Logos*, and the Son *of the Firſt*; would have been all one as if they ſhould have denied the Eternity *of Wiſdom* and *Underſtanding* it ſelf; becauſe according to them, this *Second Hypoſtaſis* is Eſſentially nothing but αὐτοσοφία, *Original Wiſdom it ſelf*, and conſequently that very *Wiſdom*, by which God himſelf is wiſe. Which how far, or in what ſence it is true, we do not here diſpute. Nevertheleſs *Athanaſius* ſeems to have been fully of the ſame Opinion, with them herein, from this paſſage of his, Καὶ σοφία ἐϛὶ ἀληθὴϛ ὁ Κύριος, οὐκ ἔϛιν ἄλλης σοφίας δεύτερος, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὢν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν ὁ πατήρ, &c. *Our Lord is both Wiſdom and Truth, Neither is he Second from any other Wiſdom; but it is he alone, by whom the Father made all things.* And again, ὅτε γὰρ λόγος ἐϛὶν ὁ τοῦ λόγου πατήρ. *For the Father of the Word, is not properly himſelf the Word.* And ὅτι οὐκ ἦν λόγος ὁ τὸν λόγον παρέμενος, ἦν γὰρ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Σοφία γεγέννηται ὁ Κύριος· ὅτι οὖν ἐϛὶν ἡ σοφία ὁ τῷ σοφίαν ἀνείς· ἐγὼ γάρ ἤμην, φησίν, ἣ προσέχαιρεν. *That was not Word which produced the Word; for the Word was with God. The Lord is Wiſdom, therefore that was not Wiſdom, which produced Wiſdom, that ſpeaks thus of her ſelf, His delight was with me.* But thoſe latter Words, he citeth with approbation out of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. And the ſame *Athanaſius* affirmeth, *Arius* on the contrary, to have maintained, That there *was another Word* and *Wiſdom*, *Senior to that Word and Wiſdom* in our Saviour Chriſt. To conclude, no Platoniſt in the World, ever denied the Eternity of that *Nous* or Univerſal Mind, which is the Second *Hypoſtaſis* of their Trinity; but on the contrary, as hath been already obſerved, ſome of them ſeemed rather to attribute too much to it, in calling it αὐτοπάτωρ and αὐτόγονος, its *Own-Parent* and its *Own-Off-ſpring*, as that which was *Self-Begotten*, though this but in a certain Myſtical ſence, they otherwiſe not denying it to have proceeded alſo, from the *Firſt Good*, and to be the Off-ſpring thereof. Wherefore *Plato*, who ſuppoſed the World not to have been *Eternal*, aſſerting the *Eternity* of that *Second Hypoſtaſis* of his *Trinity*, thereby plainly made it to be no *Creature*, according to *Athanaſius* his own Doctrine, εἰ ἀΐδιός ἐϛιν ὁ υἱὸς, οὐκ ἔϛι κτίσμα· εἰ δὲ κτίσμα τυγχάνει, οὐκ ἔϛιν ἀΐδιος

De Trin. L. 1. c. 8. §. 2.

De Sent. Dionyſ. Tom. 1. P. 567.

Page 119.

ἀΐδιος. *If the Son be Eternal, he was no Creature; and on the contrary, if he be a Creature, he was not Eternal.*

Neither is there any force at all in that Teſtimony of *Macrobius*, which *Petavius* urgeth to the Contrary; wherein the Firſt Cauſe is ſaid, *De ſe Mentem Creaſſe, to have Created Mind from it ſelf*; and again this Mind, *Animam de ſe Creaſſe, to have Created from it ſelf Soul*; becauſe it is certain, that theſe Ancient Pagans, did not then ſo ſtrictly confine that Word *Creare*, (as we Chriſtians now do) to that narrow Sence and Notion, of the *Production of Things in Time*; but uſed it generally, for all manner of *Production* or *Efficiency*. But the chief Ground of *Petavius* his miſtake herein, beſides his Prejudice againſt Platoniſm in general, was his not diſtinguiſhing betwixt that *Spurious Trinity* of ſome Platoniſts, wherein the Third *Hypoſtaſis*, was the *Whole Animated World*, (which gave him occaſion to write thus, *Tertius verò Deus manifeſtè Creatus ab iiſdem Platonicis putatur, quem & ποίημα nominant*;) and that other Doctrine of thoſe, who made it not to be the World it ſelf, that is a Creature, but the *Opificer* or Creator thereof.

But we grant, that there may be ſome more reaſon to make a Queſtion, whether *Plato* himſelf held the Eternity of *the Mundane Soul* (commonly ſaid to be the *Third Hypoſtaſis* of his *Trinity*) or no; becauſe in his *Timæus*, though he acknowledged it to be *Senior* to the World; yet does he ſeem to attribute a *Temporary Generation* or *Nativity* to it. Nevertheleſs it is no way probable, that *Plato*'s *Third Principle* of all things, in his Epiſtle to *Dionyſius*, and that *Pſyche* or *Soul* of his, which is the only God, that in his Tenth *De Legibus* he goes about to prove againſt the Atheiſts; ſhould ever not have been: and therefore it is moſt reaſonable to compound this buſineſs, thus, by ſuppoſing with *Plotinus* and others, that *Plato* held a *Double Pſyche* or *Soul*, one ἐγκόσμιον or *Mundane*, which is as it were the Concrete Form of this corporeal World; whereby this World is properly made an Animal, and a *Second* or *Created God*; Another ὑπερκόσμιον, *Supramundane, or Separate*; and which is not ſo much the *Form*, as the *Artificer* of the *World*. The Firſt of which Two, *Plotinus* calling it the Heavenly *Venus*, thus deſcribeth; *En.* 3. *L.* 5. *c.* 2. τὴν δὲ οὐρανίαν λεγομένην, ἐκ Κρόνου ὄντος ἐκείνου, ἀνάγκη ψυχὴν θειοτάτην εἶναι, εὐθὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀκήρατον ἀκηράτου, μείνασαν ἄνω ὡς μὴ ἰὸν εἰς τὰ τῇδε ἐλθεῖν, μήτε ἐμβλήσασαν, μήτε δυναμένην, ὅτι ἰῶ φύσεως μὴ κεῖ τὰ κάτω φύσαν βαίνειν. Χωρισθὲν δὲ πολλὰ ὑπόσαν, καὶ ἀμέτοχον ὕλης οὖσαν· ὅθεν αὐτὴν τόξῳ νενίκηντο, τοῦ ἀμήτορα εἶναι ἣν ἂν καὶ θεὸν ἄντις δικαίως, ὁ δαίμονα εἴποι, ἄμικτον ὂν, καὶ καθαρεύουσαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, &c. ὅθεν δὴ ἂν ἐκπέσοι, νῷ ἐγκρατημένη πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἥλιος ἂν ἔχοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὅσον αὐτὸν περιλάμπει φῶς, εἰς αὐτὸν συνεστραμμένον· ἐφεπομένη τοῦ Κρόνου, ἢ εἰ βάλοι τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Κρόνου ἐρασθεῖσα ἔρωτα ἐγέννησε. *This Heavenly* Venus, *which they affirm to have been begotten from* Saturn, *that is from a Perfect Mind or Intellect, muſt needs be that moſt Divine Soul* (the Third Archical *Hypoſtaſis*) *which being immediatly begotten, pure from that which is pure, alwayes remains above, ſo that it neither can nor will ever deſcend down to theſe lower things, ſo as to be immerſed in them: it being of ſuch*

such a nature, as is not inclinable to sink or lapse downward. A certain Separate substance, which doth not at all partake of Matter, as the fable intimated, when it called it Motherless; and therefore may it well be stiled by us, not a Demon but a God. Whence it comes to pass, that this Soul can never fall, it being much more closely united and connected with that Immoveable Mind or Intellect, than that Light which is circumfused about the Sun, is connected with the Sun. This Venus *therefore following* Chronus, *or rather the Father of* Chronus Uranus, *acting towards it, and being enamoured with it, begat Love.* χωρισὴν ὃ ἐκείνῳ τῲ ψυχῲ λέγοντες, τῲ πρώτως ἐλλάμψασαν τῳ̃ ἑρωνῳ̃, χωρισὸν κ᾽ τ᾽ ἔρωτα τὸν ἡμόμεθα. *Moreover as we call this Soul it self Separate, so is this Love of it, or begotten by it, a separate Love.* After which he speaks of another *Soul of the World*, which is not *separate* from it, but closely conjoyned therewith, he calling it, a *Lower Venus* and *Love*; namely, that other *Venus* which in the Fable, is said to have been begotten from *Jupiter* himself (the *Superiour Soul* of the World) and *Dione*, a *Watery Nymph*. We conclude therefore, that though this Lower Mundane Soul, might according to *Plato*, have a Temporary production together with the World, or before it; yet that other Superiour and most Divine Soul, which *Plotinus* calls the *Heavenly Venus* and *Love*, the Son of *Chronus* without a Mother, and which was truly the *Third Hypostasis* of *Plato's Trinity*, *was Eternal*, and without *Beginning*. And thus according to the forementioned Principle of *Athanasius*, none of these *Three Hypostases* of *Plato's* Trinity, were *Creatures*, but all of them *Divine* and *Uncreated*.

Which to make yet more evident, we shall further observe, First that *Plato* himself in that *Second Epistle* of his to *Dionysius*, after he had mentioned his *First*, *Second*, and *Third*; that is, his *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, immediately Subjoyns these Words, Ἡ ἓν ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ, περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὀρέγεται μαθεῖν πῇ ἄλλα ἔχει, βλέπουσα εἰς τὰ αὐτῆς συγγενῆ, ὧν ἐδὲν ἱκανῶς ἔχει· τῶ̃ δ᾽ βασιλέως πέρι, κ᾽ ὧν εἶπον, ἐδὲν τοιῶ̃το. *The Mind of man,* (*as* Parturient,) *has alwayes a great desire to know what these things are, and to that end does it look upon things cognate to it, which are all Insufficient, Imperfect and Heterogeneous. But in that King of all things, and in the other, Second, and Third, which I spake of, there is nothing of this kind*; that is, nothing like to these *Created Things*.

Secondly the Three *Hypostases* of *Plato's Trinity*, are not only all *Eternal*, but also *Necessarily Existent* and *Absolutely* Undestroyable. For the First of them, can no more Exist without the *Second*, nor the *First*, and *Second*, without the *Third*, than *Original* Light can Exist without its *Splendor*, Coruscation, or Effulgency. And *Plotinus* writing against some Gnosticks in his time, who would make more of these *Divine Hypostases* or *Principles*, than *Three*; concludes that there can be neither more of them, nor fewer, in this manner, ὁ τοίνυν ἀεὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑτέρας ἀρχὰς ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ τῶ̃το περατωσάμενος, εἶτα νῶν μετ᾽ αὐτὸ κ᾽ νοῦν πρώτως, εἶτα ψυχῲ μετὰ νῶν· αὕτη γὰρ τάξις κ᾽ φύσις, μήτε πλείω πεφυκέναι ἐν τῳ̃ νοητῳ̃, μήτε ἐλάττω· εἴτε γὰρ ἐλάττω, ἢ ψυχὴν κ᾽ νῶν ταυτὸ φήσουσιν, ἢ νῶν κ᾽ τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἕτερα ἀλλήλων, ἐλλείχθη πολλαχῆ· λειπὸν ὑπάρχειν *En.* 2. *L.* 9. *c.* 1.

ταῦθα·

φαθαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἢ πλείω τούτων, &c. *Wherefore we ought not to entertain any other Principles, but having placed First, the Simple Good; to set Mind or the Supreme Intellect next after it, and then the Universal Soul in the third place. For this is the right order according to Nature, neither to make More Intelligibles* (or Universal Principles) *nor yet Fewer than these three. For he that will contract the number, and make fewer of them, must of necessity either suppose Soul and Mind to be the same, or else Mind and the First Good. But that all these three are divers from one another, hath been often demonstrated by us. It remains now to consider, that if there be more than these three Principles, what Natures they should be,* &c.

Thirdly, as all these three Platonick *Hypostases* are *Eternal* and *Necessarily Existent*, so are they plainly supposed by them, not to be *Particular*, but *Universal Beings*; that is, such as do ὡς ἐχόν τὸ ὅλον *contain and comprehend the whole World under them*, and preside over all things, which is all *one* as to say, that they are each of them *Infinite* and *Omnipotent*. For which reason are they also called by Platonick Writers, ἀρχαὶ and αἴτια, and δημιουργοὶ, *Principles* and *Causes*, and *Opificers* of the whole World. First, as for Νοῦς *Mind or Understanding*: Whereas the Old Philosophers before *Plato*, as *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, &c. and *Aristotle* after him, supposed *Mind and Understanding*, to be the very *First* and Highest *Principle* of all: which also the *Magick* or Caldee *Oracles* take notice of as the most Common opinion of mankind,

Ὃν πρῶτον νοήσειαν ἔθνεα ἀνδρῶν.

That, *Mind is generally by all men look'd upon, as the First and Highest God*; *Plato* considering, that *Unity* was in order of Nature before *Number* and *Multiplicity*; and that there must be νοητὸν before νοῦς, an *Intelligible* before *Intellect*; so that Knowledge could not be the First; and Lastly, that there is a Good transcending that of Knowledge; made One most Simple Good, the Fountain and Original of all things, and the *First Divine Hypostasis*; and *Mind or Intellect* only the *Second* next to it, but *Inseparable* from it, and most nearly Cognate with it. For which cause in his *Philebus*, though he agree thus far with those other Ancient Philosophers, ὡς ἀεὶ τῶν παντὸς νοῦς ἄρχει *that Mind always rules over the whole Universe, yet does he add afterwards*, ὅτι Νοῦς ἕξει γενέσης τῶν πάντων αἰτίου, *that Mind is* (*not absolutely* the *First Principle*, but) *Cognate with the Cause of all things*; and that therefore it rules over all things, with, and in a kind of subordination to that First Principle, which is *Tagathon* or the *Highest Good*, Where when *Plato* affirms that *Mind* or his *Second Divine Hypostasis* is γενέσης with the *First*, it is all one as if he should have said, that it is συγγενὴς, and ὁμοφυὴς, and ὁμογενὴς, with it; all which words are used by *Athanasius*, as Synonymous, with ὁμοούσιος *Co-Essential* or *Con-Substantial*. So that *Plato* here plainly and expressly agrees or Symbolizes, not with *the* Doctrine of *Arius*; but with that of the *Nicene Council* and *Athanasius*; that the *Second Hypostasis* of the *Trinity*, whether called *Mind*, or *Word*, or *Son*, is not

Page 30.

ἑτεροούσιος,

ἑτερόσιος, but γνήσιος or ὁμοούσιος *Co-Essential* or *Con-Substantial* with the *First*; and therefore not a *Creature*.

And then, as for the Third *Hypostasis*, called *Psyche* or the *Superiour Mundane Soul*, *Plato* in his *Cratylus*, bestowing the name of *Zeus*, that is, of the Supreme God upon it, and etymologizing the same from ζῆν, adds these words concerning it, ὃ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, ὅτις ἐστὶν αἴτιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ζῆν, ἢ ὁ ἄρχων τε καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων· *There is nothing which is more the Cause of Life to us and all other Animals, than this Prince and King of all things; And that therefore God was called by the Greeks* Zeus; *because it is by him that all Animals live.* And yet that all this was properly meant by him, of the Third *Hypostasis* of his Trinity, called *Psyche*, is manifest from those words of his that follow; where he expounds the Poetick Mythology before mentioned, making *Zeus* to be the Son of *Chronos*; εὔλογον δὲ, μεγάλης τινὸς διανοίας ἔκγονον εἶναι τὸν Δία, *It is agreeable to reason, that* Zeus *should be the Progeny or Off-spring of a certain great Mind.* Now ἔκγονος and γνήσιος, are equivalent Terms also; and therefore *Plato* here makes the *Third Hypostasis* of his *Trinity* likewise to be ὁμοούσιος, *Co-Essential* with the *Second*; as he elsewhere made the *Second*, *Co-Essential* with the *First*.

It is true that by the δημιουργὸς, or *Opificer* in *Plato*, is commonly meant *Nous* or *Intellect*, his Second *Hypostasis*; (*Plotinus* affirming as much, δημιουργὸς ὁ νοῦς πλάτωνι, *The* Demiurgus *to* Plato *is Intellect.*) Nevertheless, both *Amelius* and *Plotinus*, and other Platonists, called this *Third Hypostasis* also δημιουργὸν, *the Artificer* or *Opificer* of the whole World: Some of them making him to be the Second from *Mind* or *Intellect*; others the *Third* from the *First Good* the Supreme Cause of all things; who was by *Atticus* and *Amelius* styled *Demiurgus* also. Wherefore as was before suggested, according to the Genuine and most ancient Platonick Doctrine, all these *Three Hypostases*, were the *Joynt-Creators* of the whole World, and of all things besides themselves; as *Ficinus* more than once declares the Tenour thereof, *Hi Tres uno quodam consensu omnia producunt*, *These Three with one common consent produce all things*; and before him *Proclus*, πάντα ἀνήρτηται τοῦ ἑνὸς διὰ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς, *All things depend upon the First One, by Mind and Soul*; and accordingly we shall conclude in the words of *Porphyrius*, That the True and Real Deity according to *Plato*, extends to *Three Divine Hypostases*, the last whereof is *Psyche* or *Soul*.

Ens. 5. *L.* 1. *Procl. in Tim.*

In Plot. En. 1. *L.* 2.

From all which it appears, that *Arius* did not so much Platonize, as the *Nicene* Fathers and *Athanasius*; who notwithstanding made not *Plato*, but the Scripture, together with Reason deducing natural Consequences therefrom, their Foundation. And that the *Platonick Trinity*, was a certain Middle thing also, betwixt the Doctrine of *Sabellius* and that of *Arius*; it being neither a *Trinity of Words* only, or *Logical Notions*, or meer *Modes*; but a *Trinity* of *Hypostases*; nor yet a Jumbled Confusion of *God* and *Creature* (Things *Heterousious*) together: neither the *Second* nor *Third* of them being *Creatures*;

or *Made in Time*, but all *Eternal*, *Infinite*, and *Creators*.

But that it may yet more fully appear, how far the moſt *Refined Platonick* and *Parmenidian* or *Pythagorick Trinity*, doth either *Agree*, or *Diſagree* with the Scripture-Doctrine, and that of the Chriſtian Church in ſeveral Ages; we ſhall here further obſerve *Two Things* concerning it. The Firſt whereof is this, That though the *Genuine Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans*, ſuppoſed none of their *Three Archical Hypoſtaſes* to be indeed *Creatures*, but all of them *Eternal*, *Neceſſarily Exiſtent*, and *Univerſal* or *Infinite*, and conſequently *Creators* of the whole World; yet did they nevertheleſs, aſſert an *Eſſential Dependence* of the *Second Hypoſtaſis* upon the *Firſt*, as alſo of the *Third* both upon the *Firſt* and *Second*; together with a *Gradual Subordination* in them. Thus *Plotinus*, writing of the *Generation* of the *Eternal Intellect*, which is the *Second* in the *Platonick Trinity*, and anſwers to the *Son* or *Word* in the *Chriſtian*: Τὸ ᾗ ἀεὶ τέλειον, ἀεὶ καὶ ἀΐδιον γεννᾷ, καὶ ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ ἑαυτοῦ γεννᾷ. Τί οὖν χρὴ περὶ τοῦ τελειοτάτου λέγειν; μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γεννᾶν, ἢ τὰ μέγιστα μετ' αὐτόν· Μέγιστον δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Νοῦς καὶ Δεύτερον. Καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾷ ὁ Νοῦς ἐκεῖνον, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μόνος· ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦτο οὐδέν. Καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἀπὸ μείζονος νοῦ, νοῦν εἶναι· Καὶ μείζων ἀπόντων ὁ Νοῦς, ὅτι τἄλλα μετ' αὐτόν. Οἷον καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ λόγος νοῦ καὶ ἐνέργεια τις. *That which is always perfect, Generates what is Eternal, and that which it Generates, is always Leſs than it ſelf. What ſhall we therefore ſay of the moſt Abſolutely Perfect Being of all? Does that produce nothing from it ſelf? or rather does it not produce the Greateſt of all things after it? Now the Greateſt of all things after the moſt Abſolutely Perfect Being, is Mind or Intellect; and this is Second to it. For Mind beholdeth this as its Father, and ſtandeth in need of nothing elſe beſides it: whereas that Firſt Principle ſtandeth in need of no Mind or Intellect. What is Generated from that which is Better than Mind, muſt needs be Mind or Intellect; becauſe Mind is better than all other things, they being all in order of Nature After it and Juniour to it; as* Pſyche *it ſelf or the Firſt Soul; for this is alſo the Word or Energy of Mind, as that is the Word and Energy of the Firſt Good.* Again the ſame is more particularly declared by him, concerning that *Third Hypoſtaſis* called *Pſyche*, that as it *Eſſentially Dependeth* upon the *Second*, ſo is it *Gradually Subordinate* or ſome way *Inferiour* to it. Ψυχὴ γὰρ γεννᾷ Νοῦς, νοῦς ὢν τέλειος. Καὶ γὰρ τέλειον ὄντα, γεννᾶν ἔδει, καὶ μὴ δύναμιν οὕτω τοσαύτην ἄγονον εἶναι· Κρεῖττον δὲ τοῦ οὐκ οἴοντε ἦν εἶναι, οὐδ' ἐκείνου τὸ γεννώμενον, ἀλλ' ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ ὄν, εἴδωλον εἶναι αὐτοῦ· *Perfect Intellect Generates Soul; and it Being Perfect, muſt needs Generate, for ſo great a Power could not remain Steril. But that which is here Begotten alſo, cannot be greater than its Begetter; but muſt needs be Inferiour to it, as being the Image thereof.* Elſewhere the ſame Philoſopher, calling the *Firſt Hypoſtaſis* of this *Trinity*, *Uranus*, the *Second*, *Chronos*, and the *Third*, *Zeus*, (as *Plato* had done before) and handſomly Allegorizing that Fable, concludes in this manner concerning *Chronos* or the *Second* of theſe, μεταξὺ ὢν παλαιός τε ἀμείνονος, καὶ ἥττονος υἱέος, *That he is in a Middle ſtate or degree, betwixt his Father, who is Greater, and his Son, who is Leſs and Inferiour.* Again, the ſame thing is by that Philoſopher thus aſſerted in general, ἐν τοῖς γεννωμένοις,

Enn. 5. *L.* 1. *c.* 6.

P. 489.

P. 554.

P. 513.

ἐκ

ἐπ ἔστι πρὸς τὸ ἄνω, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κάτω χωρεῖν· *In the things Generated from Eternity, or Produced by way of natural Emanation, there is no Progreſs upwards, but all Downwards, and ſtill a Gradual Deſcent into Greater Multiplicity.* We ſhall cite but only one paſſage more out of this Philoſopher, which containeth ſomething of Argumentation in it alſo; ὁ ταυτὸ τὸ ἀφ ἑκείνε ἐκείνω, εἰ ὃν μὴ ταυτὸ, οὐδὲ γε βέλτιον· *That which is Generated or Emaneth, immediatly from the Firſt and Higheſt Being, is not the very ſame thing with it, as if it were nothing but that Repeated again and Ingeminated; and as it is not the ſame, ſo neither can it be Better than it.* From whence it follows, that it muſt needs be *Gradually Subordinate* and *Inferiour* to it. *En.5.L.3.c.15*

Which *Gradual Subordination* and *Eſſential Dependence*, of the *Second* and *Third Hypoſtaſes* upon the *Firſt*, is by theſe Platonicks illuſtrated ſeveral ways. *Ficinus* reſembles it to the *Circulations of Water*, when ſome Heavy Body falling into it, its Superficies is depreſſed, and from thence every way *Circularly Wrinkled*. *Alius* (ſaith he) *ſic fermè profluit ex alio, ſicut in aqua Circulus dependet à Circulo*; *One of theſe Divine* Hypoſtaſes, *doth in a manner ſo depend upon another, as one Circulation of water depends upon another.* Where it is obſervable alſo, that the Wider the Circulating Wave grows, ſtill hath it the more *Subſidence* and *Detumeſcence*, together with an *Abatement of Celerity*; till at laſt all becomes plain and ſmooth again. But by the Pagan Platoniſts themſelves, each *Following Hypoſtaſis*, is many times ſaid to be, ἴχνος ἢ τύπος, *a Print, ſtamp* or *Impreſſion*, made by the *Former*; like the *Signature* of a *Seal* upon *Wax*. Again it is often called by them, εἰκὼν, and εἴδωλον, and μίμημα, *an Image*, and *Repreſentation*, and *Imitation*; which if conſidered in *Audibles*, then will the Second *Hypoſtaſis* be look'd upon, as the *Eccho* of an *Original Voice*; and the *Third* as the *Repeated Eccho*, or *Eccho* of that *Eccho*; as if both the *Second* and *Third Hypoſtaſes* were but certain *Replications* of the *Firſt Original Deity* with Abatement; which though not *Accidental* or *Evanid ones*, but *Subſtantial*, yet have a like *Dependence* one upon another, and a *Gradual Subordination*. Or if it be conſidered in *Viſibles*, then will the *Second Hypoſtaſis*, be reſembled to the *Image* of a *Face* in a Glaſs, and the *Third* to the *Image* of that *Image* Reflected in another Glaſs, which depend upon the *Original Face*, and have a *Gradual Abatement* of the vigour thereof. Or elſe the *Second* and *Third*, may be conceived as Two *Parelii*, or as a Second and Third Sun. For thus does *Plotinus* call the *Univerſal Pſyche* or *Third Hypoſtaſis*, εἰκόνα νῦ σώζουσάν τι φῶς ἐκείνου, *The Image of Mind* (which is the *Second*) *retaining much of the Splendour thereof.* Which Similitudes of theirs notwithſtanding, they would not have to be Squeezed or Preſſed hard; becauſe they acknowledge that there is ſomething of Diſſimilitude in them alſo, which then would be forced out of them. Their meaning amounts to no more than this, that as an *Image in a Glaſs*, is ſaid ἑτέρου εἶναι, Eſſentially to belong to ſomething elſe, and to depend upon it; ſo each following *Hypoſtaſis*, doth *Eſſentially Depend* upon the Former or Firſt, and hath a *Subordination* to it. But we meet with no expreſſion in any of theſe Pagan Platoniſts, ſo Unhandſom and Offenſive, as that of *Philo*'s, in his

Second Book of Allegories, σκία ὁ Θεὸς ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει, *The World is the Shadow of God, which he made use of, as an Instrument, in the making of the World.* Notwithstanding which, the same Writer doth call him elsewhere, more honourably, a *Second God* and *The Son of the First God.* As in the same place he doth also declare, that this *Shadow* and *Image of God*, is it self the *Archetype* of other things, αὕτη ὁ ἡ σκία, ὡς ὡσανεὶ ἀπεικόνισμα, ἑτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος, ἣν σκίαν νυνὶ κέκληκα, ὅτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλο γίνεται παράδειγμα· *This Shadow and as it were Image (of the First God) is it self the Archetype and Pattern of other things below it. As God is the Pattern of this Image (which we call his Shadow;) so is this Image it self another Pattern or Paradigm also.* But this *Dependence* and *Subordination* of the Divine *Hypostases*, is most frequently illustrated in Platonick Writings, by the ἔκλαμψις or ἀπαύγασμα, the Effulgency or Out-shining of Light and Splendour from the Sun, and other Luminous Bodies; the *Nous* or *Second Hypostasis*, being resembled to that *Radious Effulgency*, which immediately encompassing them, is beheld together with them, and as the Astronomers tell us, augments their apparent Diameter, and makes it bigger than the True, when they are beheld through Telescopes, cutting off those luxuriant and Circumambient Rayes. And the Third *Hypostasis* is resembled to the Remoter and more Distant Splendour, which circling still Gradually decreaseth. Thus
P. 487. *Plotinus*, πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ τὶ δεῖ νοῆσαι παρὰ ἐκεῖνο μόνον, περίλαμψιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὄν μένοντος, οἷον ἁλίου τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ λαμπρὸν, ὥσπερ περιθέον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ γεννώμενον μόνου· *How should we consider this Second* Hypostasis *otherwise than as the Circumfused Splendour, which encompasseth the Body of the Sun; and from that always remaining, is perpetually Generated a new.*

But this *Essential Dependence*, and *Gradual Subordination* of *Hypostases*, in the Platonick Trinity, will yet more fully appear, from those Particular Distinctive Characters, which are given to each of them. For the First of these, is often said to be Ἓν πρὸ πάντων, *One before all things*; a *Simple Unity*, which *Vertually* containeth all things.
P. 513. And as *Plotinus* writes, ὅτως ἔχε πάντα ὡς μὴ διακεκριμένα, τὰ δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ διεκέκριτο τῷ λόγῳ· *This so containeth all things, as not being yet secrete and distinct; whereas in the Second they are discerned and distinguished by Reason*; that is, they are *Actually distinguished* in their *Ideas*; *whereas the First is the Simple and Fecund Power of all things.* Wherefore the *Second* was called by *Parmenides*, Ἓν πάντα, *One actually all things*; that is, in their *Distinct Ideas.* And the Third according to the same Philosopher, as *Plotinus* tells us, was Ἓν καὶ πάντα, *One and all things*; as having still more *Multiplicity* and *Alterity* in it. *One Effectively all things.* That which doth *Actively* Display, and Produce into Being, what was Vertually or *Potentially* contained in the *First*; and *Ideally* or *Exemplarily* in the *Second.* Accordingly, the First of these is sometimes said to be πάντα ἑνικῶς, *All things Unitively*, The *Second* πάντα νοερῶς, *All things Intellectually*, and the Third πάντα ψυχικῶς, *All things Animally*; that is, *Self-movably*, *Actively* and *Productively.* Again the *First* of these is commonly styled Τἀγαθὸν,

The

The Good, or *Goodness it self*, above *Mind* and *Understanding*, and also ὑπερούσιον, *above Essence*, Ineffable and Incomprehensible. And sometimes also φῶς ἁπλοῦν, *a Simple Light*; The Second, Νοῦς, Λόγος, Σοφία, *Unity and Goodness* only by Participation, or Ἀγαθοειδὴς, *Boniform*, but Essentially and Formally; *Mind* or *Understanding*, *Reason* and *Wisdom*, *All-Comprehending* or *Infinite Knowledge*. The Third, Ψυχὴ, *Self-movable Soul*; Goodness and Wisdom by Participation, but Essentially and Formally, *Infinite Self-Activity*, or *Effectiveness*; *Infinite*, *Active*, *Perceptive* and *Animadversive Power*. Sometimes it is styled also Ἀφροδίτη and Ἔρως, *Venus* and *Love*; but differently from that of the *First Good*, which is Love too; but a *Love of Redundancy*, or *Overflowing Fulness and Fecundity*; οὗ γὰρ τέλεον, τοῦ μηδὲν ζητεῖν, μὴ δὲ ἔχειν, μὴ δὲ δεῖσθαι, οἷον ὑπερεῤῥύη, καὶ τὸ ὑπερπλῆρες αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε πάντα, *That which being Absolutely Perfect, and seeking or wanting nothing; as it were Overflowed; and by its Exuberant Redundancy, Produced All things.* Whereas this Latter is a *Love of Infinite Activity*. Of the *First*, it is said by *Plotinus*, that it is ἀνενέργητος, *above all manner of Action*, for which Cause the Making of the World, is not properly ascribed to him, though he be the Original Fountain of all: According to that of *Numenius*, Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε δημιουργεῖν ὀφεῖλον οὐ χρεὼν τὸν πρῶτον, καὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦντος θεοῦ (τοῦ Υἱοῦ) χρὴ εἶναι, καὶ νομίζεσθαι πατέρα τὸν πρῶτον θεόν· *Neither is it fit to attribute, the Architecture of the World to the First God, but rather to account him the Father of that God, who is the Artificer.* Who again speaks further to the same purpose thus; Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον θεὸν ἀεργὸν εἶναι ἔργων ξυμπάντων καὶ βασιλέα· *It is to be acknowledged, that the First God is void of all manner of work or Action, he being the King of all things.* Of the Second, to whom the *Energy* of *Intellection* is attributed, it is said notwithstanding, that his οὐσία is his ἐνέργεια, his *Essence* his *Operation*; and that he is ἀκίνητος οὐσία, though a *Multiform*, yet an *Immovable Nature*. He therefore is properly called the *Demiurgus*, as the *Contriving Architect* or *Artificer*, in whom the Archetypal World is conteined; and the First *Paradigm* or *Pattern* of the whole Universe. But the Third is a kind of *Movable Deity*, τὸ περὶ νοῦν κινούμενον (as *Plotinus* speaks) καὶ νοῦ φῶς, καὶ ἴχνος ἐξηρτημένον ἐκείνου· *That which moveth about Mind or Intellect, the Light or Effulgency thereof, and its Print or Signature, which always dependeth upon it, and acteth according to it.* This is that which reduces both the *Fecundity* of the *First Simple Good*, and also the *Immovable Wisdom* and *Architectonick Contrivance* of the *Second* into Act and Energy. This is the Immediate, and as it were *Manuary Opificer* of the whole World, and τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν τοῦ παντὸς, *that which actually Governs, Rules and Presideth over all.* *Amelius* in that Passage of his before cited out of *Proclus*, calling these Three Divine *Hypostases Three Minds*, and *Three Kings*; styles the *First of them*, Τὸν Ὄντα, *Him that is:* The *Second* Τὸν Ἔχοντα, *Him that Hath*; and the *Third* Τὸν Ὁρῶντα, *Him that Beholds*. In which Expressions, though Peculiar to himself, he denotes an *Essential Dependence*, and *Gradual Subordination*, in them.

Plot. 494.

Eus. Pr. Ev. L. 11. c. 18.

Now that which is most liable to exception, in this *Platonick Scale* or *Gradation* of the *Deity*, seems to be the Difference betwixt the

First

Firſt and the *Second.* For whereas the *Eſſential Character* of the *Second*, is made to be, *Underſtanding*, *Reaſon* and *Wiſdom*; it ſeems to follow from hence, that either the *Firſt* and the *Second*, are really nothing elſe but two different Names or Inadequate Conceptions of One and the ſame thing, or elſe if they be diſtinct *Hypoſtaſes* or *Perſons*, that the *Firſt* of them, muſt needs be ἄνους and ἄλογος, *devoid of Mind*, *Reaſon* and *Wiſdom*; which would be very abſurd. To which all the reply we can make is as follows. Firſt, that this is indeed, one *Peculiar Arcanum* of the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick Theology* (which yet ſeems to have been firſt derived from *Orpheus* and the Egyptians, or rather from the Hebrews themſelves) that whereas the Pagan Theologers generally concluded, νῦν πάντων πρεσβύτατον, *That Mind and Underſtanding properly ſo called, was the Oldeſt of all things*; the Higheſt Principle and Firſt Original of the World; thoſe others placed ſomething above it, and conſequently made it to be not the *Firſt* but the *Second.* Which they did chiefly upon theſe *Three* following Grounds. *Firſt*, Becauſe *Underſtanding*, *Reaſon*, *Knowledg* and *Wiſdom*, cannot be conceived by us mortals otherwiſe, than ſo as to contain ſomething of *Multiplicity* in them; whereas it ſeems moſt reaſonable to make the *Firſt Principle* of all, not to be *Number* or *Multitude*, but a perfect *Monad* or *Unity.* Thus *Plotinus*, P. 518. ἀόριστον μὲν νόησις ὥσπερ ὄψις, ὁριζομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ· διὸ καὶ εἴρηται ἐκ τῆς ἀορίστου δυάδος καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς τὰ εἴδη καὶ οἱ ἀριθμοί· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ νοῦς· διὸ οὐχ ἁπλοῦς, ἀλλὰ πολλά, &c. *Intellection as well as Viſion, is in its own nature an Indefinite thing, and is determined by the Intelligible: therefore it is ſaid, that* Ideas *as Numbers, are begotten from Infinite Duality, and Unity; And ſuch is Intellect; which conſequently is not Simple, but Many, it contemplating Many* Ideas; *and being compounded of Two, That which is Underſtood, and that which Underſtands.* And again elſwhere, 514. τὸ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου νοητοῦ, ὅτε νοῦς ὅτε κόσμος νοητὸς, ἁπλούστερον δέ· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ πολὺ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ τοῦτο ἐξ ὁ πολλοῦ, &c. *The Principle of every thing, is more Simple than the thing it ſelf. Wherefore the Senſible World was made from Intellect or the Intelligible; and before this, muſt there needs be ſomething more Simple ſtill. For Many did not proceed from Many, but this Multiform thing Intellect, proceeded from that which is not Multiform, but Simple; as Number from Unity.* To this P. 535. purpoſe does he argue alſo in theſe words, εἰ τὸ νοοῦν τι πλῆθος, δεῖ ἐν τῷ μὴ πλήθει τὸ νοεῖν μὴ εἶναι· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις ἄρα αὐτοῦ τὸ νοεῖν, καὶ νοῦς ἔσαι· *If that which underſtands be Many, or contein Multitude in it, then that which conteins no Multitude, does not properly underſtand; and this is the Firſt thing; but Intellection and Knowledge properly ſo called are to be placed among things which follow after it and are Second.* And he often concludes, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φύσει εἶναι τὸ γινώσκειν· *That Knowledge (properly ſo called by reaſon of its Multiplicity) belongs to the Second Rank of Being, and not the Firſt.* Another Ground or Reaſon is, Becauſe in order of Nature, there muſt be Νοητὸν before Νοῦς, ſomething *Intelligible*, before *Intellect*; and from hence does *Plotinus* conclude, P. 536. τὸ νοεῖν ὁ πρῶτον, ὅτε τοῦ εἶναι, ὅτε τοῦ τίμιον εἶναι· ἀλλὰ δεύτερον, καὶ γενόμενον, ἐπιοῦσα ὑπέστη τὸ ἀγαθὸν· καὶ γενόμενον ἐκίνησε πρὸς αὐτὸ, &c. *That to Underſtand is not the Firſt; neither in Eſſence nor in Dignity; but the Second; a thing in order of Nature, after the Firſt Good,*

and

and ſpringing up from thence, as that which is moved with deſire towards it. Their Third and laſt Ground or Reaſon is; Becauſe *Intellection* and *Knowledge*, are not the *Higheſt Good*; that therefore there is ſome Subſtantial thing in order of Nature *Superiour* to *Intellect*. Which Conſideration *Plato* much inſiſteth upon, in his ſixth Book *De Republica*. Now upon theſe ſeveral Accounts do the Platoniſts confidently conclude, ὅτι θεὸς κρείττων λόγε ἢ νῦ ἢ αἰσθήσεως, διαφερὸν ταῦτα ἅπ αὐτὸς ἂν ταῦτα· *That the Supreme Deity is more Excellent and Better than the* λόγος *(Reaſon or the Word) Intellect and Senſe, he affording theſe things; but not being theſe himſelf.* And τὸ γεγόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς λόγος πολὺς ἢ πᾶς· τὸ δ' ἦν δηλονότι ὁ λόγος· πῶς ἓν ἐξ ἅπ λόγε λόγος· ἢ πᾶς τὸ ἀγαθοειδὲς ἐξ ἀγαθῆς· *That which was Generated from the Firſt Principle, was* Logos *(Word or Reaſon) Manifold; But the Firſt Principle it ſelf was not Word: If you demand therefore, How Word or Reaſon, ſhould proceed from that which is not Word or Reaſon? we anſwer, as that which is Boniform, from Goodneſs it ſelf.* With which Platonick & Pythagorick Doctrine exactly agreeth *Philo* the Jew alſo, ὁ πρὸ τῆς θεῆς λόγος, πρείττων ὄντιν ἢ πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις, τῷ ὑπὲρ τὰ πάντων ἐν τῇ βελτίσῃ καὶ τινι ἐξαιρέτῳ καθεστῶτι ἰδέᾳ, ὁδὲν δέμις ἦν γενητὸν ἐξομοιωθῆναι· *That God which is before the Word or Reaſon; is better and more excellent than all the Rational Nature; neither is it fit that any thing which is Generated ſhould be perfectly like, to that which is Originally from it ſelf, and above all.* And indeed, we ſhould not have ſo much inſiſted upon this, had it not been by reaſon of a Devout Veneration that we have for all the Scripture-myſteries; which Scripture ſeems to give no ſmall Countenance to this Doctrine, when it makes in like manner, an *Eternal Word* and *Wiſdom*, to be the *Second Hypoſtaſis* of the *Divine Triad*; and the *Firſt-begotten Son* or *Off-ſpring of God the Father*. And *Athanaſius*, as was before obſerved, very much complieth here alſo with the *Platonick Notion*; when he denies that there was any λόγος or σοφία, any *Reaſon* or *Wiſdom*, before that *Word* and *Son* of God, which is the *Second Hypoſtaſis* of the Holy Trinity. What then? Shall we ſay that the *Firſt Hypoſtaſis* or *Perſon*, in the *Platonick Trinity*, (if not the *Chriſtian* alſo) is ἄνους and ἄλογος, *Senſleſs* and *Irrational*, and altogether devoid of *Mind* and *Underſtanding*? Or would not this be to introduce a certain kind of *Myſterious Atheiſm*; and under pretence of Magnifying and Advancing the Supreme Deity, Monſtrouſly to Degrade the ſame? For why might not *Senſleſs Matter*, as well be ſuppoſed, to be the *Firſt Original* of all things, as a *Senſleſs Incorporeal Being*? *Plotinus* therefore, who rigidly and ſuperſtitiouſly adheres to *Plato's* Text here, which makes the *Firſt* and *Higheſt Principle of all*, to be ſuch a Being as by reaſon of its *Abſolute* and *Tranſcendent Perfection*, is not only above *Underſtanding*, *Knowledge*, and *Reaſon*, but alſo above *Eſſence* it ſelf, (which therefore he can find no other names for, but only *Unity* and *Goodneſs Subſtantial*) and conſequently, *Knowledge* and *Wiſdom*, to be but a Second or Poſt-Nate Thing, though Eternal; but notwithſtanding does ſeem to labour under this *Metaphyſical Profundity*; he ſometimes endeavours, to ſolve the difficulty thereof after this manner, by diſtinguiſhing of a *Double Light*; the One *Simple* and *Uniform*, the other *Multiform* or *Manifold*; Plut. p. 512. P. 514.

fold; and attributing the *Former* of these, to the *Supreme Deity* only, (whose *Simple Original Light* he resembles to the *Luminous Body* of the *Sun* it self;) The latter of them to the *Second Hypostasis*, as being the ἔκλαμψις or ἀπαύγασμα; *the Circumambient Fulgor*, or *Outshining Splendour* of that Sun. Thus *Enn.* 5. *L.* 6. *c.* 4. τὸ παρέχον τοῦτο τὸ φῶς, φῶς ὂζιν ἁπλοῦν, *That from which this Multiform Light of* Νοῦς *or Intellect* (the *Second Hypostasis*) *is derived, is* φῶς ἁπλοῦν, *Another most Simple Light.* As he elsewhere accordingly writeth of the *First Principle*, or *Supreme Deity*, that it is, ἐν νοήσῃ ἑτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὸ νοῦ νόησιν, *in Knowledge or Understanding, but of different kind from that Understanding of the Second* Hypostasis, *called Intellect.* Sometimes again, this Philosopher subtilly distinguisheth, betwixt νόησις αὐτὴ, *Intelligence it self*, and τὸ νοοῦν or τὸ ἔχον τὴν νόησιν, *That which doth Understand*, or *which hath Intelligence in it*; making the *First Principle* to be the *Former* of these *Two*, and the *Second Hypostasis* of their Trinity to be the *Latter*: ὁ δ' ἡ νόησις νοεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔχον τὴν νόησιν· δύο ὄν πολλαχῶς, ἐν τῷ νοοῦντι γίνεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἁπλῆ δύο· *Intelligence it self doth not understand, but that which hath Intelligence. For in that which doth understand, there is a kind of Duplicity. But the First Principle of all, hath no Duplicity in it.* Now that Duplicity, which he phancies to be, in that which *Hath Intelligence*, is either the *Duplicity* of Him that hath this *Intelligence* and of the *Intelligence* it self, as being not the same; or else of Him and the τὸ νοητὸν, *the Intelligible*, or *Object of his Intellection*: Intellect supposing an *Intelligible* in order of nature before it. And from this Subtilty would he infer, that there is a certain kind of *Imperfection* and *Indigence*, in that which *Doth Understand*, or *Hath Intelligence*, ἔνδεες τὸ νοοῦν, ὥσπερ τὸ ὁρῶν, *That which Understandeth is Indigent as that which Seeth.* But perhaps this Difficulty might be more easily solved, and that according to the Tenour of the *Platonick Hypothesis* too; by supposing the Abatement of their *Second Hypostasis*, to consist only in this, that it is not *Essentially* τἀγαθὸν *Goodness it self*, but only ἀγαθοειδὴς, *Boniform*, or *Good by Participation*; it being *Essentially* no higher, than Νοῦς, Λόγος and Σοφία, *Mind*, *Reason*, and *Wisdom*; for which cause it is called by those Names, as the proper Characteristick thereof. Not as if the *First* were devoid of *Wisdom*, under Pretence of being Above it; but because this *Second* is not Essentially any Thing Higher. As in like manner, the *Third Hypostasis*, is not Essentially *Wisdom* it self, standing or quiescent, and without Motion or Action; but Wisdom as in *Motion*, or Wisdom *Moving* and *Acting*.

P. 537.

The Chief Ground of this Platonick Doctrine, of an *Essential Dependence*, and therefore *Gradual Subordination*, in their *Trinity* of *Divine Hypostases*; is from that *Fundamental Principle* of their *Theology*; That there is but *One Original* of all things, and μία πηγὴ τοῦ θεότητος, *only One Fountain of the Godhead*; from whence all other things whatsoever, whether *Temporal* or *Eternal*, *Created* or *Uncreated*, were altogether derived. And therefore this *Second Hypostasis* of their *Trinity*, since it must accordingly Derive its whole Being from the *First*, as the ἀπαύγασμα from the φῶς, *The Splendour from the Original Light*, must of necessity have also an *Essential Dependence*,

κορη

upon the ſame; and conſequently, a *Gradual Subordination* to it.

For though they commonly affirm their *Second Hypoſtaſis*, to have been *Begotten* from their *Firſt*, and their *Third* from their *Second*; yet do they by no means underſtand thereby, any ſuch *Generation*, as that of men; where the Father, Son and Nephew, when *Adulti* at leaſt, have no *Eſſential Dependence* one upon another, nor *Gradual Subordination* in their Nature, but are all perfectly *Co-equal*, and alike *Abſolute*. Becauſe this is but an *Imperfect Generation*, where that which is *Begotten*, doth not receive its whole Being Originally from that which did *Beget*, but from *God* and *Nature*; the Begetter being but either a Channel or an Inſtrument, and having been himſelf before Begotten or Produced by ſome other. Whereas the *Firſt Divine Hypoſtaſis* is altogether *Unbegotten* from any other, he being the *Sole Principle* and Original of all things, and therefore muſt the Second needs derive its whole Eſſence from him, and be Generated after another manner, namely in a way of *Natural Emanation*, as Light is from the Sun; and conſequently though Co-eternal, have an *Eſſential Dependence* on him, and *Gradual Subordination* to him.

Moreover, the Platoniſts would recommend this their *Gradation in the Deity*, or *Trinity of Hypoſtaſes Subordinate*, from hence; becauſe by this means, there will not be ſo vaſt a *Chaſm* and *Hiatus*, betwixt God and the Higheſt Creatures; or ſo Great a *Leap* and *Jump* in the *Creation*, as otherwiſe there muſt needs be. Nor will the whole Deity be skrewed up to ſuch a Diſproportionate *Heigth* and *Elevation*; as would render it altogether Uncapable, of having any *Entercourſe* or *Commerce* with the lower world; it being according to this *Hypotheſis* of theirs, brought down by certain Steps and Degrees, nearer and nearer to us. For if the *Whole Deity*, were nothing but *One Simple Monad*, devoid of all manner of *Multiplicity*; as God is frequently repreſented to be, then could it not well be conceived by us Mortals, how it ſhould contain the *Diſtinct Ideas* of all things within it ſelf, and that Multiform *Platform* and *Paradigm* of the Created Univerſe, commonly called the *Archetypal World*. Again, were the Deity only an *Immovable Mind*; as *Ariſtotle's* God, is ἀκίνητος οὐσία, *an Abſolutely Immovable Subſtance*, whoſe *Eſſence* and *Operation* are one and the ſame; and as other Theologers affirm, that *Whatſoever is in God, is God*; it would be likewiſe utterly unconceivable, not only, How there ſhould be any *Liberty of Will* at all in God (whereas the ſame Theologers, contradicting themſelves, zealouſly contend notwithſtanding, that all the Actions of the Deity are not *Neceſſary*, and but few of them ſuch) but alſo, How the Deity ſhould have any *Commerce* or *Entercourſe* with the Lower world, How it ſhould Quicken and Actuate the whole, be ſenſible of all the Motions in it, and act *pro re natâ* accordingly; all which the *Inſtincts* and *Common Notions* of Mankind urge upon them. Neither can they be denied, without raſing the very Foundations of all Religion, ſince it would be to no more purpoſe, for men to make their *Devotional Addreſſes*, to ſuch an *Immovable*, *Inflexible*, and *Unaffectible Deity*; than to a

Senſleſs Adamantine Rock. But theſe Difficulties (as the Platoniſts pretend) are all removed by that *Third Hypoſtaſis* in their *Trinity*; which is a kind of *Movable Deity.* And thus are all the *Phænomena* of the *Deity*, or the different Common Notions, in the Minds of men concerning it, though ſeemingly repugnant and claſhing with one another, yet (in their opinion) fairly Reconciled and Salved, by this *Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes Subordinate.*

Laſtly, they pretend alſo, that according to this *Hypotheſis* of theirs, there may be ſome Reaſonable Satisfaction given to the Mind of Man, both why there are ſo many Divine *Hypoſtaſes*, and why there could be no more: whereas according to other ways, it would ſeem to have been a meer Arbitrary Buſineſs; and that there might have been either but *One Solitary Divine Hypoſtaſis*; or but a *Duality* of them; or elſe they might have been beyond a *Trinity*, *Numberleſs.*

The Second Thing which we ſhall obſerve concerning the moſt Genuine *Platonical* and *Parmenidian* Trinity, is this; That though theſe Philoſophers ſometimes called their *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes*, not only τρεῖς φύσεις, *Three Natures*, and *Three Principles*, and *Three Cauſes*, and *Three Opificers*; but alſo *Three Gods*; and a Firſt, and Second, and Third God; yet did they often for all that, ſuppoſe all theſe *Three*, to be Really One θεῖον, One *Divinity*, or *Numen.* It hath been already proved from *Origen* and others, that the Platoniſts moſt commonly called the Animated World, the *Second God*, though ſome of them, as for example *Numenius*, ſtyled it the *Third God.* Now thoſe of them, who called the World the *Second God*, attributed indeed (not more, but) leſs Divinity to it, than thoſe who would have it to be the *Third God.* Becauſe theſe Latter ſuppoſed, that *Soul of the World* to be, the *Third Hypoſtaſis* of their *Trinity*; but the other taking all theſe *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes* together, for *One Supreme and Firſt God*, called the World the *Second God*; they ſuppoſing the Soul thereof, to be another Soul Inferiour to that *Firſt Pſyche*, which was properly their *Third Hypoſtaſis.* Wherefore this was really all one, as if they ſhould have called the Animated World the *Fourth God:* only by that other way of reckoning, when they called it a *Second God*, they intimated, that though thoſe *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes*, were frequently called *Three Gods*, yet were they notwithſtanding Really, all but One θεῖον, *Divinity* or *Numen*; or as *Plotinus* ſpeaks, τὸ ἐν τῷ παντὶ θεῖον, *the Divinity which is in the whole World.* Thus when God is ſo often ſpoken of in *Plato Singularly*, the word is not always to be underſtood of the *Firſt Hypoſtaſis* only, or the *Tagathon*, but many times plainly of the πρῶτον, and δεύτερον, and τρίτον, the *Firſt*, and *Second* and *Third* all together; or that whole *Divinity* which conſiſteth or is made up, of theſe *Three Hypoſtaſes.* And this will further appear from hence, becauſe when the whole World is ſaid in *Plato* to be the *Image of the Eternal Gods*, as alſo by *Plotinus*, of the *Firſt*, *Second* and *Third*, *by whom it is always produced anew, as the Image in a Glaſs is*; this is not to be underſtood as if the World being Tripartite, each Third part thereof, was ſeverally produced or Created by one of thoſe Three; nor

nor yet can it be conceived, how there could be *Three* Really distinct *Creations* of One and the same thing. Wherefore the World having but *one Creation*, and being *Created* by those *Three Divine Hypostases*; it follows, that they are all *Three* Really but *One Creator* and *One God*. Thus when both in *Plato* and *Plotinus*, the Lives and Souls of all Animals, (as Stars, Demons and Men) are attributed to the Third *Hypostasis*, the First and great *Psyche*, as their Fountain and Cause after a Special Manner; accordingly as in our *Creed*, the Holy Ghost is styled, *the Lord and Giver of Life*; this is not so to be understood, as if therefore the *First* and *Second Hypastases* were to be excluded from having any *Causality* therein. For the First is styled by *Plato* also, αἴτιον ἁπάντων τῶν καλῶν, *The Cause of all Good things*, and therefore doubtless chiefly of *Souls*; and the Second is called by him and others too, αἴτιον and δημιεργός, *The Cause and Artificer of the whole World*. We conclude therefore, that *Souls* being Created by the *Joynt Concurrence* and *Influence* of these *Three Hypostases Subordinate*, they are all Really but One and the same God. And thus it is expresly affirmed by *Porphyrius* in St. *Cyril*, ἄχει τελῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν θείαν προελθεῖν οὐσίαν· εἶναι δὴ τὴν μὲν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν, μετ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν δεύτερον, τὸν δημιεργόν· τρίτην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχήν· ἄχει δὲ ψυχῆς τὴν θεότητα προελθεῖν· *That the Essence of the Divinity proceeds or propagates it self (by way of descent downwards) unto Three* Hypostases *or Subsistences. The Highest God, is the* Tagathon *or Supreme Good; the Second next after him is the* Demiurgus *so called, the Architect or Artificer of the World; and the Soul of the World that is the Third: for the Divinity extendeth so far as to this Soul.* Here we plainly see, that though *Porphyrius* calls the *Three Divine Hypostases, Three Gods*; yet does he at the very same time declare, that ἡ θεία οὐσία and θεότης, *the Essence of the Godhead* and *the Divinity*, extends it self to all these *Three Hypostases*, including the Third and last also, (which they call the *Mundane Soul*) within the compass of it. And therefore that even according to the *Porphyrian Theology* it self, (which could not be suspected to affect any compliance with Christianity) the *Three Hypostases* in the *Platonick Trinity*, are ὁμοούσιοι, *Co-Essential*, both as being each of them *God*, and as being all *One God*. St *Cyril* himself also acknowledging as much; where he writeth thus of the Platonists, τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις ὑποτιθέμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ μέχρι τελῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσήκειν ἐκτείνουσι μέρη· *That supposing Three* Hypostases *which have the Nature of Principles (in the Universe) they extend the Essence of God, to all these three* Hypostases.

Indeed many conceive, that the Platonists making the *Three Hypostases of Their Trinity* to be thus *Gradually Subordinate* one to another, could not for that very Reason, acknowledge them to be *One Divinity*: but the Platonists themselves do upon this very account and no other, declare, all these Three to be *One Divinity*, because they have an *Essential Dependence* and *Gradual Subordination* in them; the *Second* being but the *Image of the First*, and the *Third* the Image both of the *First* and *Second*. Whereas were these *Three* supposed to be Perfectly *Co-Equal*, and to have no *Essential Dependence* one upon another, they could not by these Platonists be concluded to be

any other than *Three Co-ordinate Gods*, having only a *Generical* or *Specifical Identity*; and so no more *One*, than *Three men* are *One man*: a thing which the Platonick Theology is utterly abhorrent from, as that which is inconsistent with the *Perfect Monarchy* of the Universe, and highly Derogatory from the honour of the *Supreme God*, & *First Cause*. For example, should *Three Suns* appear in the Heaven all at once, with Co-equal Splendor, and not only so, but also be concluded, that though at First derived (or Lighted and Kindled) from one, yet they were now all alike Absolute and Independent; these *Three* could not so well be thought to be *one Sun*; as *Three* that should appear *Gradually* differing in their Splendour, Two of them being but the *Parhelii* of the other, and Essentially dependent on it: forasmuch as the Second would be but the Reflected Image of the First, and the Third but the Second Refracted. At least those Three Coequal Suns, could not so well be thought, to be One Thing; as the Sun, and its First and Secondary Splendour (which can neither be beheld without the Sun, nor the Sun without them) might be accounted One and the Same Thing.

The Platonists therefore, First of all suppose such a close and near Conjunction betwixt the Three *Hypostases* of their Trinity, as is no where else to be found in the whole World. To this purpose *Plotinus*, *En.5.L.1.c.6.* ὁρᾷ ὃ αὐτὸ, ὁ χωρισθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι μετ' αὐτὸ ἦν μεταξὺ οὐδέν· ὡς οὐδὲ ψυχῆς ἦν νοῦ· ποθεῖ ὃ πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν ἦν τοῦτο ἀγαπᾷ, ἦν μάλισα ὅταν ὦσι μόνοι, τὸ γεννῆσαν ἦν τὸ γεγεννημένον· ὅταν ὃ ἦν τὸ ἄριστον ἦ τὸ γεννῆσαν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης σύνεγγυς αὐτῷ, ὡς τῇ ἑτερότητι μόνον κεχωρίσθαι· *Intellect is said to behold the First Good; not as if it were Separated from it, but only because it is After it, but so as that there is nothing between them: as neither is there betwixt Intellect and Soul. Every thing which is Begotten, Desires and Loves that which Begat it; especially when these Two (that which Begat and that which is Begotten) are alone, and nothing besides them. Moreover when that which Begat, is absolutely the Best thing, that which is Immediately Begotten from it, must needs Cohere intimately with it, and so as to be separated from it only by Alterity.* Which is all one as if he should have said, that these *Three Divine Hypostases*, are so Intimately conjoyned together, and united with one another, as that they are *Tantum non*, *Only Not*, the Very self same. Again the Platonists further declare that these *Three Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, are ἀδιαίρετοι, *Absolutely Indivisible* and Inseparable, as the ἀπαύγασμα is ἀδιαίρετον from the φῶς, *the Splendour Indivisibly conjoyned with the Light* or *Sun*. Which Similitude also *Athanasius* often makes use of to the same purpose. Thirdly, these Platonists seem likewise to attribute to their *Three Divine Hypostases*, just such an Ἐμπεριχώρησις, *Circumincession*, or *Mutual In-Being*, as Christians do. For as their *Second* and *Third Hypostases*, must needs be in the *First*, they being therein vertually contained; so must the *First* likewise, be in the *Second* and *Third*; they being as it were but *Two* other Editions thereof; or it self Gradually Displayed and Expanded. But to speak Particularly, the *First* must needs be in the *Second*, the *Tagathon* in the *Nous*; and so both of them Really One and the same *God*; because the common Notions of all Mankind attribute Understanding

ing and Wiſdom to the Deity; but according to the Principles of *Plato*, *Plotinus*, and others, the Deity does not properly Underſtand any where but in the *Second Hypoſtaſis*, which is the *Mind* and *Wiſdom* of it. And the *Emperichoreſis* of the Second or Third *Hypoſtaſes*, was thus intimated by *Plato* alſo, Σοφία μὲν ἢ Νοῦς ἄνευ ψυχῆς, ὃν ἄν ποτε γενοίαθην. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἕξει φύσει, βασιλικῷ μὲν ψυχῷ, βασιλικὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. *Phileb.* p. 30. Where having ſpoken of that Divine Wiſdom and Mind which orders all things in the World, he adds; *But Wiſdom and Mind can never be without Soul*, (that is, cannot act without it.) *Wherefore in the Nature of* Jupiter, *is at once contained, both a Kingly Mind and a Kingly Soul.* Here he makes *Jupiter* to be both the *Second* and *Third Hypoſtaſes of his Trinity*, *Nous* and *Pſyche*; and conſequently thoſe Two, to be but *One God*. Which *Nous* is alſo ſaid to be γενέσης, i. e. *of the ſame kind*, and *Co-Eſſential* with the Firſt Cauſe of all things. To conclude, as that Firſt *Platonick Hypoſtaſis*, which is it ſelf ſaid to be above *Mind* and *Wiſdom*, is properly *Wiſe* and *Underſtanding* in the *Second*; ſo do both the *Firſt* and the *Second*, *Move* and *Act* in the *Third*. Laſtly, all theſe *Three Hypoſtaſes*, *Tagathon*, *Nous* and *Pſyche*, are ſaid by the *Platoniſts*, to be One θεῖον or *Divinity*; Juſt in the ſame manner, as the *Centre*, *Immovable Diſtance*, and *Movable Circumference*, of a Sphere or Globe; are all Eſſentially one Sphere. Thus *Plotinus* expreſly, writing of the Third *Hypoſtaſis* or *Pſyche*, σεμνὸν γάρ τι ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ τοιαύτη, οἷον κύκλῳ προσαρμοσθέντων κέντρῳ, δύο δὲς μετὰ κέντρον αὐξηθείς, διάσημα ἀδιάστατον· ὅτω δὲ ἔχει ἕκαστα, εἰ τἀγαθόν τις ἢ τὸ κέντρον τάξειε, τὸν νοῦν κύκλον ἀκίνητον, ψυχῷ δὲ κύκλον κινούμενον ἂν τάξαι· *For this* Pſyche *or Third* Hypoſtaſis, *is a Venerable and Adorable thing alſo; it being the Circle fitted to the Centre, an Indiſtant Diſtance*, (foraſmuch as it is no Corporeal thing.) *For theſe Things are juſt ſo as if one ſhould make the* Tagathon *or Firſt Good, to be the Centre of the Univerſe; in the next place Mind or Intellect to be the Immovable Circle or Diſtance; and Laſtly Soul to be that which turns round, or the whole Movable Circumference; Acted by Love or Deſire.* Theſe *Three Platonick Hypoſtaſes* therefore, ſeem to be Really nothing elſe, but *Infinite Goodneſs*, *Infinite Wiſdom*, and *Infinite Active Love and Power*, not as meer *Qualities* or *Accidents*, but as *Subſtantial things*; that have ſome kind of Subordination one to another; all concurring together to make up One θεῖον, or *Divinity*, juſt as the *Centre*, *Immovable Diſtance*, and *Movable Circumference*, concurrently make up One *Sphere*. *P.* 409.

We have now given a full account of the True and Genuine *Platonick* and *Parmenidian* or *Pythagorick Trinity*; from which it may clearly appear, how far it either *Agreeth* or *Diſagreeth* with the *Chriſtian*. Firſt therefore, though ſome of the Latter Platoniſts have partly Miſunderſtood, and partly Adulterated that ancient *Cabala* of the *Trinity*, as was before declared, confounding therein the *Differences* between *God* and the *Creature*, and thereby laying a foundation for *Infinite Polytheiſm*; yet did *Plato* himſelf and ſome of his Genuine followers (though living before Chriſtianity) approach ſo near to the Doctrine thereof as in ſome manner to correſpond therewith, in thoſe Three Fundamentals before mentioned; Firſt,

in

in not making a meer Trinity of *Names* and *Words*, or of Logical Notions and Inadequate Conceptions, of One and the Same thing; but a *Trinity of Hypostases* or *Subsistences*, or *Persons*. Secondly, in making none of their *Three Hypostases*, to be Creatures, but all *Eternal*, *Necessarily Existent*, and *Universal*; *Infinite*, *Omnipotent*; and Creators of the whole World; which is all one in the sence of the ancients, as if they should have affirmed them to be *Homoousian*. Lastly, in supposing these *Three Divine Hypostases*, however sometimes Paganically called Three Gods, to be Essentially, *One Divinity*. From whence it may be concluded, that as *Arianism* is commonly supposed to approach nearer to the Truth of Christianity than *Photinianism*, so is *Platonism* undoubtedly more agreeable thereunto than *Arianism*; it being a certain Middle thing betwixt *That* and *Sabellianism*, which in general was that Mark that the Nicene Council also aimed at.

Notwithstanding which, there is a manifest *Disagreement* also, betwixt the Platonick Trinity as declared, and the Now-received Doctrine in the Christian Church; consisting in a different Explication of the Two latter Points mentioned. First, because the Platonists dream'd of no such thing at all, as *One and the Same Numerical Essence* or Substance, of the Three Divine *Hypostases*. And Secondly, because though they acknowledged none of those *Hypostases* to be Creatures, but all God; yet did they assert an *Essential Dependence* of the *Second* and *Third* upon the *First*, together with a certain *Gradual Subordination*; and therefore no *Absolute Co-equality*. And this is the true reason, why so many late Writers, have affirmed *Platonism* to *Symbolize* with *Arianism*, and the *Latter* to have been indeed nothing else but the *Spawn* of the *Former*; meerly because the Platonists did not acknowledge One and the Same *Numerical Essence* or *Substance* of all their Three *Hypostases*; and asserted a *Gradual Subordination* of them; but chiefly for this Latter Ground. Upon which account some of the ancients also, have done the like, as Particularly S *Cyril* (*Contra Jul. Lib.* 1.) he writing thus concerning *Plato*, Τετρεώρηκε μὲν ὃν ὀχ ὑγιῶς εἰσάπαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰ Ἀρείε περφρονηκόσιν, ἐν ἴσῳ διαιρεῖ, ἢ ὑφίσησιν, ὑποχαθεμένας τε ἀλλήλαις τὰς ὑποστάσεις εἰσφέρει· Plato *did not thoroughly perceive the whole Truth of the Trinity, but in like manner with those who follow* Arius, *divided the Deity, or made a Gradation in it, and Introduced Subordinate Hypostases.* As elsewhere the same Pious Father, also taxes the Platonists, for not declaring the *Three Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, to be, in his sence, *Homo-ousian*; that is, *Absolutely Co-equal*. But though we have already proved, that Platonism can by no means be confounded with Arianism; because it directly confronted the same in its main Essentials, which were *Erat quando non Erat*, or the Second *Hypostasis* being made ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, together with its being *Mutable and Lapsible*; since according to Platonism, the *Nous* is Essentially both *Eternal* and *Immutable*: yet that the most Refined Platonism, differed from the Now-received Doctrine of the Christian Church; in respect of its *Gradual Subordination*, is a thing so Unquestionably Evident, as that it can by no means be Dissembled, Palliated, or Excused.

P. 34.

Over

Over and besides which, it cannot be denied but the best of *Plato*'s Followers, were sometimes also further extravagant in their Doctrine of the Trinity, and spake at random concerning it, and Inconsistently with their own Principles; especially where they make such a *Vast* and *Disproportionate Distance* betwixt the *Second* and *Third Hypostases* thereof; they not Descending *Gradually* and *Orderly*, but as it were *Tumbling down*, from the Former of them to the Latter. Thus *Plotinus* himself, when having spoken magnificently of that *Soul of the World*, which is his Third *Hypostasis*, he subjoyns immediately, ὁμοειδὴς ὁ ἡμέτερος, ἢν ὅταν ἄνθρ τὴν προσελθόντων σκοπῇς, λαβὼν κεχαθαρμένην, εὑρήσεις τὸ αὐτὸ τίμιον ὃ ἦν ψυχή· *That this Soul of ours, is also Uniform (or of the same Species) with that Mundane Soul; For if any one* (saith he) *will consider it as in it self, Pure and Naked, or stript from all things adventitious to it, he shall find it to be in like manner venerable.* Agreeably whereunto doth this same Philosopher elsewhere call that *Mundane Soul*, πρεσβυτέραν ἢ ἀδελφὴν, that is, *but the Elder Sister of our Humane Souls.* Which as it rankly savours of Philosophick Pride and Arrogancy, thus to think so magnificently of themselves, and to equalize in a manner their *own Souls*, with that *Mundane Soul*; so was it a *Monstrous Degradation*, of that *Third Hypostasis of their Trinity*, and little other than an *Absolute Creaturizing* of the same. For if our *Humane Soul* be ὁμοειδὴς, *of the same Kind or Species*, with the *Third Hypostasis* of the Trinity, then is it not only ὁμότιμος, *of like Honour and Dignity*, but also in the Language of the Christian Church, ὁμοούσιος, *Co-Essential* with our Humane Souls, (as our Saviour Christ according to the Arians in *Athanasius*, is said to be, ὁμοούσιος ἡμῶν τὴν ἀνθρώπων, *Co-Essential with us men.*) From whence it will follow, That either, That must be a *Creature*, or else our *Humane Souls Divine.* Wherefore unless these Platonists would confine the *Deity* wholly to their *First Hypostasis*; which would be monstrously absurd for them, to suppose that *First Eternal Mind* and *Wisdom*, by which the World was Made, to be a *Creature*; they must of necessity make a Vast *Leap* or *Jump*, betwixt the *Second* and *Third* of their *Hypostases*; the *Former* of them, being that *Perfect Wisdom* which was the Architect or Demiurgus of the World, whilest the *Latter* is only, the *Elder Sister of all Humane Souls.* Moreover these Platonists by their thus bringing down the *Third Hypostasis* of their *Trinity* so low, and Immersing it so deeply into the Corporeal World, as if it were the *Informing Soul* thereof, and making it to be but the *Elder Sister* of our *Created Souls*, did doubtless therein designedly lay a foundation for their *Polytheism* and *Creature-Worship* (now Vulgarly called *Idolatry*) that is, for their *Cosmo-Latry*, *Astro-Latry*, and *Demono-Latry.* For thus much is plainly intimated in this following Passage of *Plotinus*, διὰ ταῦτα ὁ κόσμος ὅδε θεός· ἔτι ὁ ἥλιος θεὸς ὅτι ἔμψυχος, ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ἄρα, *This whole Corporeal World is made a God by the Soul thereof. And the Sun is also a God, because Animated; as likewise are all the Stars therefore Gods.* Where he afterwards adds, τῷ δ' θεοῖς αἰτίαν τοῦ θεοῖς εἶναι, ἀνάγκη πρεσβυτέραν θεὸν αὐτὴν εἶναι· *That which is to these Gods or Goddesses, the Cause of their being Gods, must needs it self, be the Elder God or Goddess.* So that this

Enn. 5. *L.* 2. *c.* 2.

Tom. 1. *p.* 557.

P. 483.

this *Third Hypoſtaſis* of the *Platonick Trinity*, called the *Mundane Soul*, is but a kind of *Siſter-Goddeſs*, with the *Souls* of the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, though elder indeed than they; they being all made *Goddeſſes by her.* Where there is a confuſed Jumble of things Contradictious together; That Soul of the World being at once ſuppoſed to be a *Siſter* to other *Souls*, and yet notwithſtanding to *Deifie them*; whereas this *Siſterly Relation* and *Conſanguinity* betwixt them, would of the Two, rather *Degrade and Creaturize* that *Mundane Soul*, which is their *Third God* or *Divine Hypoſtaſis*, than *Advance and Deifie* thoſe *Particular Created Souls.* Here therefore we ſee the *Inconvenience* of theſe Platonick βαθμοὶ, *Stories*, *Stairs*, and *Gradations* in the Deity, that it is a thing liable to be much abuſed to *Creature-worſhip* and *Idolatry*, when the *Diſtances* are made ſo *Wide*, and the *Loweſt of the Deity* is ſuppoſed to differ but *Gradually* only, from the *Higheſt of Created Beings.* And becauſe *Porphyrius* trode in *Plotinus* his Footſteps here as elſewhere, this was in all probability the true reaſon why the Arians (as *Socrates* recordeth) were by *Conſtantine* called *Porphyrianiſts*, not becauſe their *Trinities* were exactly the ſame, but becauſe *Arius* and *Porphyrius* did both of them alike (though upon different Grounds) make their *Trinity* a *Foundation* for *Creature-Worſhip* and *Idolatry.* But nevertheleſs, all This (as many other things) was but heedleſly and inadvertently written by *Plotinus*; he as it were drouſily nodding all the while, as it was alſo but ſupinely taken up by *Porphyrius* after him; it being Plainly Inconſiſtent with the Genuine Tenour of both their *Hypotheſes*, thus to *Level* the *Third Hypoſtaſis* of the *Trinity*, with *Particular Created Souls*, and thereby to make ſo *Diſproportionate a Diſtance*, and ſo *Vaſt a Chaſm* betwixt *It* and the *Second.* For *Plotinus* himſelf, when in a more ſober mood, declares, that *Third Hypoſtaſis*, not to be the *Immediate Informing Soul* of the *Corporeal World*; but a *Higher Separate Soul*, or *Superiour Venus*, which alſo was the *Demiurgus*, the *Maker* both of other Souls and of the whole World. As *Plato* had before expreſly affirmed him to be the *Inſpirer of all Life*, and *Creator of Souls*, or the *Lord and Giver of Life.* And likewiſe declared, that amongſt all thoſe things, which are ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς συγγενῆ, *Congenerous and Cognate with our Humane Souls*, there is οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο, *nothing any where to be found at all like unto it.* So that *Plato*, though he were alſo a *Star-worſhipper* and *Idolater*, upon other grounds; yet in all probability would he not at all have approved of *Plotinus* his ὁμοειδὴς ὢν ἡμετέρᾳ, *our Souls being of the ſame Species with that Third* Hypoſtaſis *of the Divine Triad*; but rather have ſaid, in the Language of the Pſalmiſt, *It is he that hath made us, and not we our ſelves, we are his People and the Sheep of his Paſture.*

Notwithſtanding all which, a *Chriſtian Platoniſt* or *Platonick Chriſtian*, would in all probability, Apologize for *Plato* himſelf, and the ancient and moſt Genuine Platoniſts and Pythagoreans after this manner. Firſt, That ſince they had no Scriptures, Councils, nor Creeds, to direct their ſteps in the *Darkneſs* of this *Myſtery*, and to confine their Language to a Regular Uniformity; but Theologized all Freely and Boldly, and without any Scrupuloſity, every one according

cording to his own private apprehensions, it is no wonder at all if they did not only speak many times unadvisedly, and inconsistently with their own Principles, but also plainly wander out of the *Right Path*. And that it ought much rather to be wondred at, that living so long before Christianity, as some of them did, they should in so *Abstruse a Point*, and *Dark a Mystery*, make so near an approach to the *Christian Truth* afterwards revealed, than that they should any where fumble or fall short of the Accuracy thereof. They not only extending the True and Real Deity to *Three Hypostases*, but also calling the Second of them, λόγον, *Reason or Word* too, (as well as νῦν, *Mind or Intellect*) and likewise the *Son of the First Hypostasis*, the *Father*; and affirming him to be the δημιουργὸς and αἴτιον, *the Artificer and Cause of the whole World*; and Lastly describing him as the Scripture doth, to be the *Image*, the *Figure* or *Character*, and the *Splendour* or *Brightness* of the *First*. This, I say, our *Christian Platonist*, supposes to be much more wonderful, that this so Great and *Abstruse a Mystery*, of *Three Eternal Hypostases* in the *Deity*, should thus by Pagan Philosophers, so long before Christianity, have been asserted, as the Principle and Original of the whole World; it being more indeed than was acknowledged by the Nicene Fathers themselves; they then not so much as determining, that the *Holy Ghost* was an *Hypostasis*, much less that he was *God*.

But Particularly as to their *Gradual Subordination* of the *Second Hypostasis* to the *First*, and of the *Third* to the *First* and *Second*; our *Platonick Christian*, doubtless would therefore plead them the more excusable, because the Generality of *Christian Doctors*, for the First Three Hundred years after the Apostles times, plainly asserted the same; as *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatianus*, *Irenæus*, the Author of the Recognitions, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, and many others. All whose Testimonies, because it would be too tedious to set down here, we shall content our selves only with one of the last mentioned; *Et Pater & Filius Deus est: Sed Ille quasi exuberans Fons, Hic tanquam defluens ex eo Rivus: Ille tanquam Sol, Hic tanquam Radius à Sole porrectus: Both the Father and the Son is God: But he as it were an Exuberant Fountain, this as a Stream derived from him: He like to the Sun, This like to a Ray extended from the Sun.* And though it be true, that *Athanasius* writing against the Arians, does appeal to the Tradition of the Ancient Church, and amongst others cites *Origen*'s Testimony too; yet was this only for the *Eternity* and *Divinity* of the *Son of God*, but not at all for such an *Absolute Co-equality* of him with the *Father*, as would exclude all *Dependence*, *Subordination* and *Inferiority*; those Ancients so Unanimously agreeing therein, that they are by *Petavius* therefore taxed for *Platonism*, and having by that means corrupted the Purity of the Christian Faith, in this Article of the Trinity. Which how it can be reconciled with those other Opinions, of Ecclesiastick Tradition being a Rule of Faith, and the Impossibility of the Visible Churches Erring in any *Fundamental Point*, cannot easily be understood. However this *General Tradition* or *Consent* of the Christian Church, for Three Hundred years together after the Apo-

Justin. L. 4. c. 29.

ſtles Times, though it cannot Juſtifie the Platoniſts, in any thing diſcrepant from the Scripture, yet may it in ſome meaſure doubtleſs plead their excuſe, who had no Scripture-Revelation at all, to guide them herein; and ſo at leaſt make their Error more Tolerable or Pardonable.

Moreover the *Platonick Chriſtian* would further Apologize for theſe Pagan Platoniſts after this manner. That their Intention in thus *Subordinating* the *Hypoſtaſes* of their *Trinity*, was plainly no other, than to exclude thereby a *Plurality of Co-ordinate and Independent Gods*, which they ſuppoſed an abſolute Co-equality of them would infer. And that they made only ſo much *Subordination* of them, as was both neceſſary to this purpoſe, and unavoidable; the Juncture of them being in their Opinion ſo cloſe, that there was, μηδὲν μεταξὺ, *Nothing Intermedious*, or that could poſſibly be *Thruſt in between them*. But now again on the otherhand, whereas the only ground of the *Co-Equality* of the Perſons in the Holy Trinity, is becauſe it cannot well be conceived, how they ſhould otherwiſe all be *God*; ſince the *Eſſence of the Godhead*, being Abſolute Perfection, can admit of no degrees; theſe Platoniſts do on the contrary contend, that notwithſtanding that Dependence and Subordination which they commonly ſuppoſe in theſe *Hypoſtaſes*, there is none of them for all that, to be accounted *Creatures*, but that the *General Eſſence of the Godhead*, or the *Uncreated Nature*, truly and properly belongeth to them all: according to that of *Porphyrius* before cited, ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὸ θεῖον προελθεῖν δύναται, *The Eſſence of the Godhead, proceedeth to Three* Hypoſtaſes. Now theſe Platoniſts conceive, that the *Eſſence of the Godhead*, as common to all the *Three Hypoſtaſes* of their *Trinity*, conſiſteth (beſides *Perfect Intellectuality*) in theſe Following things. Firſt, In *Being Eternal*, which as we have already ſhowed, was *Plato's Diſtinctive Character*, betwixt *God* and the *Creature*. That whatſoever was *Eternal*, is therefore *Uncreated*; and whatſoever was not *Eternal*, is a *Creature*. He by *Eternity* meaning, the having not only no *Beginning*, but alſo a *Permanent Duration*. Again, In having not a *Contingent* but *Neceſſary Exiſtence*, and therefore being Abſolutely *Undeſtroyable*; which perhaps is included alſo in the Former. Laſtly, In being not *Particular* but *Univerſal*, ἓν καὶ πάντα, *One and all things*, or that which *Comprehends the whole*; which is all one as to ſay, in being *Infinite* and *Omnipotent*, and the *Creator of the whole World*. Now ſay theſe Platoniſts, if any thing more were to be added to the General Eſſence of the Godhead beſides this, then muſt it be *Self-exiſtence*, or to be *Underived* from any other, and the *Firſt Original, Principle*, and *Cauſe* of all; but if this be made ſo Eſſential to the Godhead, or *Uncreated Nature*, as that whatſoever is not thus Originally of it Self, is therefore *ipſo facto* to be detruded and thruſt down into the rank of *Creatures*; then muſt both the *Second* and *Third Hypoſtaſes*, as well in the Chriſtian as the Platonick Trinity, upon this Suppoſition, needs be *Creatures* and not *God*; the *Second* deriving its whole Being and *Godſhip* from the *Firſt*, and the *Third*, both from the *Firſt* and *Second*, and ſo neither Firſt nor Second being the *Cauſe of all things*. But it is unqueſtionable to theſe Platoniſts, that whatſoever is *Eternal*; *Neceſſarily Exiſtent*,

Existent; *Infinite*, and *Omnipotent*, and the *Creator of All things*; ought therefore to be Religiously Worshipped and Adored as *God*, by all *Created Beings*. Wherefore this *Essence of the Godhead*, that belongeth alike to all the *Three Hypostases*, being, as all other Essences, *Perfectly Indivisible*, it might well be affirmed, according to *Platonick Grounds*, that all the *Three Divine Hypostases* (though having some *Subordination* in them) yet in this sence are *Co-Equal*, they being all truly and *alike God* or *Uncreated*. And the Platonists thus distinguishing, betwixt οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, *the Essence of the Godhead*; and the *Distinct Hypostases* or *Personalities* thereof, and making the *First* of them to be *Common*, *General* and *Universal*; are not without the consent and approbation of the Orthodox Fathers herein; they determining likewise, that in the Deity, *Essence* or *Substance* differs from *Hypostasis*, as τὸ κοινὸν from τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον, *that which is Common and General, differs from that which is Singular and Individual.* Thus, besides many others, St. *Cyril*, ἣν ἔχει διαφορὰν τὸ θεῖον, ἢ εἶδος, ὑπὲρ τὸ ἄτομον, ταὐτὸν ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει· *The Essence or Substance of the Deity, differs from the* Hypostasis, *after the same manner as a* Genus *or* Species *differs from an* Individuum. So that as well according to these Fathers as the Platonists, that *Essence* or *Substance* of the *Godhead*, which all the *Three Persons* agree in, is not *Singular*, but *Generical* or *Universal*; they both supposing, each of the Persons also, to have their own *Numerical Essence*. Wherefore according to this Distinction, betwixt the *Essence* or *Substance* of the *Godhead*, and the *Particular Hypostases*, (approved by the *Orthodox Fathers*) neither *Plato*, nor any *Intelligent Platonist*, would scruple to subscribe, that Form of the Nicene Council, that the Son or Word, is ὁμοούσιος, *Co-Essential* or *Con-Substantial*, and *Co-Equal* with the *Father*. And we think it will be proved afterwards, that this was the very Meaning of the *Nicene Council* it self, that the *Son* was therefore *Co-Essential* or *Con-Substantial* with the *Father*; meerly because he was *God* and not a *Creature*.

Besides which the Genuine Platonists would doubtless acknowledge also, all the Three *Hypostases* of their Trinity to be *Homoousian*, *Co-Essential* or *Con-Substantial* yet in a further sence than this, namely as being all of them *One* θεῖον or *Divinity*. For thus, besides that passage of *Porphyrius* before cited, may these words also of St. *Cyril* be understood concerning them, μέχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ περαίνειν ἰσχυρίζονται· *That according to them the Essence of God, extendeth to Three Hypostases, or comprehendeth Three Hypostases in it*; that is, not only so as that each of these *Three* is *God*; but also that they are not, so many *Separate and Divided Gods*, but all of them together *One God* or *Divinity*. For though the *Platonists* as Pagans, being not so Scrupulous in their Language as we Christians are; do often call them *Three Gods*, and a *First*, *Second*, and *Third God*; yet notwithstanding as Philosophers, did they declare them to be, *One* θεῖον or *Divinity*; and that as it seems upon these several accounts following. First, Because they are *Indivisibly conjoyned together*, as the *Splendour is Indivisible from the Sun*. And then, Because they are *Mutually Inexistent* in each other, the *First* being in the *Second*, and both *First* and *Second*

in the *Third*. And Laſtly, Becauſe the Entireneſs of the whole *Divinity*, is made up of all theſe *Three* together, which have all μίαν ἐνέργειαν *One and the ſame Energy or Action* ad extra. And therefore as the Centre, Radious Diſtance, and Movable Circumference, may be all ſaid to be *Co-Eſſential* to a *Sphere*; and the *Root*, *Stock*, and *Bows* or *Branches*, *Co-Eſſential* to an entire *Tree*; ſo, but in much a more perfect ſence, are the Platonick *Tagathon*, *Nous* and *Pſyche*, *Co-Eſſential* to that, ἐν τῷ παντὶ θεῖον, *that Divinity in the whole Univerſe*. Neither was *Athanaſius* a ſtranger to this Notion of the word ὁμοούσιος alſo, he affirming τὰ μέλη ὁμοούσια καὶ ἀδιαίρετα εἶναι τοῦ ἀμπέλου, *That the Branches are Co-Eſſential with, and Indiviſible from the Vine*; and Illuſtrating the *Trinity* by that Similitude. Neither muſt it be thought, that the Whole *Trinity* is *One*, after the very ſame manner, that each *Single Perſon* thereof is in it ſelf *One*, for then ſhould there be a *Trinity* alſo in each *Perſon*. Nor that it is ſo called *Undivided*, as if *Three* were not *Three* in it; (which were to make the *Myſtery Contemptible*) but becauſe all the Three *Hypoſtaſes* or Perſons, are *Indiviſibly* and *Inſeparably* united to each other, as the *Sun* and the *Splendour*; and really but *One God*. Wherefore though there be ſome *Subordination* of *Hypoſtaſes* or *Perſons* in *Plato*'s Trinity, (as it is commonly repreſented) yet is this only *ad intrà*, *within the Deity* it ſelf, in their Relation to one another, and as compared amongſt themſelves; but *ad extrà*, *Outwardly*, and *to Us*, are they all *One* and the ſame *God*, concurring in all the ſame *Actions*; and in that reſpect without any *Inequality*, becauſe in *Identity* there can be no *Inequality*.

De Sent. Dionyſ. p. 556.

Furthermore the *Platonick Chriſtian*, would in favour of theſe Platoniſts, urge alſo, that according to the Principles of *Chriſtianity* it ſelf, there muſt of neceſſity, be ſome Dependence and Subordination of the *Perſons of the Trinity*, in their Relation to one another; a *Priority* and *Poſteriority*, not only τάξεως, but alſo ἀξιώματος, of *Dignity* as well as *Order* amongſt them. Firſt, becauſe that which is Originally of it ſelf, and Underived from any other, muſt needs have ſome *Superiority and Preheminence*, over that which derives its whole *Being* and *Godſhip* from it; as the *Second* doth from the *Firſt* alone, and the *Third* from the *Firſt* with the *Second*. Again though all thoſe *Three Hypoſtaſes* or *Perſons* be alike *Omnipotent ad Extra*, or *Outwards*, yet *ad Intra*, *Inwards*, or *within the Deity* it ſelf, are they not ſo: the *Son* being not able to beget the *Father*, nor the *Holy Ghoſt* to *Produce* either Father or Son; and therefore neither of theſe two *Latter*, is abſolutely the *Cauſe of all things*, but only the *Firſt*. And upon this account was that *Firſt* of theſe *Three Hypoſtaſes* (who is the Original Fountain of all) by *Macrobius* ſtyled, *Omnipotentiſſimus Deus*, *The Moſt Omnipotent God*: he therein implying the *Second* and *Third Hypoſtaſes*, *Nous* and *Pſyche*, to be Omnipotent too, but not in a perfect Equality with him, as within the Deity they are compared together; however *ad Extra*, or *Outwardly*, and to Us, they being all *One*, are *Equally Omnipotent*. And *Plotinus* writeth alſo to the ſame purpoſe, εἰ τέλειόν ἐστι τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ δύναμις ἡ πρώτη, δεῖ πάντων τῶν ὄντων δυνατώτατον εἶναι, &c. *If the Firſt be abſolutely Perfect, and the Firſt Power, then muſt it needs be the Moſt Powerful of all Beings; other Powers only*

P. 517.

only imitating and partaking thereof. And accordingly hereunto would the Platonick Christian further pretend, that there are sundry places in the Scripture which do not a little favour, some *Subordination* and Priority both of *Order* and *Dignity*, in the *Persons of the Holy Trinity*; of which none is more obvious, than that of our Saviour Christ, *My Father is greater than I:* which to understand of his *Humanity* only, seemeth to be less reasonable; because this was no news at all, that the *Eternal God*, the Creator of the whole World, should be Greater than a Mortal Man, born of a woman. And thus do divers of the *Orthodox Fathers*; as *Athanasius* himself, St. *Basil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen* and St. *Chrysostome*, with several others of the Latins, inrerpret the same to have been spoken, not of the *Humanity*, but the *Divinity* of our Saviour Christ. Insomuch that *Petavius* himself, expounding the Athanasian Creed, writeth in this manner, *Pater Major Filio, ritè & catholicè pronuntiatus est à plerisque Veterum; & Origine Prior sine reprehensione dici solet; The Father is in a right Catholick manner, affirmed by most of the ancients, to be Greater than the Sōn: and he is commonly said also, without reprehension, to be Before him in respect of Original.* Whereupon he concludeth the true meaning of that *Creed* to be this, that no Person of the Trinity, is *Greater* or *Less* than other in respect of the *Essence of the Godhead* common to them all, *Quia Vera Deitas in nullo esse aut Minor aut Major potest, because the true Godhead can be no where Greater or Less*; but that notwithstanding, there may be some *Inequality* in them, as they are *Hic Deus*, and *Hæc Persona, This God* and *That Person.* It is true indeed that many of those ancient Fathers do restrain and limit this *Inequality*, only to the *Relation* of the *Persons* one to another, as the *Father's Begetting*, and the *Son's being Begotten* by the *Father*, and the *Holy Ghost Proceeding* from both; they seeming to affirm, that there is otherwise a perfect *Equality* amongst them. Nevertheless several of them do extend this Difference further also, as for example, St. *Hilary* a zealous Opposer of the Arians; he in his Book of Synods writing thus; *Si quis Unum dicens Deum, Christum autem Deum, ante secula Filium Dei, Obsecutum Patri in Creatione omnium, non confitetur, Anathema sit.* And again, *Non exæquamus vel conformamus Filium Patri, sed Subjectum intelligimus.* And *Athanasius* himself, who is commonly accounted the very Rule of Orthodoxality in this Point, when he doth so often resemble the *Father* to the ἥλιος, or to the φῶς, the *Sun*, or the *Original Light*; and the *Son* to the ἀπαύγασμα, the *Splendour* or *Brightness of it*; (as likewise doth the Nicene Council and the Scripture it self) he seems hereby to imply some *Dependence* of the *Second* upon the *First*, and *Subordination* to it. Especially when he declareth, that the *Three Persons* of the *Trinity*, are not to be look'd upon as *Three Principles*, nor to be resembled to *Three Suns*, but to the *Sun*, and its *Splendour*, and its *Derivative Light*, ὅδε γὰρ τρεῖς ἀρχὰς εἰσάγομεν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τριῶν ἡλίων ὑπεθέμεθα τὴν εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ ἥλιον καὶ ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ ἓν τὸ ἐξ ἡλίου ὂν τῷ ἀπαυγάσματι φῶς· ὅτω μίαν ἀρχὴν οἴδαμεν· *For it appears from the similitude used by us, that we do not introduce Three Principles* (as the *Marcionists* and *Manicheans* did) *we not comparing the Trinity to Three Suns, but only to the Sun and its Splendour: So that we acknowledge only one Principle.* As also where

De Trin. p. 863.

Cont. Ar. Or. 4. p. 467.

he

he approves, of this of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, ὁ δὲ γε Θεὸς αἰώνιόν ἐστι φῶς, ὅτε ἀξάμηνον, ὅτε λῆξόν ποτε· ἦκεν αἰώνιον προσῆφθαι ἢ σύνεσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ἄναρχον ἢ ἀείγεννες προφαινόμηνον αὐτῷ· *God is an Eternal Light, which never began, and shall never cease to be; wherefore there is an Eternal Splendour also coexistent with him, which had no beginning neither, but was Always Generated by him, shining out before him.* For if the Son of God, be as the Splendour of the Sun ἀειγεννὴς, *Always Generated*, then must he needs have an *Essential Dependence* upon the Father and *Subordination* to him. And this same thing further appears from those other resemblances, which the same *Dionysius* maketh, of the Father and the Son; approved in like manner also by *Athanasius*; *viz.* to the *Fountain and the River*; to the *Root and the Branch*; to the *Water and the Vapour*; for so it ought to be read ὕδατος, and
P. 565. P. 275. not πνεύματος, as appeareth from his Book of the *Nicene Synod*, where he affirmeth the Son to have been begotten of the Essence or Substance of the Father, ὡς τῆς φωτὸς ἀπαύγασμα, ὡς ὕδατος ἀτμὶς, *as the Splendour of the Light, and as the Vapour of the Water*; adding; ὅτε γὰρ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ὅτε ἡ ἀτμὶς, αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν, ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος· ὅτε ἀλλότριον, ἀλλὰ ἀπόῤῥοιαι τῆς τοιᾶσδε οὐσίας· *For neither the Splendour nor the Vapour, is the very Sun, and the very Water; nor yet is it Aliene from it, or a stranger to its nature; but they are both Effluxes from the Essence or Substance of them; as the Son is an Efflux from the Substance of the Father, yet so as that he is no way diminished or lessened thereby.* Now all these similitudes of the *Fountain* and the *River*, the *Root* and the *Branch*, the *Water* and the *Vapour*, (as well as that of the *Sun* and the *Splendour*) seem plainly to imply some *Dependence* and *Subordination*. And *Dionysius* doubtless intended them to that purpose, he asserting as *Photius* informeth us, an *Inferiority* of *Power* and *Glory* in the *Second*, as likewise did *Origen* before him: both whose Testimonies notwithstanding, *Athanasius* maketh use of, without any censure or reprehension of them. Wherefore when *Athanasius* and the other Orthodox Fathers, writing against *Arius*, do so frequently assert the *Equality* of all the Three Persons, this is to be understood in way of opposition to *Arius* only, who made the Son to be Unequal to the Father as ἑτεροούσιον, *of a different Essence from him, One being God and the other a Creature*; they affirming on the contrary, that he was *Equal to the Father*, as ὁμοούσιος, *of the same Essence with him*; that is, as God and not a Creature. Notwithstanding which *Equality*, there might be some *Subordination* in them, as *Hic Deus* and *Hæc Persona* (to use *Petavius* his Language) *This God and that Person.*

And thus does there seem not to be so great a *Difference*, betwixt the more *Genuine Platonists*, and the ancient *Orthodox Fathers*, in their Doctrine concerning the Trinity, as is by many conceived. However our *Platonick Christian* would further add; that there is no necessity at all from the Principles of Platonism it self, why the Platonists should make any other or more *Subordination* in their Trinity, than the most severely Orthodox Fathers themselves. For according to the *Common Hypothesis* of the Platonists, when the *Character* of the *First Hypostasis* is supposed by them, to be *Infinite Goodness*; of the *Second*, *Infinite Wisdom*; and of the *Third*, *Infinite Active Love and Power*, (these

(these not as *Accidents* and *Qualities*, but as all *Substantial*) it is more easie to conceive, that all these are really but *One* and the same *God*, than how there should be any considerable *Inferiority* in them. But besides this, there is another Platonick *Hypothesis* (which St. *Austin* hinteth from *Porphyrius*, though he professeth he did not well understand it) wherein the *Third Hypostasis* is made to be, a certain *Middle* betwixt the *First* and *Second*. And this does *Proclus* also sometimes follow, calling the *Third* in like manner, μέσω δύναμιν, *a Middle Power*, and χέων ἀμφοῖν, *the Relation of both the First and Second to one another*. Which agreeth exactly with that apprehension of some *Christians*, that the *Third Hypostasis* is as it were the *Nexus* betwixt the *First* and the *Second*, and that *Love* whereby the *Father* and *Son* Love each other. Now according to this *Latter Platonick Hypothesis*, there would seem to be not so much a *Gradation* or *Descent*, as a kind of *Circulation* in the *Trinity*. Upon all which Considerations, the *Platonick Christian* will conclude, That though some Junior Platonists have adulterated the Notion of the Trinity, yet either there is no such great difference betwixt the *Genuine Platonick Trinity*, righty understood, and the *Christian*; or else that as the same might be modell'd and rectified, there need not to be.

D. Civ. D. L. 10. c. 23. Cum dicit Medium, non Postponit, sed Interponit.

But though the *Genuine Platonists*, do thus suppose the *Three Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, to be all of them, not only *God*, but also *One God*, or μία θεότης, *One Entire Divinity*; upon which Latter accompt the Whole may be said also by them, to have *One Singular* or *Numerical Essence*; yet notwithstanding must it be acknowledged, that they no where suppose, each of these *Three Hypostases*, to be Numerically the very same, or to have no *Distinct Singular Essences* of their own: this being in their apprehensions, directly contradictious to their very *Hypothesis* it self, and all one as if they should affirm them, indeed not to be *Three Hypostases*, but only *One*. Nevertheless, the *Christian Platonist* would here also apologize for them after this manner; That the ancient *Orthodox Fathers* of the Christian Church, were Generally of no other persuasion than this, that that *Essence* or *Substance of the Godhead*, which all the *Three Persons* or *Hypostases* agree in, as each of them is God, was not One *Singular and Individual*, but only One *Common and Universal Essence or Substance*: that word *Substance*, being used by them as Synonymous with *Essence*, and applied to Universals likewise, as it is by the Peripateticks, when they call *A Man*, or *Animal* in General, *Substantiam Secundam*, *A Second Substance*. Now this is Evident from hence, because these *Orthodox Fathers*, did commonly distinguish in this Controversie of the *Trinity*, betwixt οὐσία, and ὑπόστασις, *the Essence or Substance of the Godhead*, and the *Hypostases* or *Persons themselves*, after this manner; namely, that the *Hypostasis* or *Person was Singular and Individual*; but the *Essence* or *Substance Common and Universal*. Thus does *Theodoret* pronounce of these Fathers in general, κατάγε τὴν τῶν πατέρων διδασκαλίαν, ἣν ἔχει διαφορὰν τὸ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἴδιον, ἢ τὸ γένος ὑπὲρ τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ ἄτομον, τοιαύτην ἔχει ἡ ΟΥΣΙΑ πρὸς ΤΗΝ ΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΝ· *According to the Doctrine of the Fathers; as that which is Common differs from that which is Proper, and the* Genus *from the* Species *or* Inviduum, *so doth*

Dial. 1. adv. Her.

doth Eſſence or Subſtance, differ from Hypoſtaſes; that is to ſay, that *Eſſence or Subſtance of the Godhead*, which is Common to all the *Three Hypoſtaſes*, or whereby each of them is *God*, was concluded by the Fathers, not to be One *Singular* or *Individual*, but One *General* or *Univerſal Eſſence* and *Subſtance*. *Theodoret* notwithſtanding there acknowledging, that no ſuch Diſtinction was obſerved by other Greek Writers, betwixt thoſe two words οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, *Eſſence or Subſtance* and *Hypoſtaſis*; as that the Former of them ſhould be reſtrained to *Univerſals* only, Generical or *Specifical Eſſences* or *Subſtances*; but that this was peculiar to the Chriſtian Fathers, in their doctrine concerning the Trinity. They in the mean time not denying, but that each *Hypoſtaſis*, *Proſopon*, or *Perſon*, in the *Trinity*, might be ſaid in another ſence, and in way of Oppoſition to *Sabellius*, to have its own *Singular*, *Individual* or *Exiſtent Eſſence alſo*; and that there are thus, τρεῖς οὐσίαι, *Three Singular Exiſtent Eſſences* in the Deity, as well as τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, *Three Hypoſtaſes*; an *Hypoſtaſis* being nothing elſe to them, but an *Exiſtent Eſſence:* however for diſtinctions ſake, they here thought fit thus to limit and appropriate the ſignification of theſe Two words; that a *Singular* and *Exiſtent Eſſence*, ſhould not be called *Eſſence*, but *Hypoſtaſis*; and by οὐσία *Eſſence* or *Subſtance*, ſhould be meant, that *General* or *Univerſal Nature* of the *Godhead* only, which is Common to all thoſe *Three Singular Hypoſtaſes* or *Perſons*, or in which they all agree. We might here heap up many more Teſtimonies for a further Confirmation of this; as that of St. *Baſil*; ὃν ἔχει λόγον τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον, τοῦτον ἔχει ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὼ ὑπόσασιν, *What Common is to Proper, the ſame is Eſſence or Subſtance* (in the Trinity) *to the* Hypoſtaſes. But we ſhall content our ſelves only, with this full acknowledgment of *D. Petavius*, *In hoc Uno Græcorum præſertim omnium judicia concordant*, οὐσίαν, *id eſt*, *Eſſentiam ſive Subſtantiam*, *aut* Naturam (*quàm* φύσιν *vocant*) *Generale eſſe aliquid & Commune, ac minimè definitum*, ὑπόστασιν *verò Proprium, Singulare, & Circumſcriptum, quod ex illo Communi, & Peculiaribus quibuſdam Notis ac Proprietatibus veluti componitur. In this One Thing, do the Judgments and Opinions of all the Greeks eſpecially agree, that* Uſia *Eſſence or Subſtance, and Nature, which they call* Phyſis (*in the Trinity*) *is ſomething General, Common and Undetermined; but* Hypoſtaſis *is that which is Proper, Singular and Circumſcribed; and which is as it were compounded and made up of that Common Eſſence or Subſtance, and certain Peculiar Notes and Properties, or Individuating Circumſtances.*

Greg. Nyſſen. Adv. Eunom. L. 12.

Ep. 369.

De Trin. L. 4. c. 7.

But beſides this, it is further certain, that not a few of thoſe Ancient Fathers, who were therefore reputed Orthodox, becauſe they zealouſly oppoſed *Arianiſm*, did entertain this opinion alſo, That *the Three* Hypoſtaſes or *Perſons* of the *Trinity*, had not only one *General and Univerſal Eſſence of the Godhead*, belonging to them all, they being all God; but were alſo *Three Individuals*, under *One and the ſame Ultimate* Species, or *Specifick Eſſence and Subſtance of the Godhead*; Juſt as *Three Individual men*, (*Thomas*, *Peter* and *John*) under that *Ultimate Species* of Man; or that *Specifick Eſſence of Humanity*, which have only a Numerical Difference from one another.

Where-

Wherefore an *Hypostasis* or *Person* (in the Trinity) was accordingly thus defined, by some of these Fathers, (*viz. Anastasius* and *Cyril*) to be, *Essentia cum suis quibusdam Proprietatibus, ab iis quæ sunt ejusdem Speciei, Numero differens*; *an Essence or Substance, with its Certain Properties (or Individuating Circumstances) differing only Numerically from those of the same Species with it.* This Doctriue was plainly asserted and Industriously pursued (besides several others both of the Greeks and Latins) especially by *Gregory Nyssen*, *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Maximus* the Martyr, and *Damascen*; whose words because *Petavius* hath set them down at large, we shall not here insert. Now these were they who principally insisted, upon the *Absolute Co-Equality* and *Independent Co-Ordination*, of the *Three Hypostases* or Persons in the Trinity, as compared with one another. Because, as *Three Men*, though one of them were a Father, Another a Son, and the Third a Nephew; yet have no *Essential Dependence* one upon another, but are *Naturally Co-Equal* and *Unsubordinate*, there being only a *Numerical Difference* betwixt them: so did they in like manner conclude, that the *Three Hypostases* or *Persons of the Deity* (the Father, Son and Holy Ghost) being likewise but *Three Individuals*, under the same *Ultimate Species* or *Specifick Essence* of the Godhead, and differing only *Numerically* from one another, were *Absolutely Co-Equal*, *Unsubordinate* and *Independent*; and this was that which was Commonly called by them, their ὁμοουσιότης, their *Co-Essentiality* or *Con-Substantiality*. Wherefore it is observable, that St. *Cyril* one of these Theologers, finds no other fault at all with the *Platonick Trinity*, but only this, that such an *Homoousiotes*, such a *Co-Essentiality* or *Consubstantiality* as this, was not acknowledged therein, ἐλελοίπει δ' ἂν πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ὀδὲν, εἰ τὸν ὁμοουσιότητος λόγον ἐφαρμόσθειν ἤθελον ὑποστάσεσι ταῖς τριοὶν, ἵνα καὶ μία νοοῖτο τῆς θεότητος φύσις, τὸ τρίχθες δὲ ἔχουσα πρὸς ἑτερότητα φυσικὴν, καὶ τὸ γε δὴ σφῶν ἀλλήλων ἐν μέσῳ ὁρᾶσθαι ὑποστάσεις. *Cont. Jul. L. 8. p. 270.* *There would have been nothing at all wanting to the Platonick Trinity, for an Absolute agreement of it with the Christian, had they but accommodated the right Notion of Co-Essentiality or Con-Substantiality to their Three* Hypostases; *so that their might have been but one Specifick Nature or Essence of the Godhead, not further distinguishable by any Natural Diversity, but Numerically only, and so no one* Hypostasis *any way Inferiour or Subordinate to another.* That is, had these Platonists complied with that *Hypothesis* of St. *Cyril* and others, that the Three Persons of the Trinity, were but *Three Independent* and *Co-Ordinate Individuals*, under the same Ultimate Species or Specifick Essence of the *Godhead*, as *Peter*, *Paul* and *John*, under that Species or Common Nature of *Humanity*, and so taken in this *Co-Essentiality* or *Con-Substantiality* of theirs, then had they been completely Orthodox. Though we have already shewed, that this Platonick Trinity, was in another sence *Homoousian*, and perhaps it will appear afterwards, that it was so also in the very sence of the Nicene Fathers and of *Athanasius*. Again these Theologers supposed, the Three Persons of their Trinity, to have really no other than a *Specifick Unity* or *Identity*; and because it seems plainly to follow from hence, that therefore they must needs be as much *Three Gods* as Three Men are Three Men; these learned Fathers endeavoured with their

Logick to prove, That *Three Men*, are but Abuſively and Improperly ſo called *Three*; they being really & truly but One, becauſe there is but *One & the ſame Specifick Eſſence or Subſtance of Humane Nature* in them all; and ſeriouſly perſwaded men to lay aſide that kind of Language. By which ſame Logick of theirs, they might as well prove alſo, that all the men in the world are but *One Man*, and that all *Epicurus* his Gods were but one God neither. But not to urge here, that according to this *Hypotheſis*, there cannot poſſibly be any reaſon given, why there ſhould be ſo many as *Three* ſuch Individuals in the *Species of God*, which differ only Numerically from one another, they being but the very ſame thing thrice repeated; and yet that there ſhould be no more than Three ſuch neither, and not Three Hundred, or Three Thouſand, or as many as there are individuals in the Species of Man; we ſay, not to urge this, it ſeems plain that this *Trinity*, is no other than a kind of *Tritheiſm*, and that of *Gods Independent* and *Co-Ordinate* too. And therefore ſome would think, that the Ancient and Genuine *Platonick Trinity*, taken with all its faults, is to be preferred before this *Trinity* of St. *Cyril* and St. *Gregory Nyſſen*, and ſeveral other reputed Orthodox Fathers; and more agreeable to the Principles both of *Chriſtianity* and of *Reaſon*. However it is evident from hence, that theſe *Reputed Orthodox Fathers*, who were not a few, were far from thinking the *Three Hypoſtaſes* of the *Trinity*, to have *the ſame Singular Exiſtent Eſſence*; they ſuppoſing them to have no otherwiſe, one and the ſame *Eſſence of the Godhead* in them, nor to be One God, than Three Individual Men, have one Common *Specifical Eſſence of Manhood* in them, and are all One Man. But as this *Trinity* came afterwards to be decried, for *Tritheiſtick*; ſo in the room thereof, ſtarted there up, that other *Trinity of Perſons* Numerically the Same, or having all One and the ſame Singular Exiſtent Eſſence; a Doctrine which ſeemeth not to have been owned by any publick Authority in the Chriſtian Church, ſave that of the Lateran Council only.

And that no ſuch thing was ever entertained by the Nicene Fathers and thoſe Firſt oppoſers of Arianiſm, might be rendered probable in the Firſt place from the free Confeſſion and Acknowledgment of *D. Petavius*, (a Perſon, well acquainted with Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity;) and for this reaſon eſpecially, becauſe many are much led, by ſuch new Names and Authorities; *In eo præcipuam vim collocaſſe Patres, ut Æqualem Patri Naturâ, Excellentiâque Filium eſſe defenderent, citra expreſſam SINGULARITATIS mentionem, licet ex eo conjicere. Etenim Nicæni iſti Præſules, quibus nemo melius Arianæ Sectæ arcana cognovit, nemo quare opprimenda maximè foret, acrius dijudicare potuit, nihil in Profeſſionis ſuæ formulâ ſpectarunt aliud, niſi ut Æqualitatem illam Eſſentiæ, Dignitatis, Æternitatis aſtruerent. Teſtatur hoc ὁμοούσιος vox ipſa, quæ arx quædam fuit Catholici Dogmatis. Hæc enim Æqualitatem potius Eſſentiæ, quam SINGULARITATEM ſignificat, ut Capite Quinto docui. Deinde cætera ejuſdem modi ſunt in illo Decreto, ut, &c. The chief force which the Ancient Fathers oppoſed againſt the Arian Hereticks, was in aſſerting only the Equality of the Son with the Father as to Nature or Eſſence, without any expreſs mention of*

De Trin. L. 4. c. 13.

of the SINGULARITY *of the same. For those Nicene Bishops themselves, who did understand best of any, the secrets of the Arian Faction, and which way it should especially be oppugned, aimed at nothing else in their Confession of Faith, but only to establish that Equality of Essence, Dignity and Eternity between them. This does the word* Homoousios *it self declare, it signifying rather Equality, than* SINGULARITY *of Essence, as we have before showed. And the like do those other Passages in the same Decree; as, That there was no time when the Son was not, and That he was not made of nothing, Nor of a different* Hypostasis *or* Essence. Thus does *Petavius* clearly confess, that this Same *Singularity* of *Numerical Essence* was not asserted by the Nicene Council nor the most Ancient Fathers, but only an *Equality* or Sameness of *Generical Essence*; or else that the Father and Son, agreed only in *One Common* Essence or *Substance of the Godhead*, that is, the *Eternal and Uncreated Nature*.

But the truth of this, will more fully appear, from these following Particulars. First because these *Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers*, did all of zealously condemn *Sabellianism*; the Doctrine whereof is no other than this, that there was but one *Hypostasis* or *Singular Individual Essence*, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and consequently that they were indeed but *Three several Names*, or *Notions*, or *Modes*, *of one and the self same thing*. From whence such Absurdities as these would follow; That the Father's Begetting the Son, was nothing but one *Name*, *Notion*, or *Mode* of the Deities Begetting another; or else the same Deity under *one Notion*, Begetting it self under another *Notion*. And when again the *Son* or *Word*, and not the Father, is said to have been Incarnated, and to have suffered death for us upon the Cross; that it was nothing but a meer *Logical Notion* or *Mode* of the Deity, that was *Incarnate* and Suffered, or else the whole Deity under one *particular Notion* or *Mode only*. But should it be averred notwithanding, that this *Trinity* which we now speak of, was not a *Trinity* of meer *Names* and *Notions*, as that of the Sabellians, but of distinct *Hypostases* or *Persons*; then must it needs follow (since every *Singular Essence* is an *Hypostasis*, according to the sence of the Ancient Fathers) that there was not a *Trinity* only, but a *Quaternity* of *Hypostases*, in the Deity. Which is a thing that none of those Fathers ever dream'd of.

Again the word *Homoousios*, as was before intimated by *Petavius*, was never used by Greek writers otherwise, than to signifie the Agreement of things, *Numerically differing* from one another, in some *Common Nature*, or *Universal Essence*; or their having a *Generical Unity* or *Identity*, of which sundry Instances might be given. Nor indeed is it likely, that the Greek Tongue should have any name for that, which neither is a thing in Nature, nor falls under Humane Conception, *viz.* Several Things having one and the same *Singular Essence*. And accordingly St. *Basil* interprets the force of this word thus, ἀναιρεῖ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὃ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄζειν ἑ- *In Epist.*
αυτῷ ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ ἑτέρῳ· *That it plainly takes away the Sameness of* Hypostasis, *that is, of Singular Numerical Essence (this being that*

which the ancient Fathers meant by the word Hypostasis:) *For the same thing, is not* Homoousios, *Co-Essential or Con-Substantial with it self, but always One thing with Another.* Wherefore as τὸ ὁμοούσιον and συγγένεια, are used by *Plotinus* as Synonymous, in these words concerning the Soul, Θείων μεστὴ διὰ συγγένειαν καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον, *That it is full of Divine things, by reason of its being Cognate or Congenerous, and Homoousious with them:* so doth *Athanasius* in like manner use them, when he affirmeth, τὰ κλήματα εἶναι ὁμοούσια καὶ συγγενῆ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ, *That the Branches are Homoousious* [Co-essential or Con-substantial] *and Congenerous with the Vine, or with the Root thereof.* Besides which, the same Father uses, ὁμογενὴς and ὁμοειδὴς, and ὁμοφυὴς, indifferently for ὁμοούσιος, in sundry places. None of which words can be thought to signifie an *Identity of Singular Essence*, but only of *Generical* or *Specifical.* And thus was the word *Homoousios*, plainly used by the Council of *Chalcedon*, they affirming that our Saviour Christ was, ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, *Co-Essential or Con-Substantial with the Father, as to his Divinity; but Co-Essential or Con-Substantial with us Men, as to his Humanity.* Where it cannot reasonably be suspected, that one and the same word should be taken in two different sences in the same Sentence, so as in the first place to signifie a *Numerical Identity*, but in the second, a *Generical* or *Specifical* only. But Lastly, which is yet more, *Athanasius* himself speaketh in like manner of our Saviour Christ's being *Homoousious* with us men; εἰ μὲν ὃν ὁμοούσιός ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὁ υἱὸς, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἔχει φύσιν, ἔστω κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ υἱὸς ἀλλότριος κατ' οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος τοῦ γεωργοῦ· *If the Son be Coessential or Consubstantial (or of the same Essence or Substance) with us Men, he having the very same Nature with us, then let him be in this respect a stranger to the Essence or Substance of the Father, even as the Vine is to the Essence of the Husbandman.* And again a little after, in the same Epistle, ἢ λέγων μὴ εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἴδιον, τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας, ἐφεύρετο τοῦτον ὁμοούσιον ἡμῶν εἶναι τῇ ἀνθρώπων· *Or did* Dionysius, *think you, when he affirmed the Word not to be Proper to the Essence of the Father, suppose him therefore to be Coessential or Consubstantial with us Men?* From all which it is unquestionably evident, that *Athanasius* did not by the word *Homoousios* understand, That which hath the *Same Singular* and *Numerical Essence with another*, but the same Common *Generical* or *Specifical* only; and consequently, that he conceived the Son to be *Coessential* or *Consubstantial* with the Father after that manner.

En. 4: L. 7. c. 10.

Epist. de Sent. Dion. p. 556.

Tom. 1 *p.* 556.

Thus also in his 1. Epist. to *Serap.* ἄνθρωποι γὰρ ὄντες ὁμοιοι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ταυτότητα ἔχοντες ὁμοούσιοί ἐσμεν ἀλλήλων · *We Men being alike and having the Sameness of Nature, are Con-Substantial with one another.* And P. 170. ὥσπερ ἂν μαινοιτ' ἄν τις λέγων, τὴν οἰκίαν ὁμοούσιον τῷ οἰκοδόμῳ, καὶ τὸ σκάφος τῷ ναυπηγῷ, οὕτως πρεπόντως ἄν τις εἴποι, παῖδα υἱὸν ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῷ ἑαυτῷ πατρὶ· *It were madness to say, that a House is Coessential or Con-substantial with the Builder, or a Ship with the Ship-wright; but it is proper to say, that every Son is Coessential or Consubstantial with his Father.*

Furthermore the true meaning of the Nicene Fathers, may more fully and thoroughly be perceived, by considering what that Doctrine of *Arius* was, which they Opposed and Condemned. Now *Arius* maintained, the *Son* or *Word*, to be κτίσμα *a Creature, Made in Time*, and *Mutable or Defectible*, and for that reason as *Athanasius* tells us, ἑτερούσιον and ἀλλοτριούσιον, *of a different Essence or Substance from the Father* (That which is Created, being supposed to differ *Essentially* or *Substantially*, from that which is *Uncreated.*) Wherefore the Nicene Fathers, in way of Opposition to this Doctrine of *Arius* determined, that the *Son* or *Word*, was not thus ἑτερούσιος, nor

nor ἀλλοτρίουσιος, but ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ, *Coessential or Consubstantial with the Father*; that is, not a *Creature*, but *God*; or agreeing with the Father in that *Common Nature* or *Essence of the Godhead*. So that this is that οὐσία, *Essence* or *Substance* of the ancient Fathers, which is said to be the Same in all the *Three Hypostases* of the Trinity as they are called God; not a *Singular Existent Essence*, but the *Common*, *General*, or *Universal Essence of the Godhead*, or of the *Uncreated Nature*, called by S. *Hilary*, *Natura Una, non Unitate Per-* *De Synodis.*
sonæ, sed Generis; *One Nature, not by Unity of Person, but of Kind.* Which *Unity* of the *Common* or *General Essence* of the *Godhead*, is the same thing also with that *Equality*, which some of the Ancient Fathers so much insist upon against *Arius*, namely *An Equality of Nature*, as the Son and Father are both of them alike *God*, that *Essence of the Godhead* (which is *Common* to all the *Three Persons*) being as all other *Essences*, supposed to be *Indivisible*. From which *Equality* it self also does it appear, that they acknowledged no *Identity* of *Singular Essence*, it being absurd to say, that One and the self same thing, is *Equal to it self*. And with this *Equality of Essence*, did some of these Orthodox Fathers themselves imply, that a certain *Inequality of the Hypostases* or *Persons* also, in their mutual Relation to one another, might be consistent. As for example, St. *Austin* writing *Cont. Serm. Arian. c. 18.*
thus against the Arians, *Patris, ergo & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, etiamsi disparem cogitant Potestatem, Naturam saltem consiteantur Æqualem*; *Though they conceive the Power of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be Unequal, yet let them for all that, confess their Nature at least to be Equal.* And St. *Basil* likewise, *Though the Son be in Order Second to* *3. Cont. Eunom.*
the Father, because produced by him, and in Dignity also, (forasmuch as the Father is the Cause and Principle of his being) yet is he not for all that, Second in Nature, because there is One Divinity in them both. And that this was indeed the meaning, both of the *Nicene Fathers*, and of *Athanasius*, in their *Homoousiotes*, their *Coessentiality* or *Consubstantiality*, and *Coequality of the Son with the Father*; namely, their having both the same *Common Essence of the Godhead*; or that the Son was *No Creature*, as *Arius* contended, but truly *God or Uncreated* likewise, will appear undeniably, from many passages in *Athanasius*, of which we shall here mention only some few. In his *P. 251.*
Epistle concerning the Nicene Council, he tells us, how the Eusebian Faction subscribed the Form of that Council, though afterward they recanted it, πάντων τε ὑποσχαλόντων ὑπέγραψαν καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν οἷς αἰτιῶνται νῦν ἔτοι· λέγω δὴ τῆς ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ τῆς ὁμοουσίου, καὶ ὅτι μήτε κτίσμα ἢ ποίημα, μήτε τῶν γενητῶν ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός· ἀλλὰ γνήσιον καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας ὁ λόγος· *All the rest subscribing, the Eusebianists themselves subscribed also to these very words, which they now find fault with; I mean Of the Essence or Substance, and Coessential or Consubstantial, and that the Son is no Creature or Facture or any of the Things Made, but the Genuine Off-spring of the Essence or Substance of the Father.* Afterwards he declareth, how the Nicene Council at first, intended to have made use only of Scripture Words and Phrases, against the Arians, τὴν συνόδον βουλομένης τὰς μὲν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν τὴν ἀσεβείας λέξεις ἀνελεῖν· τὰς δὲ *P. 267.*
τῶν γεγραφῶν ὁμολογουμένας φωνὰς γράψαι, ὅτι τε υἱός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ σοφία, ἀλλ' οὐ κτίσμα οὐδὲ ποίημα. ἴδιον δὲ

οὐκ

ἐκ τῦ πατρὸς γέννημα· *As that Christ was the Son of God, and not from nothing, but from God. the Word and Wisdom of God, and consequently no Creature or thing Made. But when they perceived that the Eusebian Faction would evade all those Expressions by Equivocation,* ἠναγκάσθησαν λοιπὸν λελυκότερον εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐκ τῦ θεῦ· καὶ γεγράφαι ἐκ τ οὐσίας τῦ θεῦ εἶναι τ υἱόν, ὑπὲρ τῦ μὴ τὸ ἐκ τῦ θεῦ κοινὸν καὶ ἴσον, τῦ τε υἱῦ καὶ τῦ γεννήματος νομίζεσθαι· *They conceived themselves necessitated, more plainly to declare what they meant by being From God, or Out of him; and therefore added, that the Son was Out of the Substance of God, thereby to distinguish him from all Created Beings.* Again a little after in the same Epistle he adds, ἡ συνοδὸς τῦτο νοῦσα, καλῶς ὁμοούσιον ἔγραψεν, ἵνα τῶτε τῆς αἱρετικῶν κακοήθειαν ἀνασκέψασα, καὶ δείξασιν ἄλλον εἶναι τῦ γεννήματος τ λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τῦτο γράψαντες οὐδὲν ἐπήγαγον· τὸς γὰρ λέγοντας ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων τ υἱὸν τῦ θεῦ, ἢ κτιστόν· ἢ τρεπτόν· ἢ ποίημα· ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας, τύτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἁγία καὶ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία· *The Synod perceiving this, rightly declared, that the Son was Homoousious with the Father; both to cut off the Subterfuges of Hereticks, and to show him to be different from the Creatures. For after they had decreed this, they added immediately, They who say that the Son of God, was from things that are not, or Made, or Mutable, or a Creature, or of another Substance or Essence; all such does the Holy and Catholick Church Anathematize. Whereby they made it Evident, that these Words, Of the Father, and Coessential or Consubstantial with the Father, were opposed to the Impiety of those expressions of the Arians, that the Son was a Creature, or thing Made, and Mutable, and that he was not before he was Made, which he that affirmeth contradicteth the Synod, but whosoever dissents from* Arius, *must needs consent to these Forms of the Synod.* In this same Epistle, to cite but one passage more out of it,

P. 272. χαλκὸς, σίλβων καὶ χρυσὸς, &c. ἀλλ' ἑτεροφυῆ καὶ ἑτερόζια ἀλλήλων· εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ υἱὸς ὅτως ἔχει, ἔστω πίζμα ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ μὴ ὁμοόζιος, εἰ δὲ γνήσιός ἐζι λόγος, σοφία, εἰκὼν τῦ πατρὸς, ἀπαύγαζμα, εἰκότως ὁμοόζιος ἂν εἴη· *Brass and Gold, Silver and Tin are alike in their shining and colour, nevertheless in their Essence and Nature, are they very different from one another. If therefore the Son be such, then let him be a Creature as we are, and not Coessential (or Consubstantial) but if he be a Son, the Word, Wisdom, Image of the Father, and his Splendour, then of right should he be accounted Coessential and Consubstantial.* Thus in his Epistle concerning *Dionysius*, we have

P. 561. ἵνα τῆς γενητῆς εἶναι τ υἱὸν, and μὴ ὁμοόζιον τῆ πατρὶ, *The Son's being one of the Creatures*, and *his not being Coessential or Consubstantial with the Father* put for Synonymous expressions, which signifie one and the samething.

Wherefore it seemeth to be unquestionably evident, that when the Ancient *Orthodox Fathers* of the Christian Church, maintained against *Arius*, the *Son* to be *Homoousion*, *Coessential* or *Consubstantial with the Father*, though that word be thus interpreted, *Of the same Essence or Substance*, yet they Universally understood thereby, not a *Sameness of Singular and Numerical*, but of Common or *Universal* Essence only; that is, the *Generical* or *Specifical* Essence *of the Godhead*; that the *Son* was no *Creature*, but truly and properly *God*. But if it were needful, there might be yet more Testimonies cited out of

Atha-

Athanasius to this purpose. As from his Epistle *De Synodis Arimini &* P. 929.
Seleuciæ, where he writeth thus, concerning the Difference betwixt those Two words ὁμοιόσιον, *of Like Substance*, and ὁμόσιον, *Of the Same Substance.* οἴδατε γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτι τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπὶ ὅτι τῶν ὄσιῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σχημάτων καὶ ποιοτήτων λέγεται ὅμοιον· ὅτι γὰρ τῶν ὄσιῶν οὐχ ὁμοιότης, ἀλλὰ ταυτότης ἂν λεχθείη· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅμοιος λέγεται ὡς πρὸς τὴν ὄσιαν· τῇ γὰρ οὐσίᾳ ὁμοφυεῖς εἰσι· καὶ πάλιν ἄνθρωπος νυνὶ δὲ Ἀνόμοιος λέγεται ἀλλ' Ἑτεροφυής· οὐκοῦν τὸ ὁμοφυὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον, τὸ δὲ Ἑτεροφυὲς καὶ ἑτερούσιον· *For even your selves know that Similitude is not Predicated of Essences or Substances, but of Figures and Qualities only. But of Essences or Substances,* Identity *or Sameness is affirmed and not* Similitude. *For a man is not said to be Like to a man, in respect of the* Essence *or Substance of* Humanity, *but only as to Figure or Form: they being said as to their Essence to be Congenerous, of the same Nature or Kind with one another. Nor is a man properly said, to be Unlike to a Dog, but of a Different Nature or Kind from him. Wherefore that which is Congenerous, of the same Nature, Kind, or Species, is also* Homoousion, *Coessential or Consubstantial (of the same Essence or Substance) and that which is of a different Nature, Kind, or Species, is* Heterousion, *(of a different Essence or Substance.)* Again *Athanasius* in that Fragment of his Against the Hypocrisie of *Meletius, &c.* concerning *Consubstantiality* writeth in this manner; ὁ τοίνυν ἀναιρῶν τὸ εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν ὁμόσιον τῷ πατρὶ, λέγων δὲ ὅμοιον, ἀναιρεῖ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐξηγούμενος τὸ ὁμοούσιον, ὡς ὅμοιον τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἑτέραν τινὰ οὐσίαν λέγει, θεὸν δὲ ὁμοιωμένον· ὁ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι πρεπόντως λέγει μὴ φρονῶν ὁμόσιον, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου οὐσίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ οὐσίαν, ἐκ θεοῦ ὁ υἱὸς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὁμοιώματι καὶ διαφορᾷ ἀνομοιότητος ἀνθρώπου· ἢ ὡς ἄνθρωπος θεῷ, δῆλός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος ὁμόσιον μὲν λέγων, ὁμόσιον δὲ οὐ φρονῶν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν βούλεται τὸ ὁμόσιον ἀκούεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν, ὡς μίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας· ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν συνήθειαν, καὶ ἵνα διαφάλλῃ ταύτῃ, Ἑλληνικὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁμόσιον φήμην τοῦ ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἔθους ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ κείμενον ἢ ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν παρίστησι, &c. *He that denies the Son to be* Homoousion, *Consubstantial with the Father, affirming him only to be like to him, denies him to be God. In like manner, he who reteining the word* Homousion *or Consubstantial, interprets it notwithstanding only of Similitude or Likeness in Substance, affirmeth the Son to be of Another Different Substance from the Father, and therefore not God; but like to God only. Neither doth such a one rightly understand those words,* Of the Substance of the Father, *he not thinking the Son to be so Consubstantial, or of the Essence and Substance of the Father, as one man is Consubstantial, or Of the Essence or Substance of another who begat him. For he who affirmeth that the Son is not so Of God, as a man is Of a man, according to Essence or Substance; but that he is Like him only, as a Statue is like a Man or as a Man may be Like to God, it is manifest that such a one, though he use the word* Homoousios,, *yet he doth not really mean it. For he will not understand it according to the customary signification thereof, for that which hath One and the Same Essence or Substance; this word being used by Greeks and Pagans in no other sence, than to signifie that which hath the Same Nature; as we ought to believe concerning the Father Son and Holy Ghost.* Where we see plainly, that though the word *Homoousios*, be interpreted, *That which hath One and the Same*

Essence

Essence or Substance, yet is this understood of the Same Common Nature, and as one man is of the same Essence or Substance with another. We might here also add to this, the concurrent testimonies of the other Orthodox Fathers, but to avoid tediousness we shall omit them, and only insert some passages out of St. *Austin* to the same purpose. For he in his First Book *Contra Maxim.* Chap. the 15. writeth thus, *Duo veri Homines, etsi nullus eorum Filius sit Alterius*, Unius tamen & Ejusdem sunt Substantiæ. *Homo autem alterius Hominis Verus filius nullo modo potest nisi* Ejusdem *cum Patre esse* Substantiæ, *etiamsi non sit per omnia Similis Patri. Quocirca Verus Dei Filius, &* Unius *cum Patre* Substantiæ *est, quia Verus Filius est; & per omnia est Patri similis, quia est Dei Filius. Two True men, though neither of them be* Son *to the other, yet are they both of One and the Same Substance. But a man who is the true* Son *of another man, can by no means be of a Different Substance from his Father, although he be not in all respects like unto him. Wherefore the true Son of God, is both of one Substance with the Father, because he is a true* Son, *and he is also in all respects like to him, because he is the* Son *of God.* Where Christ or the Son of God, is said to be no otherwise, of *One Substance* with God the Father, than here amongst men, the *Son* is of the same Substance with his Father, or any one man with another. Again the same S. *Austin* in his *Respons. ad Sermonem Arianorum*, expresseth himself thus: *Ariani nos vocitant Homoousianos, quia contra eorum errorem, Græco vocabulo* ὁμοούσιον *defendimus, Patrem, Filium, &* Spiritum Sanctum; *id est,* Unius Ejusdemque Substantiæ, *vel ut expressius dicamus* Essentiæ (*quæ* οὐσία *Græcè appellatur*) *quod planius dicitur* Unius Ejusdemque Naturæ. *Et tamen siquis istorum qui nos Homoousianos vocant, Filium suum non cujus ipse esset, sed Diversæ diceret esse Naturæ, Exhæredari ab ipso mallet Filius, quam hoc putari. Quanta igitur impietate isti cæcantur, qui cum confiteantur Unicum Dei Filium, nolunt Ejusdem Naturæ cujus Pater est confiteri; sed diversæ atque imparis, & multis modis rebusque dissimilis, tanquam non de Deo Natus, sed ab illo de Nihilo sit Creatus; Gratiâ Filius, non Naturâ. The Arians call us Homoousians, because in opposition to their Errour we defend the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to be in the Language of the Greeks* Homoousious, *that is of One and the Same Substance; or to speak more clearly Essence, this being in Greek called* Usiah, *which is yet more plainly thus expressed, of One and the Same Nature. And yet there is none of their own* Sons, *who thus call us Homoousians, who would not as willingly be disinherited, as be accounted of a Different Nature from his Father. How great impiety therefore are they blinded with, who though they acknowledge that there is One only Son of God; yet will not confess him, to be of the same* Nature *with his Father, but different and unequal and many ways unlike him, as if he were not Born of God, but Created out of Nothing by him, himself being a Creature; and so a Son, not by Nature but Grace only.* Lastly (to name no more places) in his First Book *De Trinitate*, he hath these words. *Si Filius Creatura non est, ejusdem cum Patre Substantiæ est. Omnis enim Substantia quæ Deus non est Creatura est: & quæ Creatura non est, Deus est. Et si non est Filius ejusdem Substantiæ cujus est Pater, ergo Facta Substantia est. If the* Son *be not a Creature, then is he of the same*

To the same purpose is that in his Second Book ch. 6. *Diversa quidem Substantia est Deus Pater, & Homo Mater: non tamen diversa Substantia est Deus Pater & Deus Filius: sicut non est diversa Substantia, Homo Mater, & Homo Filius.*

ſame Subſtance with the Father; for whatever Subſtance is not God, is Creature, and whatever is not Creature is God. And therefore if the Son be not of the Same Subſtance with the Father, he muſt needs be a Made and Created Subſtance, and not truly God.

Laſtly, that the ancient Orthodox Fathers, who uſed the word *Homoouſios* againſt *Arius*, intended not therein to aſſert the Son to have One and the ſame *Singular or Individual Eſſence* with the Father, appeareth plainly from their diſclaiming and diſowning thoſe two words Ταυτοούσιον and Μονοούσιον. Concerning the Former of which, *Epiphanius* thus; Καὶ ὁ λέγομεν Ταυτοούσιον, ἵνα μὴ ἡ λέξις φανῇ τισι λεγομένη, Σαβελλίῳ ἀπεικασθῇ· Ταυτὸν ὁ λέγομεν τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει· *We affirm not the Son to be* Tautoouſion *(One and the ſame Subſtance with the Father) leſt this ſhould be taken in way of compliance with* Sabellius; *nevertheleſs do we aſſert him to be, the Same, in Godhead, and in Eſſence, and in Power.* Where it is plain, that when *Epiphanius* affirmed the Son to be the ſame with the Father in *Godhead* and *Eſſence*, he underſtood this only, of a *Generical* or *Specifical*, and not of a *Singular* or *Individual Sameneſs*; namely, that the *Son* is no *Creature*, but *God* alſo as the *Father* is; and this he intimates to be the true and genuine ſence of the word *Homoouſios*: he therefore rejecting that other word *Tautoouſios*, becauſe it would be liable to miſinterpretation, and to be taken in the *Sabellian* ſence, for that which hath *One and the Same Singular and Individual Eſſence*, which the word *Homoouſios* could not be obnoxious to. And as concerning that other word *Monoouſios*; *Athanaſius* himſelf, in his *Expoſition of Faith*, thus expreſly condemns it, ὅτε γὰρ πατέρα φρονοῦμεν, ὡς οἱ Σαβέλλιοι Μονοούσιον καὶ οὐχ Ὁμοούσιον, *We do not think the Son to be really One and the Same with the Father, as the* Sabellians *do, and to be* Monoouſios *and not* Homoouſios; *they thereby deſtroying the very being of the Son.* Where *Uſia*, *Eſſence* or *Subſtance*, in that *Fictitious word Monoouſios*, is taken for *Singular* or *Exiſtent Eſſence*, the whole Deity being thus ſaid by *Sabellius*, to have only *One Singular Eſſence* or *Hypoſtaſis* in it: whereas in the word *Homoouſios*, is underſtood a *Common* or *Univerſal*, *Generical* or *Specifical Eſſence*; the Son being thus ſaid to agree with the Father, in the *Common Eſſence of the Godhead*, as not being a *Creature*. Wherefore *Athanaſius* here diſclaimeth a *Monoouſian Trinity*, as *Epiphanius* did before, a *Tautoouſian*; both of them a *Trinity of meer Names*, and *Notions*, or Inadequate Conceptions of One and the Same Singular Eſſence or *Hypoſtaſis*; they alike diſtinguiſhing them, from the *Homoouſian Trinity*, as a Trinity of *Real Hypoſtaſes* or *Perſons*, that have ſeverally their *Own Singular Eſſence*, but agree in one *Common and Univerſal Eſſence of the Godhead*, they being none of them *Creatures* but all Uncreated or *Creators*. From whence it is plain, that the ancient Orthodox Fathers, aſſerted no ſuch thing, as One and the *Same Singular* or *Numerical Eſſence*, of the ſeveral *Perſons of the Trinity*; this according to them, being not a Real Trinity, but *a Trinity of meer Names*, Notions, and Inadequate Conceptions only; which is thus diſclaimed and declared againſt by *Athanaſius*, Τριὰς δὲ ἔστιν οὐχ ἕως ὀνόματος μόνου, καὶ φαντασίας λέξεως, ἀλλὰ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ὑπάρξει Τριάς, *The*

Ggg *Trinity*,

Hær. 76. N. 7.

P. 241.

Trinity, is not a Trinity of meer Names and Words only, but of Hypostases, *truely and really Existing.* But the *Homoousian Trinity*, of the Orthodox, went exactly in the *Middle*, betwixt that *Monoousian Trinity* of *Sabellius*, which was a *Trinity* of *different Notions* or *Conceptions* only of One and the Self-Same Thing, and that other *Heteroousian Trinity* of *Arius*, which was a Trinity of *Separate* and *Heterogeneous Substances* (one of which only was God, and the other Creatures) this being a Trinity, of *Hypostases* or *Persons*, *Numerically* differing from one another, but all of them agreeing, in one *Common or General Essence of the Godhead* or *the Uncreated Nature*, which is *Eternall*, and *Infinite.* Which was also thus particularly declared by *Athanasius*, ὅτε ἔλαττόν τι φρονεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὸς νῦν κατὰ Καιάφαν Ἰουδαίζῃ, ἢ εἰς Σαβέλλιον ὠθῆται· ὅτε πλεῖον ὑπονοεῖ, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πολυθεότητα καταπέσῃ· *The Catholick Church doth neither believe less than this Homoousian Trinity, lest it should comply with Judaism, or sink into Sabellianism; nor yet more than this, lest on the other hand, it should tumble down into Arianism, which is the same with Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry*; it introducing in like manner, the worshipping of *Creatures*, together with the *Creator.*

Ad Serap. Ep. p. 202.

And now upon all these Considerations, our Platonick Christian would conclude, that the *Orthodox Trinity* of the ancient Christian Church, did herein agree with the *Genuinely Platonick Trinity*, that it was not *Monoousian*; One Sole Singular Essence, under Three Notions, Conceptions, or Modes only; but *Three Hypostases* or *Persons.* As likewise the right Platonick Trinity, does agree with the Trinity of the ancient Orthodox Christians in this, that it is not *Heteroousian* but *Homoousian*, *Coessential* or *Consubstantial*; none of their *Three Hypostases* being *Creatures* or *Particular Beings*, made in Time; but all of them *Uncreated*, *Eternal*, and *Infinite.*

Notwithstanding all which, it must be granted, that though this *Homoousiotes*, or *Coessentiality* of the *Three Persons* in the Trinity, does imply them to be all *God*, yet does it not follow from thence of necessity, that they are therefore *One God.* What then? shall we conclude that *Athanasius* himself also entertained that opinion before mentioned and exploded; Of the *Three Persons* in the Trinity, being but *Three Individuals* under the same *Species*, (as *Peter*, *Paul* and *Timothy*,) and having no other *Natural Unity* or *Identity*, than *Specifical* only? Indeed some have confidently fastned this upon *Athanasius*, because in those Dialogues *Of the Trinity*, published amongst his works, and there entitled to him, the same is grosly owned, and in defence thereof, this Absurd Paradox maintained; that *Peter Paul* and *Timothy*, though they be Three *Hypostases*, yet are not to be accounted *Three men*; but only then, when they dissent from one another, or disagree in Will or Opinion. But it is certain, from several Passages in those Dialogues themselves, that they could not be written by *Athanasius*; and there hath been also another Father found for them, to wit, *Maximus* the Martyr. Notwithstanding which, thus much must not be denied by us, that *Athanasius* in those others his reputedly Genuine Writings, does sometime

time approach ſo near hereunto, that he lays no ſmall ſtreſs upon this *Homoouſiotes*, this *Coeſſentiality*, and *Common Nature of the Godhead*, to all the Three Perſons, in order to their being *One God*. For thus, in that Book entitled, Concerning *the Common Eſſence of the Three Perſons*, and the Chapter inſcribed, Ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ τρεῖς θεοὶ, *That there are not Three Gods*; doth *Athanaſius* lay his Foundation here. When to that queſtion propoſed, *How it can be ſaid, that the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghoſt God, and yet that there are not Three Gods*; the Firſt Reply which he makes is this, ὅπου κοινὰ τὰ τῆς φύσεως, κοινὸν καὶ ὄνομα τῆς ἀξίας· οἷον ὁ θεὸς τὰ εἰς πλήθη διῃρημένα ἀπὸ μιᾶς φύσεως, ἑνὶ ὀνόματι καλεῖ· καὶ ὅτε ὀργίζεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὰ πάντα ἄνθρωπον τῇ ὀργῇ ὑπενέμεινον, ἕνα ἄνθρωπον καλεῖ· καὶ ὅτι διαλλάσσεται τῷ κόσμῳ, ὡς ἑνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ διαλλάσσεται· *Where there is a Communion of Nature, there is alſo one Common Name of Dignity beſtowed. And thus doth God himſelf, call things divided into Multitudes from one Common Nature, by One Singular Name. For both when he is angry with men, doth he call all thoſe who are the objects of his anger, by the name of One Man: and when he is reconciled to the world, is he reconciled thereto as to One Man.* The firſt Inſtances which he gives hereof, are in *Gen.* the 6. the 3. and 7. Verſes; *My Spirit ſhall not always ſtrive with Man*, and *I will deſtroy Man whom I have Created*; Upon which *Athanaſius* makes this Reflexion; καίτοι οὐκ ἦν εἷς, ἀλλὰ μυριάδες ἄπειροι· ἀλλὰ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς φύσεως, τὰ πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἕνα ἐκάλεσεν ἄνθρωπον διὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας, *Though there was not then only one man, but Infinite Myriads of men, nevertheleſs by the name of One Nature, doth the Scripture call all thoſe men, One Man, by reaſon of their Community of Eſſence or Subſtance.* Again he commenteth in like manner upon that other Scripture-paſſage, *Exodus* the 15. 1. *The Horſe and his Rider hath he thrown into the Sea*, Ὅτε ἐξῆλθε Φαραὼ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, πεσὼν μετὰ μυρίων ἁρμάτων ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ἦσαν πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι οἱ συνθανόντες μετ' ἐκείνου, καὶ ἵπποι πολλοὶ· ὁ δὲ Μωσῆς εἰδὼς, ὅτι πάντων τῶν συνθανόντων μία ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν λέγει, ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔῤῥιψεν εἰς θάλασσαν· τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάλεσεν ἕνα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἵππων ἐκάλεσεν ἵππον ἕνα, διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς φύσεως· *When* Pharaoh *went out to the Red Sea, and fell with Infinite Chariots in the ſame; and there were many men that were drowned together with him, and many Horſes; yet* Moſes *knowing that there was but one Common Nature of all thoſe that were drowned, ſpeaketh thus both of the Men and Horſes; The Lord hath thrown both the Horſe and the Rider into the Sea; he calling ſuch a Multitude of Men, but One Singular Man, and ſuch a Multitude of Horſes but One Horſe.* Whereupon *Athanaſius* thus concludeth, εἰ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅπου συγκέχυται τὰ τῆς φύσεως· ὅπου διάφορα τὰ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ βουλῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε γνώμην ἴσον, ἔστε μορφὴν, ἔστε ἰσχύν· καὶ διάφορα γλῶτται, διὸ καὶ ἄνθρωποι μέροπες λέγονται· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἐκλήθη· ὅπου γὰρ ἀμέριστος ἡ ἀξία, μία βασιλεία, μία δύναμις, καὶ βουλὴ, καὶ ἐνέργεια, ἰδιάζουσα τῷ τελείᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως, Ἕνα λέγω θεόν· *If therefore amongſt men, where the things of Nature are confounded, and where there are differences of Form, Power and Will (all men not having the ſame diſpoſition of Mind, nor Form, nor Strength) as alſo different Languages, (from whence men are called by the Poets* Meropes*) nevertheleſs by reaſon of the Community of Nature, the whole world is called*

P. 213, 214.

P. 214.

One Man; might not that Trinity of Persons, where there is an Undivided Dignity, One Kingdom, One Power, One Will, and One Energy be much rather called One God? But though it be true, that *Athanasius* in this place (if at least this were a Genuine *Fœtus* of *Athanasius*) may Justly be thought to attribute too much to this κοινὸν τ῀ φύσεως κ᾽ οὐσίας *This Common Nature, Essence, or Substance*, of all the Three Persons, as to the making of them to be truly and properly *One God*; and that those Scripture-passages are but weakly urged to this purpose; yet is it plain, that he did not acquiesce in this only, but addeth other things to it also, as their having not only One Will, but also One Energy or Action, of which more afterwards. Moreover *Athanasius*, elsewhere plainly implieth, that this *Common Essence or Nature of the Godhead*, is not sufficient alone, to make all the *Three Hypostases, One God.* As in his Fourth Oration against the Arians, where he tells us, that his *Trinity* of *Divine Hypostases* cannot therefore be accounted *Three Gods* nor *Three Principles*, because they are not resembled by him, to Three *Original Suns*, but only to the Sun, and its Splendour, and the Light from both. Now Three Suns, according to the Language of *Athanasius*, have κοινὸν τ῀ φύσεως κ᾽ οὐσίας, *a Common Nature, Essence, and Substance*, and therefore are *Coessential* or *Consubstantial*; and since they cannot be accounted one Sun, it is manifest, that according to *Athanasius*, this Specifick Identity or Unity, is not sufficient to make the *Three Divine Hypostases One God.* Again the same *Athanasius*, in his *Exposition of Faith*, writeth thus, Ὅτε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. μεμερισμένας καθ᾽ ἑαυτὰς, ὥσπερ σωματοφυῶς ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων δεῖ λογίσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ πολυθεΐαν εἰς τὸ ἔθνη φερονόσωμεν, *Neither do we acknowledge Three* Hypostases, *Divided or Separate by themselves (as is to be seen corporeally in men) that we may not comply with the Pagan Polytheism.* From whence it is Evident, that neither *Three Separate Men*, though Coessential to *Athanasius*, were accounted by him to be One Man, nor yet the *Community of the Specifick Nature and Essence of the Godhead*, can alone by it self, exclude *Polytheism* from the *Trinity.* Wherefore the true reason, why *Athanasius* laid so great a stress upon this *Homoousiotes*, or *Coessentiality* of the *Trinity*, in order to the *Unity of the Godhead* in them, was not because this alone was sufficient to make them *One God*, but because, they could not be so without it. This *Athanasius* often urges against the Arians, as in his Fourth Oration, where he tells them, πολλοὺς ἂν εἰσάγοιεν [Θεοὺς] διὰ τὸ ἑτερογενεῖς αὐτῆς, *That they must needs introduce a Plurality of Gods*, because of the *Heterogeneity of their Trinity.* And again afterwards determining, that there is ἓν εἶδος τ῀ Θεότητος, *one Species of the Godhead*, in Father, Son and Spirit, he adds; Ὅτω κ᾽ ἕνα διὰ τ῀ τελείου ὁμολογοῦμεν εἶναι τ῀ Θεὸν· κ᾽ πολὺ μᾶλλον δυσσεβέστερον λέγομεν τ῀ πολυειδῆς τῆς αἱρετικῶν Θεότητος, ὅτι τὸ μίαν ἐν τελείᾳ Θεότητα φρονοῦμεν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτως ἔχει, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐκ ὄντων ποίημα κ᾽ κτίσμα ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος—— ἀνάγκη λέγειν αὐτοὺς δύο Θεοὺς, ἕνα μὲν κτίστην, τ῀ δ᾽ ἕτερον κτιστόν· *And thus do we acknowledge one only God in the Trinity; and maintain it more Religiously than those Hereticks do, who introduce a Multiform Deity, consisting of divers Species; we supposing only One Universal Godhead in the whole. For if it be not thus, but the Son be a Creature, made out of nothing, however called God by these Arians, then*

P. 467.

then must He and his Father, of necessity be Two Gods; one of them a Creator, the other a Creature. In like manner in his Book, Of the Nicene Council, he affirmeth, concerning the Arians, τρεῖς θεὸς τρόπον τινὰ κηρύτ]ουσιν εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ξένας, ἀλλήλων παντάπασι κεχωρισμένας, διαιρέντες τὴν ἁγίαν μονάδα, *That they make in a manner Three Gods, dividing the Holy Monad into Three Heterogeneous Substances, Separate from one another.* Whereas the right *Orthodox Trinity*, on the contrary, is elsewhere thus described by him, τελείας τοίνυν ἁγίας καὶ τελείας θεότητος, ἐν πατρὶ, καὶ υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι θεολογουμένης, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ἢ ἔξωθεν ἐπιμιγνύμενον ἔχουσα, οὐδὲ ἐκ δημιουργοῦ καὶ γενητοῦ συνεκραμένη, ἀλλ' ὅλη τοῦ κτίζειν καὶ δημιουργεῖν ἔσα· *The Holy and perfect Trinity Theologized, in the Father, Son, and Spirit, hath nothing Aliene, Foreign or Extraneous intermingled with it; nor is it compounded of Heterogeneous things, the Creator and Creature joyned together.* And whereas the Arians interpreted that of our Saviour Christ, *I and my Father are One*, only in respect of Consent or Agreement of Will, *Athanasius* shewing the insufficiency hereof, concludeth thus, ἀνάγκη λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν νοεῖν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ πατρὸς ἑνότητα, *Wherefore besides this Consent of Will, there must of necessity be another Unity of Essence or Substance also, acknowledged in the Father and the Son.* Where by *Unity of Essence or Substance*, that *Athanasius* did not mean, a *Unity of Singular and Individual*, but of *General* or *Universal Essence* only, appears plainly from these following words, τὰ μὲν γὰρ γενητὰ κἂν συμφωνίαν ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ ποιοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἐν κινήσει καὶ μετουσίᾳ ταύτην ἔχει, ὥσπερ ὁ μὴ φυλάξας ἐκπέπτωκεν τῆς ἁγιότητος, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ὢν γέννημα, οὐσία καὶ ἕν ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ· *For those things which are Made or Created, though they may have an Agreement of Will with their Creator, yet have they this by Participation only, and in a way of Motion; as he who retaining not the same, was cast out of Heaven. But the Son being begotten from the Essence or Substance of the Father, is Essentially or Substantially One with him.* So that the Opposition here, is betwixt *Unity of Consent* with God in Created Beings, which are *Mutable*; and *Unity of Essence* in that which is *Uncreated*, and *Immutably* of the same Will with the Father. There are also many other places in *Athanasius*, which though some may understand of the *Unity of Singular Essence*, yet were they not so by him intended, but either of *Generick* or *Specifick Essence* only, or else in such other sence as shall be afterwards declared. As for Example, in his Fourth Oration, τὴν μίαν ἐν τελείᾳ θεότητι φρονοῦμεν, *We acknowledge only One Godhead in the Trinity*; where the following words plainly imply this to be understood in part at least, of *One Common or General Essence of the Godhead*, εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔστως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ποίημα καὶ κτίσμα ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, &c. *Because if it be not so, but the Word be a Creature, made out of Nothing, he is either not truly God, or if he be called by that name, then must they be two Gods, one a Creator, the other a Creature.* Again when in the same Book it is said, ἓν εἰσιν ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τῇ ἰδιότητι καὶ οἰκειότητι τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος· *That the Son and the Father are One thing in the Propriety of Nature, and in the Sameness of one Godhead*; it is evident from the Context, that this is not to be understood of a *Sameness* of *Singular Essence*, but partly of a *Common and Generical One*, and partly of such another

P. 275.

Ep. ad Serap. p. 202.

Ep. de Synod. Arim. & Sel. p. 923.

P. 468.

P. 456.

ther Sameneſs or Unity, as will be hereafter expreſſed. Laſtly, which the Three *Hypoſtaſes*, are ſomewhere ſaid by him, to be μία οὐσία, *One Eſſence or Subſtance*, this is not to be underſtood neither in that place, as if they had *all Three* the ſame *Singular Eſſence*, but in ſome of thoſe other Sences before mentioned.

But though *Athanaſius* no where declare, the *Three Hypoſtaſes* of the Trinity, to have only *One and the ſame Singular Eſſence*, but on the contrary, denies them to be *Monoouſian*; and though he lay a great ſtreſs upon their εἰδικὴ ἑνότης, their *Specifick or Generick Unity*, and *Coeſſentiality*, in order to their being *One God*; for as much as without this, they could not be *God* at all; yet doth he not rely wholly upon this, as alone ſufficient to that purpoſe, but addeth certain other conſiderations thereunto, to make it out; in manner as followeth. Firſt, that this *Trinity*, is not a *Trinity of Principles*, but that there is only *One Principle or Fountain of the Godhead* in it, from which the other are derived. Thus does he write in his Fifth Oration, μία ἀρχὴ, καὶ κατ' τοῦτο εἷς θεὸς, *There is but One Principle, and accordingly but One God.* Again in his Book againſt the Sabellianiſts, οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο θεοὶ, ὅτι μηδὲ δύο πατέρες, μηδὲ ἑτερόσιος τοῦ γεννήσαντος ὁ γεγεννημένος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὰς εἰσάγων δύο, δύο κηρύττει θεούς, αὕτη Μαρκίωνος ἡ δυσέβεια· *There are not Two Gods, both becauſe there are not Two Fathers, and becauſe that which is Begotten is not of a different Eſſence from that which Begat. For he that introduceth Two Principles, Preacheth Two Gods; which was the Impiety of* Marcion. Accordingly the ſame *Athanaſius* declareth, τὸν ἐσιαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ ῥίζαν καὶ πηγὴν εἶναι τοῦ υἱοῦ, *That the Eſſence or Subſtance of the Father, is the Principle and Root and Fountain of the Son.* And in like manner doth he approve of this Doctrine of *Dionyſius*, ὅτι πηγὴ μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἁπάντων ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς, πόταμος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφχεόμενος ὁ υἱός· *That God* (the Father) *is the Firſt Fountain of all Good things, but the Son a River poured out from him.* To the ſame purpoſe is it alſo, when he compareth the Father and the Son, to the *Water* and the *Vapour* ariſing from it; to the *Light* and the *Splendour*; to the *Prototype* and the *Image*. And he concludeth the Unity of the Godhead from hence, in this manner; τὴν θεῖαν τριάδα εἰς ἕνα ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφήν τινα, τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὅλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω, συγκεφαλαιοῦσθαι καὶ συνάγεσθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη· *The Divine Trinity muſt needs be collected and gathered up together, under that omnipotent God of the whole World, as under One Head.* But the chief force of this Conſideration, is only to exclude the *Doctrine of the Marcioniſts*, who made *More Independent and Self-exiſtent Principles and Gods*. Notwithſtanding which, it might ſtill be objected, that the *Chriſtian Trinity*, is a *Trinity* of Diſtinct *Subordinate Gods*, in oppoſition whereunto, this argument ſeems only to prepare the way to what follows; namely of the cloſe Conjunction of theſe Three *Hypoſtaſes* into *One God*; foraſmuch, as were they Three *Independent Principles*, there could not be any Coaleſcence of them into *One*.

P. 656.

De Syn. & Scl. p. 920.

De Syn Nic. p. 275.

In the next place therefore, *Athanaſius* further addeth, that theſe Three *Divine Hypoſtaſes*, are not μεμερισμέναι and κεχωρισμέναι, *Separate* and *Disjoyned* Beings, but ἀδιαίρετοι, *Indiviſibly United to one*

one another. Thus in his Fifth Oration; πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ἐν ὄντας τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀμέριστον, καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀχώριστον εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός· *The Father and the Son are both one thing in the Godhead, and in that the Word, being begotten from Him, is Indivisibly and Inseparably conjoyned with him.* Where when he affirmeth, the Father and the Son, to be *One in the Godhead*, it is plain that he doth not mean them to have One and the same *Singular Essence*, but only *Generical* and *Universal*; because in the following words, he supposes them to be *Two*, but *Indivisibly* and *Inseparably* United together. Again in his Book *De Sent. Dionys.* ἔστιν ἀδιαίρετος τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, ὡς ἔστι τὸ ἀπαύγασμα πρὸς τὸ φῶς, *The Son is Indivisible from the Father, as the Splendour is from the Light.* And afterwards in the same Book he insisteth further upon this Point, according to the sence of *Dionysius*, after this manner, ὁ δὲ ἴδιον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐσίας τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι διδάσκει, ὡς ἔστιν ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸν νοῦν καὶ ποταμὸς πρὸς τὴν πηγήν· εἰ μὲν οὖν διαιρεῖν καὶ ἀποξενοῦν τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν νοῦν τις δύναται, ἢ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν πηγὴν μερίσαι καὶ τειχίσας διελεῖν, ἢ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα ἅμα διελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτός, &c. Dionysius *teacheth, that the Son is Cognate with the Father, and Indivisible from him, as Reason is from the Mind, and the River from the Fountain. Who is there therefore, that would go about to alienate Reason from the Mind? and to separate the River from the Fountain, making up a wall between them? or to cut off the Splendour from the Light?* Thus also in his Epistle to *Serapion*, that the *Holy Ghost* is not a *Creature*, P. 194. ἢ διελέτωσαν πρῶτον αὐτοὶ τοῦ ἀπαυγάζματος τὸ φῶς, ἢ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἢ μὴ ἐκπλήττωσαν, πῶς ἔχει ταῦτα· *Let these men first divide the Splendour from the Light, or Wisdom from him that is Wise, or else let them wonder no more how these things can be.* Elsewhere *Athanasius* calls the whole Trinity, τριάδα ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἡνωμένην πρὸς ἑαυτήν, *A Trinity Undivided and United to it self.* Which *Athanasian Indivisibility* of the *Trinity*, is not so to be understood as if *Three* were not *Three* in it, but first of all that neither of these could be without the other, as the *Original Light* or *Sun* could not be without the *Splendour*, nor the Splendour without the Original Light, and neither one nor t'other of them without a *Diffused Derivative Light.* Wherefore God the Father being an *Eternal Sun*, must needs have also an *Eternal Splendour*, and an *Eternal Light.* And Secondly, that these are so Nearly and Intimately Conjoyned together, that there is a kind of συνέχεια *Continuity* betwixt them; which yet is not to be understood in the way of *Corporeal Things*, but so as is agreeable to the Nature of things Incorporeal.

Thirdly, *Athanasius* ascendeth yet higher, affirming the *Hypostases* of the Trinity, not only to be *Indivisibly Conjoyned* with one another, but also to have a *Mutual Inexistence* in each other, which Latter Greek Fathers have called ἐμπεριχώρησιν, their *Circumincessions.* To this purpose does he cite the Words of *Dionysius*, ἀπόῤῥοια P. 669. γὰρ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας διὰ στόματος ἐξοχετεύεται, ἕτερος γινόμενος τοῦ ἐν καρδίᾳ λόγος· καὶ ὅπως ἔχειν ἑκάτερος ἐν ἑκατέρῳ, ἕτερος ὢν θατέρου, ἢ ἓν εἶσιν ὄντες δύο· ὅτω καὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ λόγος ἓν, καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐλέχθησαν εἶναι· *For Reason is the Efflux of the Mind, which in men is derived from the Heart into the Tongue; where it is become another Reason*

Son or Word, differing from that in the Heart: and yet do these both, Mutually Exist in each other, they belonging to one another; and so though being Two, are One Thing. Thus are the Father and the Son, One thing, they being said to Exist in each other. And *Athanasius* further illustrates this also by certain Similitudes; as that again of the *Original Light* and the *Splendour*, he affirming φῶς εἶναι ἐν τῷ ἀπαυγάζματι, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ, *That the Original Light is in the Splendor, and again the Splendor in the Sun*; and also that of the *Prototype* and the *Image*, or the *King* and his *Picture*; which he thus in-
Orat. 4. p. 457. sisteth upon, ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ εἶδος ἐστι καὶ ἡ μορφή ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι εἶδος ἐστιν· *In the Picture is contained the Form and Figure of the King, and in the King the Form and Figure of the Picture. And therefore if any one, when he had seen the Picture, should afterward desire to see the King; the Picture would by a* Prosopopœia
Ibid. *bespeak him after this manner*; ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἓν ἐσμεν, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ εἰμὶ, κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἐμοί· καὶ ὃ ὁρᾷς ἐν ἐμοί, τοῦτο ἐν ἐκείνῳ βλέπεις, καὶ ὃ ἑώρακας ἐν ἐκείνῳ, τοῦτο βλέπεις ἐν ἐμοί· ὁ γὰρ προσκυνῶν τὴν εἰκόνα, ἐν αὐτῇ προσκυνεῖ τὸν βασιλέα, *I and the King am One, for I am in him and he is in me; and what you take notice of in me, the same may you observe in him also, and what you see in him, you may see likewise in me; he therefore that worshippeth the Image, therein worshippeth the King, the Image being nothing but the Form of the King.* Elsewhere in the Fourth Oration he thus insisteth upon this Particular;
P. 456. ἔτι γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ὥσγε νοεῖν ἔξεστιν, ἐπειδὴ σύμπαν τὸ εἶναι τοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας ἴδιόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἐκ φωτὸς ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ ἐκ πηγῆς ποτάμου, ὥστε τὸν ὁρῶντα τὸν υἱὸν ὁρᾶν τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἴδιον. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἴδιον, τοῦτο ὁ υἱὸς τυγχάνει ὤν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀπαυγάζματι ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὁ νοῦς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἡ πηγή· *The Son is in the Father, as may be conceived from hence; because the whole Being of the Son is proper to the Essence of the Father, he being derived from it as the Splendour from the Light, and the River from the Fountain: so that he who sees the Son, sees that which is the Fathers own and proper. Again the Father is in the Sun, because that which is the Fathers own and proper, that is the Son: accordingly as the Sun is also in the Splendour, the Mind in Reason and the Fountain in the River.* What Cavils the Arrians had against this Doctrine, *Athanasius* also enforms us;
Orat. 4. ἤρξαντο διασύρειν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου λεγόμενον, Ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί· λέγοντες, πῶς δύναται ὅτου ἐν ἐκείνῳ, κἀκεῖνον ἐν τούτῳ χωρεῖν; ἢ πῶς ὅλως δύναται ὁ πατὴρ μείζων ὢν, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ ἐλάττονι ὄντι χωρεῖν; καίτοι τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ὅπερ καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν γέγραπται, Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν· *Here the Arians begin to quarrel with that of our Lord, I am in the Father, and the Father in me; objecting, How is it possible, that both the Former should be in the Latter and the Latter in the Former? Or how can the Father being Greater, be received in the Son, who is Lesser? And yet what wonder is it, if the Son should be in the Father; since it is written of us men also, That in him we Live and Move and have our Being* In way of reply whereunto, *Athanasius* first observes, that the Ground of this Arian Cavillation, was, the Grossness of their Apprehensions, and that they did τὰ ἀσώματα σωματικῶς ἐκλαμβάνειν, *Conceive of Incorporeal things after a Corporeal manner.* And then does he add,

ὃ γὰρ

ὁ γὰρ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι νομίζουσιν, ἀντεμβιβαζόμενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰσὶν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγγείοις κενοῖς ἐξ ἀλλήλων πληρούμενοι, ὥστε τὸν μὲν υἱὸν πληροῦν τὸ κοῖλον τοῦ πατρὸς, τὸν δὲ πατέρα πληροῦν τὸ κοῖλον τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν μὴ εἶναι πλήρη καὶ τέλειον· *For the Father and Son are not, as they ſuppoſe, Tranſvaſated and Poured out, one into another, as into an Empty Veſſel: as if the Son filled up the Concavity of the Father, and again the Father that of the Son; and neither of them were full or perfect in themſelves. For all this is proper to Bodies; wherefore though the Father be in ſome ſence, Greater than the Son, yet notwithſtanding may he be in him after an Incorporeal manner.* And he replieth to their Laſt Cavil thus, *That the Son is not ſo in the Father, as we our ſelves are ſaid to Live and Move and Be in God;* αὐτὸς γὰρ ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστι ζωὴ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα ζωογονεῖται καὶ συνέστηκεν, ὁ γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ ἐν ζωῇ ζῇ, &c. *For he himſelf from the Fountain of the Father, is that Life in whom all things are quickned and conſiſt: neither does he who is the Life live in another Life, which were to ſuppoſe him not to be the Life it ſelf.* Nor (ſaith he) *muſt it be conceived, that the Father is no otherwiſe in the Son, than he is in holy men Corroborating of them; for the Son himſelf is the Power and Wiſdom of God, and all Created Beings are ſanctified by a Participation of him in the* Spirit. Wherefore this *Perichoreſis* or *Mutual In-being* of the *Father* and the *Son*, is to be underſtood after a Peculiar manner, ſo as that they are Really thereby One; and what the Son and Holy Ghoſt doth, the Father doth in them, accordig to that of *Athanaſius*, ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ θεότης τοῦ πατρὸς θεότης ἐστὶ· καὶ ὅτως ἐν τῷ υἱῷ τὸ πᾶν πάντων προνοιαν ποιεῖται, *The Godhead of the Son is the Godhead of the Father, and ſo the Father exerciſes a Providence over all things in the Son.*

Laſtly, the ſame *Athanaſius* in ſundry places ſtill further ſuppoſes thoſe *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes*, to make up one *Entire Divinity* after the ſame manner, as the *Fountain* and the *Stream* make up one *Entire River*; or the *Root* and the *Stock* and the *Branches*, one *Entire Tree*. And in this ſence alſo, is the *whole Trinity* ſaid by him, to be μία θεότης, and μία φύσις, and μία οὐσία, and εἷς θεὸς, *One Divinity*, and *One Nature*, and *One Eſſence*, and *One God*. And accordingly the word *Homouſios* ſeems here to be taken by *Athanaſius*, in a further ſence, beſides that before mentioned; not only for things Agreeing in one Common and General Eſſence, as *Three Individual* men are *Coeſſential* with one another; but alſo for ſuch as concurrently together, make up *One Entire Thing*; and are therefore Joyntly Eſſential thereunto. For when he affirmeth, τὸ φυτὸν εἶναι ῥίζης ὁμοφυὲς, and τὰ κλήματα ὁμοούσια τῇ ἀμπέλῳ, *That the Tree is Congenerous or Homogenial with the Root*, and *the Branches Coeſſential with the Vine*; his meaning is, that the *Root*, *Stock*, and *Branches*, are not only of *One Kind*, but alſo all together make up, the *Entire Eſſence of One Plant or Tree*. In like manner, thoſe Three *Hypoſtaſes*, the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, are not only *Congenerous* and *Coeſſential*, as having all the *Eſſence of the Godhead* alike in them, but alſo as *Concurrently Making up one Entire Divinity*. Accordingly whereunto, *Athanaſius* further concludes, that theſe *Three Divine Hypoſtaſes* have not a *Conſent of Will* only, but Eſſentially one and the Self Same Will, and that they do alſo joyntly produce *ad extra*, μίαν ἐνέργειαν, *One and the*

Ep: ad Serap. p. 202.

Self-same Energy, Operation or Action; nothing being Peculiar to the Son as such, but only the Oeconomy of the Incarnation: Ὁμοία ἐαυτῇ ἡ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστι τῇ φύσει ἡ τελείας· καὶ μία ταύτης ἡ ἐνέργεια· ὁ μὲν Πατὴρ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου, ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖ· καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἑνότης τῆς ἁγίας τελειοῦται καὶ σώζεται· καὶ οὕτως εἷς θεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττεται ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν· ἐπὶ πάντων μὲν ὡς Πατὴρ, ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγή· διὰ πάντων δὲ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου· ἐν πᾶσι δὲ, ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ· *The Trinity is like it self, and by Nature Indivisible, and there is One Energy or Action of it; for the Father By the Word, In the Holy Ghost, doth all things. And thus is the Unity of the Holy Trinity conserved, and One God preached in the Church: Namely, such as is Above all, and By or Through all, and In all. Above all, as the Father, the Principle, and Fountain; Through all, by the Word; and In all, by the Holy* Spirit. And elsewhere he writeth often to the same purpose. Thus have we given a true and full account, how according to *Athanasius*, the *Three Divine Hypostases*, though not *Monoousious* but *Homoousious* only, are Really but *One God* or *Divinity*. In all which doctrine of his, there is nothing but what a True and Genuine Platonist would readily subscribe to. From whence it may be concluded, that the right *Platonick Trinity*, differs not so much from the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, as some late Writers have supposed.

Hitherto hath the Platonick Christian endeavoured partly to Rectifie and Reform the *True* and *Genuine Platonick Trinity*, and partly to Reconcile it, with the Doctrine of the *Ancient Church*. Nevertheless, to prevent all mistakes, we shall here declare, that whersoever this most *Genuine Platonick Trinity*, may be found to differ, not only from the Scripture it self (which yet notwithstanding is the sole *Rule of Faith*) but also from the Form of the Nicene and Constantinopolitane Councils; and further from the Doctrine of *Athanasius* too, in his Genuine writings, (whether it be in their *Inequality*, or in any thing else) is there utterly disclaimed and rejected by us. For as for that Creed commonly called Athanasian, which was written a long time after, by some other hand; since at first it derived all its authority, either from the Name of *Athanasius* to whom it was Entituled, or else because it was supposed to be an Epitome and Abridgement of his Doctrine; this (as we conceive) is therefore to be interpreted according to the Tenour of that Doctrine, contained in the Genuine Writings of *Athanasius*. Of whom we can think no otherwise, than as a person highly Instrumental and Serviceable to Divine Providence for the preserving of the Christian Church, from lapsing by *Arianism*, into a kind of *Paganick* and *Idolatrous Christianity*; in *Religiously* Worshipping of those, which themselves concluded to be *Creatures*; and by means of whom especially, the Doctrine of the Trinity, (which before fluctuated in some loose Uncertainty) came to be more punctually Stated and Settled.

Now the Reason why we introduced the *Platonick Christian* here thus Apologizing, was First; because we conceived it not to be the Interest of Christianity, that the ancient *Platonick Trinity*, should be made more discrepant from the *Christian*, than indeed it *is*. And Secondly,

Secondly, because, as we have already proved, the Ancient and Genuine Platonick Trinity, was doubtless *Anti-Arian*, or else the *Arian Trinity Anti-Platonick*; the Second and Third *Hypostases* in the *Platonick Trinity*, being both *Eternal*, *Infinite* and *Immutable*. And as for those *Platonick* βαθμοὶ, or *Gradations*, so much spoken of, these (by St. *Cyril*'s leave) were of a different Kind from the *Arian*, there being not the *Inequality* of *Creatures* in them to the *Creator*. Wherefore *Socrates* the Ecclesiastick Historian, not without Cause wonders, how those Two Presbyters *Georgius* and *Timotheus*, should adhere to the Arian Faction, since they were accounted such great Readers of *Plato* and *Origen*; θαυμάσαι ἔν μοι ἔπεσι, πῶς ἔστι οἱ ἄνδρες, τῇ Ἀρειανῶν θρησκείᾳ παρέμειναν, ὧν ὁ μὲν Πλάτωνα ἀεὶ μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ τὸ Ὠριγένους ἀνέπνεεν· ὅδε γὲ Πλάτων τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τὸ τρίτον αἴτιον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὀνομάζειν ἔωθεν, ἀρχὴ ὑπάρξεως, εἰληφέναι φησί· καὶ Ὠριγένης συναΐδιον παντα-χοῦ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρί· *It seems to me wonderful, how those Two Persons should persist in the Arian Perswasion; one of them having always* Plato *in his hands; and the other continually breathing* Origen. *Since* Plato *no where affirmeth his First and Second Cause (as he was wont to call them) to have had any beginning of their Existence; and* Origen *every where confesseth, the Son to be Coeternal with the Father.* L. 7. c. 6.

Besides which, Another Reason for this Apology of the Christian Platonist was, because as the *Platonick Pagans* after Christianity, did approve of the *Christian Doctrine* concerning the *Logos*, as that which was exactly agreeable with their own; so did the *Generality* of the *Christian Fathers*, before and after the *Nicene Council*, represent the *Genuine*, *Platonick Trinity*, as really the same thing with the *Christian*, or as approaching so near to it, that they differed chiefly in Circumstances, or the manner of Expression. The Former of these is Evident from that famous Passage of *Amelius* Contemporary with *Plotinus*, recorded by *Eusebius*, St. *Cyril* and *Theodoret*; Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ὧν ὁ Λόγος, καθ' ὃν ἀεὶ ὄντα, τὰ γινόμενα ἐγίνετο; ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσαι, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ κατατεταγμένον, πρός τε θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι· δι' οὗ πάντα ἁπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ γεγονὸς ζῶν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ ὂν πεφυκέναι· καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φανταζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον· μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τὴν ἀπιθανωτάτην δηλονότι τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον ἀμέλει· καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποτεθεῶσθαι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι· *And this was the* Logos *or Word, by whom Existing from Eternity according to* Heraclitus, *all things were made: and whom that Barbarian also placeth in the rank and dignity of a Principle, affirming him to have been with God, and to be God; and that all things were made by him, and that whatsoever was made, was Life and Being in him. As also that he descended into a Body, and being cloathed in Flesh, appeared as a Man, though not without demonstration of the Divinity of his Nature. But that afterwards being Loosed or Separated from the same, he was Deified, and became God again, such as he was before he came down into a Mortal Body.* In which words *Amelius* speaks favourably also of the *Incarnation* of that *Eternal Logos*. And the same is further manifest from what St. *Austin* writeth concerning a Platonist in his time, *Initium Sancti Evangelii, cui nomen est secundum* Johannem, *quidam* Tr. Ev. L. 11. c. 9. C. D. L. 10. c. 29.

quidam Platonicus, ſicut à ſancto Sene Simpliciano, *qui poſteà Mediolanenſi Eccleſiæ præſedit Epiſcopus, ſolebamus audire, aureis Literis conſcribendum, & per omnes Eccleſias in locis eminentiſſimis proponendum eſſe dicebat: We have often heard, from that holy man* Simplicianus, *afterward Biſhop of* Millain; *that a certain Platoniſt affirmed, the beginning of St.* John's *Goſpel, deſerved to be writ in Letters of Gold, and to be ſet up in all the moſt Eminent places throughout the Chriſtian Churches.* And the latter will ſufficiently appear from theſe following Teſtimonies; *Juſtin Martyr* in his Apology affirmeth of *Plato,* δ' δεύτερον χώρον τῷ ΘΕΩ λόγῳ δίδωσι· τὸν δὲ τρίτον τῷ λεχθέντι ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι πνεύματι, &c. *That he gave the Second place to the Word of God, and the Third to that Spirit, which is ſaid to have moved upon the waters.* P. 93.

Clemens Alexandrinus ſpeaking of that Paſſage in *Plato's* Second Epiſtle to *Dionyſius*, concerning the Firſt, Second and Third, writeth thus; ὅτι ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἐξακούω, ἢ τὸν ἅγιαν τριάδα μηνύεσθαι, τρίτον μὲν ὄντα εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· τὸν δὲ υἱὸν τὸν δεύτερον, δι' οὗ πάντα ἐγένετο κατὰ θέλησιν τοῦ πατρός· *I underſtand this no otherwiſe, than that the Holy Trinity is ſignified thereby, the Third being the Holy Ghoſt, and the Second the Son by whom all things were made, according to the Will of the Father.* Strom. L. 5. P. 598.

Origen alſo affirmeth the Son of God to have been plainly ſpoken of by *Plato* in his Epiſtle to *Hermias* and *Coriſcus*, ὁ πάντα ἐπαγγελλόμενος εἰδέναι κέλσος, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος θαυμαζόμενος, ἐκεῖνα, οἶμαι, σιωπᾷ τὰ περὶ υἱοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, τὰ παρὰ Πλάτωνι λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑρμείαν καὶ Κορίσκον ἐπιστολῇ· Celſus *who pretendeth to know all things, and who citeth ſo many other paſſages out of* Plato, *doth purpoſely (as I ſuppoſe) diſſemble and conceal, that which he wrote concerning the Son of God, in his Epiſtle to* Hermias *and* Coriſcus; *where he calls him, the God of the whole Univerſe, and the Prince of all things both preſent and future; afterwards ſpeaking of the Father of this Prince and Cauſe.* L. 6. c. Celſ.

And again elſewhere in that Book, he writeth to the ſame purpoſe, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐβουλήθη τὰ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς λελεγμένα, ἃ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω ἐμνήσθημεν, περὶ τοῦ διακοσμήσαντος τόδε τὸ πᾶν, ὡς ὄντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ, παραθέσθαι· ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὃν πολλάκις ἐσέμνυνεν, ἀναγκασθῇ, παραδέξασθαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν δημιουργὸς τόδε τοῦ παντὸς υἱός ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος καὶ ὅτι πᾶσι θεὸς πατήρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ· *Neither would* Celſus (here ſpeaking of Chriſtians making Chriſt the Son of God) *take any notice of that paſſage in* Plato's *Epiſtle before mentioned, concerning the Framer and Governour of the whole world, as being the Son of God; leſt he ſhould be compelled by the Authority of* Plato, *whom he ſo often magnifieth, to agree with this Doctrine of ours, that the* Demiurgus *of the whole World is the Son of God; but the Firſt and Supreme Deity, his Father.* Cont. Celſ. L. 6. p. 308.

Moreover St. *Cyprian*, or who ever were the Author of the Book inſcribed *De Spiritu Sancto*, affirmeth, the Platoniſts *Firſt* and *Univerſal Pſyche*, to be the ſame with the *Holy Ghoſt* in the Chriſtian Theology; in theſe words, *Hujus Sempiterna Virtus & Divinitas, cum in propria natura, ab Inquiſitoribus Mundi antiquis Philoſophis propriè inveſtigari non poſſet; Subtiliſſimis tamen intuiti conjecturis Compoſitionem Mundi, & diſtinctis Elementorum affectibus, præſentem omnibus Animam adfuiſſe dixerunt; quibus, ſecundum genus & ordinem ſingulorum, vitam præberet & motum, & intranſgreſſibiles figeret Metas, & Stabilitatem aſſignaret; & Univerſam*

ſam hanc Vitam, hunc motum, hanc rerum Eſſentiam, Animam Mundi vocaverunt. In the next place *Euſebius Cæſarienſis* gives a full and clear Teſtimony, of the Concordance and Agreement of the Platonick, at leaſt as to the main, with the Chriſtian Trinity, which he will have to have been the *Cabala* of the ancient Hebrews, thus; *Pr. Ev. L. 11. c. 20.*

τὴν παρ' Ἑβραίοις λογίων μετὰ τὸν ὠδὶ παίζοις ἢ Υἱὸν λόγου, ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καταλεγόντων· ἢ τιὼ γε ἁγίαν ἢ μακαρίαν τριάδα τὸν ὑποτεθειμένων ἕτερον, ὡς ἂν τὸ τρίτης δυνάμεως πᾶσαν ὑπερβεβηκυίας φυσιν· ἅσαν πρώτιω μὲν τὴν διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ συσασῶν νοερῶν ἁπάντων, τριτίω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Αἰτίου· θέα ὅπως καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τοιαῦτά τινα ἐνίξατο διὰ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς, &c. *The Oracles of the Hebrews, placing the Holy Ghoſt, after the Father and the Son, in the Third Rank; and acknowledging a Holy and Bleſſed Trinity after this manner; ſo as that this Third Power does alſo tranſcend all Created Nature; and is the Firſt of thoſe Intellectual Subſtances, which proceed from the Son, and the Third from the Firſt Cauſe; ſee how* Plato *Enigmatically declareth the ſame things in his Epiſtle to* Dionyſius, *in theſe words,* &c. *Theſe things the Interpreters of* Plato *refer to a Firſt God, and to a Second Cauſe, and to a Third the Soul of the World, which they call alſo The Third God. And the Divine Scriptures in like manner rank the Holy Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; in the place or degree of a Principle.* But it is moſt obſervable what *Athanaſius* himſelf affirmeth of the Platoniſts; that though they derived the *Second Hypoſtaſis* of their *Trinity* from the *Firſt*, and the Third from the Second, yet they ſuppoſed both their Second and Third *Hypoſtaſes*, to be *Uncreated*; and therefore does he ſend the Arians to School thither, who becauſe there is but one Ἀγέννητος, *One Self-Originated Being*, would unskilfully conclude, that the *Word* or *Son of God*, muſt therefore needs be a *Creature*. Thus in his Book concerning the Decrees of the Nicene Council; *P. 278.*

ἐχρήσαντο παρ' Ἕλλωσι λοιπὸν τιὼ λέξιν τοῦ Ἀγεννήτου· ἵνα τρεφάσι ἢ τοῦτο τῷ ὀνόματι, ἐν τοῖς γενητοῖς πάλιν ἢ, τοῖς κτίσμασι συναριθμῶσι τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον· δι' ὃ αὐτὰ τὰ γενητὰ γέγονεν· εἰ μὲν ὃν ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ὄνομα ὅτως ἀναισχυντοῦσιν, ἐχρῆ μαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὧδε παρ' αὐτοῖς δεδικότων αὐτὸ, ὅτι ἢ ὃν λέγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Νοῦν, ἢ τ' ἐκ τοῦ Νοῦ ψυχὼ· καίτοι γινώσκοντες τὸ ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν, ἢ ἐφοβήθησαν ὅμως· καὶ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν Ἀγέννητα· εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο λέγοντες ἢ ἐλαττοῦσι τὸ πρῶτον ἐξ οὗ καὶ ταῦτα πέφυκε· καὶ ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὅτα λέγειν, ἢ μηδὲν λέγειν περὶ ὧν ἢ ἴσασιν· *The Arians borrowing the word* Agennetos *from the Pagans (who acknowledge only One ſuch) make that a pretence to rank the Word or Son of God, who is the Creator of all, amongſt Creatures or things Made. Whereas they ought to have learn'd the right ſignification of that word* Agennetos, *from thoſe very Platoniſts who gave it them. Who, though acknowledging their Second Hypoſtaſis of* Nous *or Intellect, to be derived from the firſt called* Tagathon, *and their Third Hypoſtaſis or* Pſyche *from the Second, nevertheleſs doubt not to affirm them both to be* Ageneta *or Uncreated, knowing well, that hereby they detract nothing from the Majeſty of the Firſt, from whom theſe Two are derived. Wherefore the Arians either ought ſo to ſpeak as the Platoniſts do, or elſe to ſay nothing at all concerning theſe things which they are ignorant of.* In which words of *Athanaſius*, there is a plain diſtinction made, betwixt ἀγέννητος and ἄγενητος, that is, *Unbegotten* and *Uncreated*; and the *Second Perſon of the Trinity*,

nity, the Son or Word of God, though acknowledged by him, not to be Ἀγέννητος *Unbegotten* (he being Begotten of the Father, who is the only *Agennetos*) yet is he here said to be Ἀγένητος *Uncreated*; he declaring the Platonists, thus to have affirmed the *Second and Third Hypostases* of their Trinity, not to be *Creatures*, but *Uncreated*. Which *Signal Testimony* of *Athanasius*, concerning the *Platonick Trinity* is a great Vindication of the same. We might here further add, St *Austin*'s Confession also, that *God the Father*, and *God the Son*, were by the Platonists acknowledged in like manner, as by the Christians; though concerning the *Holy Ghost*, he observes some difference, betwixt *Plotinus* and *Porphyrius*, in that the Former did *Postponere Animæ Naturam Paterno Intellectui*, the Latter, *Interponere*; Plotinus *did Postpone his* Psyche *or Soul after the Paternal Intellect*, *but* Porphyrius *Interponed it*, *betwixt the Father and the Son*, *as a Middle between both*. It was before observed, that St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, affirmeth nothing to be wanting to the Platonick Trinity, but only that *Homoousiotes* of his and some other Fathers in that Age, that they should not only all be *God* or *Uncreated*, but also *Three Coequal Individuals*, under the same Ultimate *Species*, as *Three Individual Men*; he conceiving that *Gradual Subordination* that is in the Platonick Trinity, to be a certain tang of *Arianism*. Nevertheless he thus concludeth, πλὴν ὅμως οὐκ ἠγνόησεν ὁλοτελῶς τὸ ἀληθὲς, *That* Plato *notwithstanding was not altogether ignorant of the Truth*, but that he had the knowledge of the *Only begotten Son of God*, *as likewise of the Holy Ghost*, *called by him* Psyche; *and that he would have every way expressed himself rightly*, *had he not been afraid of* Anitus *and* Melitus, *and that Poyson which* Socrates *drunk*. Now whether this were a Fault or no, in the Platonists, that they did not suppose their *Hypostases* to be Three Individuals under the same Ultimate Species, we leave to others to judge. We might here add the Testimony of *Chalcidius*, because he is unquestionably concluded to have been a Christian; though his Language indeed be too much Paganical, when he calls the Three Divine *Hypostases*, a *Chief*, a *Second*, and a *Third God*; *Istius rei dispositio talis mente concipienda est*; *Originem quidem rerum esse Summum & Ineffabilem Deum*; *post Providentiam ejus Secundum Deum*, *Latorem Legis utriusque Vitæ tam Æternæ quam Temporariæ*; *Tertium esse porro Substantiam que Secunda Mens*, *Intellectusque dicitur*, *quasi quædam Custos Legis Æternæ*. *His Subjectas esse Rationabiles Animas*, *Legi Obsequentes*, *Ministras verò Potestates*, *&c*. *Ergo Summus Deus jubet*, *Secundus ordinat*, *Tertius intimat*. *Animæ verò Legem agunt*. *This thing is to be conceived after this manner*; *That the First Original of Things is the Supreme and Ineffable God*; *after his Providence a Second God*, *the Establisher of the Law of Life both Eternal and Temporary*; *And the Third* (*which is also a Substance*, *and called a Second Mind or Intellect*) *is a certain Keeper of this Eternal Law*. *Under these Three*, *are Rational Souls*, *Subject to that Law*, *together with the Ministerial Powers*, *&c*. *So that the Sovereign or Supreme God Commands*, *the Second Orders*, *and the Third executes*. *But Souls are Subject to the Law*. Where *Chalcidius* though seeming indeed rather more a *Platonist*, than a *Christian*; yet acknowledgeth no such Beings as *Henades* and *Noes*; but only Three *Divine Hypostases*, and under them *Rational Souls*. But we shall conclude with the

De C. D.

P. 277.

Testimony

Teſtimony of *Theodoret* in his Book *De Principio*, τῳ Πλάτωνος διάνοιαν ἀναπτύσσοντες ὁ Πλωτῖνος καὶ ὁ Νουμήνιος, τρία φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι ὑπερέχοντα καὶ ἄϊδια, τ'ἀγαθὸν, καὶ νοῦν, καὶ τὸ παντὸς τῳ ψυχῳ· ὃν μὲν ἡμεῖς Πατέρα καλοῦμεν τἀγαθὸν ὀνομάζοντες, Νοῦν δ' ὃν ἡμεῖς Λόγον προσαγορεύομεν, τῳ δὲ τὰ πάντα ψύχουσαν καὶ ζωοποιοῦσαν δύναμιν, ψυχῳ καλοῦντα, ἣν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον οἱ θεῖοι προσαγορεύουσι λόγοι· καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὡς τ' Ἑβραίων φιλοσοφίας καὶ θεολογίας σεσύλεται· Plotinus *and* Numenius *explaining* Plato's *Sence, declare him to have aſſerted, Three Super-Temporals or Eternals, Good, Mind or Intellect, and the Soul of the Univerſe; he calling that* Tagathon *which to us is Father, that Mind or Intellect, which to us is Son or Word, and that* Pſyche *or a Power Animating and Enlivening all things, which our Scriptures call the Holy Ghoſt. And theſe things* (ſaith he) *were by* Plato *purloined, from the Philoſophy and Theology of the Hebrews.*

Wherefore we cannot but take notice here of a Wonderful Providence of Almighty God, that this Doctrine of a Trinity of Divine *Hypoſtaſes*, ſhould find ſuch Admittance and Entertainment in the Pagan World, and be received by the wiſeſt of all their Philoſophers, before the times of Chriſtianity; thereby to prepare a more eaſie way for the Reception of Chriſtianity amongſt the Learned Pagans. Which that it proved ſucceſsful accordingly, is undeniably evident from the Monuments of Antiquity. And the Juniour Platoniſts, who were moſt oppoſite and adverſe to Chriſtianity, became at length ſo ſenſible hereof, that beſides their other Adulterations of the Trinity before mentioned, for the countenancing of their *Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry*, they did in all probability for this very reaſon, quite innovate, change and pervert the whole *Cabala*, and no longer acknowledge a *Trinity*, but either a *Quaternity* or a *Quinary*, or more of Divine *Hypoſtaſes*. They firſt of all contending, that before the *Trinity*, there was another Supreme and *Higheſt Hypoſtaſis*, not to be reckoned with the others, but ſtanding alone by himſelf. And we conceive, the firſt Innovator in this kind, to have been *Jamblichus*, who in his Egyptian Myſteries, where he ſeems to make the Egyptian Theology to agree with his own *Hypotheſes*, writeth in this manner; περὶ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων, καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῶν, ἔστι θεὸς εἷς πρῶτος, καὶ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέως· ἀκίνητος ἐν μονότητι τ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑνότητος μένων· ὅτε γὰρ νοητὸν αὐτῷ ἐπιπλέκεται, ὅτε ἄλλό τι· ὥσπερ ἄγαλμα ἢ ἱδρῦσαι τοῦ αὐτοπάτορος αὐτογόνου καὶ μονοπάτορος θεοῦ τοῦ ὄντως ἀγαθοῦ· μεῖζον γάρ τε καὶ πρῶτον καὶ πηγὴ τῶν πάντων, καὶ πυθμὴν τῶν νοερῶν πρώτων ἰδεῶν ὄντων· ἀπὸ δὴ τοῦ ἑνὸς τούτου, ὁ αὐτάρκης θεὸς, ἑαυτὸν ἐξέλαμψε, διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ καὶ αὐτάρκης· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἔστος καὶ θεὸς θεῶν· μονὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς, πρόσθιος καὶ ἀρχὴ τ' ὅλας· *Before thoſe things which truly are, and the Principles of all, there is One God Superiour to the Firſt God, and King, Immovable; and always remaining in the Solitude of his own Unity: there being nothing Intelligible nor any thing elſe mingled with him; but he being the Paradigm of that God truly Good, which is Self-begotten and his own Parent. For this is greater, and before him, and the Fountain of all things; the foundation of all the firſt Intelligible Ideas. Wherefore from this one, did that Self ſufficient God, who is* Autopator *or his own Parent, cauſe himſelf to ſhine forth, for this is alſo a*

Principle

Principle, and the God of Gods, a Monad from the first One, before all Essence. Where so far as we can understand, *Jamblichus* his meaning is, that there is a *Simple Unity* in order of *Nature* before that *Tagathon*, or *Monad*, which is the *First of the Three Divine Hypostases*. And this Doctrine was afterward taken up by *Proclus*, he declaring it in this manner, πανταχοῦ ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τὰς ἑνάδας ἀνατρέχειν ἔωθεν· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων τάξις πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐν ἀεί ἐστι, καὶ πᾶσα θεία τάξις ἀπὸ μονάδος ἄρχεται· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ τελάδος περιέναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν θεῖον, ἀλλά πρὸ τῆς τελάδος ἡ μονάς· ἔστω μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ δημιουργικοὶ τρεῖς ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτων εἷς, ἀδεμία γὰρ τῶν θείων τάξεων οὐκ πλήθους ἄρχεται· οὐκ ἄρα ἀπὸ τελάδος ἄρχεσθαι δεῖ τὸν δημιουργικὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μονάδος· Plato *every where ascends from multitude to Unity, from whence also the order of the Many proceeds; but before* Plato *and according to the Natural order of things, One is before Multitude and every Divine order begins from a Monad. Wherefore though the Divine Number proceed in a Trinity, yet before this Trinity must there be a Monad. Let there be Three Demiurgical Hypostases; nevertheless before these must there be One; because none of the Divine orders, begins from Multitude. We conclude, that the Demiurgical Number, does not begin from a Trinity, but from a Monad, standing alone by it self before that Trinity.* Here *Proclus*, though endeavouring to gain some countenance for this doctrine out of *Plato*, yet as fearing lest that should fail him, does he fly to the order of Nature, and from thence would infer, that before the *Trinity* of *Demiurgick Hypostases*, there must be a *Single Monad* or *Henad* standing alone by it self, as the Head thereof. And St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who was Juniour to *Jamblichus* but Senior to *Proclus*, seems to take notice of this Innovation in the Platonick Theology, as a thing then newly crept up, and after the time of *Porphyry*; ἀλλ' οἵ γε προειρημένοι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντιλέγουσι, φάσκοντες μὴ δεῖν Τ'ΑΓΑΘΟ'Ν συναριθμεῖν τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἐξῃρῆσθαι γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης κοινωνίας διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἁπλοῦν πάντη καὶ ἄδεκτον τινὸς συμβάσεως· Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ΝΟΥ, (ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἔστος) τὴν τριάδα μίαν σωζῆναι· *But those before mentioned, contradict this Doctrine* (of *Porphyrius* & the ancient Platonists) *affirming that the* Tagathon *ought not to be connumerated or reckoned together, with those which proceed from it, but to be exempted from all Communion, because it is altogether Simple and uncapable of any Commixture or Consociation with any other. Wherefore these begin their Trinity with* Nous *or Intellect, making that the First.* The only difference here is, that *Jamblichus* seems to make the first *Hypostasis* of the Trinity after a Monad, to be *Tagathon*, but St. *Cyril*, *Nous*. However they both meant the same thing, as also did *Proclus* after them. Wherefore it is evident, that when from the time of the Nicene Council and *Athanasius*, the Christian Doctrine of the *Trinity* came to be punctually stated and settled, and much to be insisted upon by Christians, *Jamblichus* and other *Platonists*, who were great Antagonists of the same, perceiving what advantage the Christians had from the *Platonick Trinity*, then first of all Innovated this Doctrine, introducing a *Quaternity* of *Divine Hypostases*, in stead of a *Trinity*, the First of them being not *Coordinate* with the other *Three*, nor Consociated or Reckoned with them: But All of them, though Subordinate, yet Universal, and such as Comprehend the whole; that

In Time. *Lib. 2. p. 93.*

C. Jul. L. 8. p. 271.

that is, *Infinite* and *Omnipotent*; and therefore none of them *Creatures*. For it is certain, that before this time, or the Age that *Iamblichus* lived in, *there* was no ſuch thing at all dream'd of by any Platoniſt, as an *Unity* before and above the *Trinity*; and ſo a *Quaternity* of Divine *Hypoſtaſes*: *Plotinus* poſitively determining, that there could neither be *More* nor *Fewer* than *Three*; and *Proclus* himſelf acknowledging the Ancient *Tradition* or *Cabala*, to have run only of *Three Gods*; and *Numenius* who was Senior to them both, writing thus of *Socrates*, Τρεῖς θεὸς παρεμένω σωκράτης; That he alſo (before *Plato*) *Aſſerted Three Gods*; that is, Three *Divine Hypoſtaſes*; and no more, as *Principles*; therein following the *Pythagoreans*. *Euſeb. P.E. L. 14. c. 5.*

Moreover the ſame *Proclus*, beſides his *Henades* and *Noes* before mentioned, added certain other *Phantaſtick Trinities* of his own alſo, as this for example, of the *Firſt Eſſence*, the *Firſt Life*, and the *Firſt Intellect*; (to omit others) whereby that Ancient *Cabala* and θεοπαράδοτος θεολογία, *Theology of Divine Tradition*, of *Three Archical Hypoſtaſes*, and no more, was diſguiſed, perverted, and adulterated.

But beſides this Advantage from the ancient Pagan Platoniſts and Pythagoreans, admitting a *Trinity* into their Theology, in like manner as *Chriſtianity* doth (whereby Chriſtianity was the more recommended to the *Philoſophick Pagans*) there is another Advantage of the Same extending even to this preſent time, probably not Unintended alſo by Divine Providence; That whereas Bold and Conceited Wits precipitantly condemning the Doctrine of the *Trinity* for *Nonſence*, abſolute *Repugnancy* to Humane Faculties, and *Impoſſibility*, have thereupon ſome of them quite ſhaken off *Chriſtianity* and all *Revealed Religion*, profeſſing only *Theiſm*; others have fruſtrated the Deſign thereof by Paganizing it into *Creature-Worſhip* or *Idolatry*; this Ignorant and Conceited Confidence of both, may be retunded and confuted from hence, becauſe the moſt ingenious and acute of all the Pagan Philoſophers, the *Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans*, who had no byaſs at all upon them, nor any *Scripture Revelation*, that might ſeem to impoſe upon their Faculties, but followed the free *Sentiments* and Dictates of their own Minds, did notwithſtanding not only entertain this *Trinity* of *Divine Hypoſtaſes Eternal and Uncreated*, but were alſo fond of the *Hypotheſis*, and made it a main Fundamental of their Theology.

It now appears from what we have declared, that as to the Ancient and Genuine *Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans*, none of their *Trinity of Gods*, or Divine *Hypoſtaſes*, were *Independent*, ſo neither were they γενητοὶ θεοὶ *Creature-Gods*, but *Uncreated*; they being all of them not only *Eternal*, and Neceſſarily *Exiſtent*, and *Immutable*, but alſo *Univerſal*, that is *Infinite* and *Omnipotent*; *Cauſes*, *Principles*, and *Creators* of the whole World. From whence it follows that theſe *Platoniſts* could not juſtly be taxed for *Idolatry*, in giving *Religious Worſhip* to each *Hypoſtaſis* of this their *Trinity*. And we have the rather inſiſted ſo long upon this *Platonick Trinity*, becauſe we ſhall make uſe of this Doctrine afterwards, in our *Defence* of *Chriſtianity*, where we are to ſhow; That one Grand Deſign of *Chriſtianity*, being to aboliſh the

Pagan Idolatry, or *Creature-Worſhip*, it ſelf cannot juſtly be charged with the ſame, from that Religious Worſhip given to our Saviour Chriſt, and the *Trinity*, (the *Son* and *Holy Ghoſt*) they being none of them, according to the true and *Orthodox Chriſtianity*, *Creatures*; however the *Arian Hypotheſis* made them ſuch. And this was indeed, the Grand Reaſon, why the Ancient Fathers, ſo zealouſly oppoſed *Arianiſm*, becauſe That *Chriſtianity*, which was intended by God Almighty, for a means to extirpate *Pagan Idolatry*, was thereby it ſelf *Paganized* and *Idolatrized*; and made highly guilty of that very thing, which it ſo much condemned in the *Pagans*, that is *Creature-Worſhip*. This might be proved by ſundry teſtimonies, of *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Epiphanius*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Hilary*, *Ambroſe*, *Auſtine*, *Fauſtinus*, and *Cyril* of *Alexandria*; all of them charging the Arians, as guilty of the very ſame *Idolatry* with the *Gentiles* or *Pagans*, in giving *Religious Worſhip* even to the *Word* and *Son* of God himſelf (and conſequently to our Saviour Chriſt) as he was ſuppoſed them to be but a *Creature*. But we ſhall content our ſelves here, only to cite one remarkable paſſage out of *Athanaſius* in his Fourth Orati-
P. 468, 469. on againſt the Arians, διὰ τί ὃν οἱ Ἀρϛομανῖται τοιαῦτα λογιζόμενοι καὶ νοσῦντες, ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι ὥσπερ ὅτοι τῇ κτίσῃ λατρεύσαι παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα Θεόν ——— εἰ δὴ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἑνὶ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ πολλοῖς γενητοῖς λατρεύουσιν, ὅτοι δὲ ἑνὶ γενητῷ καὶ ἀγενήτῳ, διὰ τοῦτο διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων· ὅ, τε γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενος εἷς γενητὸς οὐκ πολλῶν ὄντι, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ πάλιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιὼ αὐτιὼ τῷ ἑνὶ τούτῳ φύσιν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅτως γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι κτίσματά εἰσιν· ἄθλιοι καὶ πλέον ὅσον ἐβλάβησαν καὶ χείρω φρονοῦντες· ἐξέπεσαν γὰρ τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ τιὼ μὲν Ἰουδαίων προδοσίαν ὑπερέβησαν ἀρνούμενοι τὸν χείρω· τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι συμπολίουται, κτίσμασι καὶ διαφόροις θεοῖς λατρεύοντες οἱ θεοφυγεῖς. *Why therefore do not theſe Arians, holding this, reckon themſelves amongſt the Pagans or Gentiles, ſince they do in like manner worſhip the Creature, beſides the Creator? For though the Pagans worſhip one Uncreated and many Created Gods, but theſe Arians only one Uncreated, and one Created; to wit the Son or Word of God; yet will not this make any real difference betwixt them; becauſe the Arians One Created is one of thoſe many Pagan Gods; and thoſe many Gods of the Pagans or Gentiles, have the ſame nature with this One; they being alike Creatures. Wherefore theſe wretched Arians are Apoſtates from the truth of Chriſtianity, they betraying Chriſt more than the Jews did, and wallowing or tumbling in the Filth of Pagan Idolatry: worſhipping Creatures and different kinds of Gods?* Where by the way we may take notice, that when *Athanaſius* affirmeth of the Arians, what St *Paul* doth of the Pagans, that they did τῇ κτίσει λατρεύειν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, his meaning could not well be, that they worſhipped *the Creature More than the Creator*; foraſmuch as the Arians conſtantly declared, that they gave leſs worſhip to *Chriſt* the *Son* or *Word* of *God*, he being by them accounted but a *Creature*, than they did to the *Father* the *Creator*: but either that they worſhipped, the *Creature Beſides* the *Creator*, or the Creature *Inſtead* of the *Creator*, or in the *Room* of him, who was alone of right to be *Religiouſly Worſhipped*. Again, when the ſame *Athanaſius* declareth, that the Greeks, Gentiles, or Pagans, did Univerſally worſhip ἑνὶ ἀγενήτῳ, *Only One Uncreated*, he ſeems to imply, that the *Platonick Trinity* of

Hypoſtaſes,

Hypoſtaſes, affirmed by him to be all Uncreated, were by them look'd upon, only as *One entire Divinity*.

But the Principal Things, which we ſhall obſerve from this Paſſage of *Athanaſius*, and thoſe many other places of the Fathers, where they Parallel the *Arians* with the *Pagans*, making the *Former* guilty of the very ſame *Idolatry* with the *Latter*, even then when they worſhipped our *Saviour Chriſt* himſelf, or the *Word* and *Son* of God, as he was by them ſuppoſed to be nothing but a *Creature*, are theſe following; First, That it is here plainly declared by them, that the generality of the Pagans, did not worſhip a *Multitude* of *Independent Gods*, but that only *One* of their Gods was *Uncreated* or *Self-Exiſtent*, and all their other *Many Gods*, look'd upon by them as his *Creatures*. This as it is expreſly affirmed by *Athanaſius* here, that the Greeks or Pagans, did ἑνὶ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ πολλοῖς γενητοῖς λατρεύειν, *Worſhip only One Uncreated, and Many Created Gods*, ſo is it plainly implied, by all thoſe other forementioned Fathers, who charge the *Arians* with the Guilt of *Pagan Idolatry*; becauſe had the Pagans worſhipped *Many Uncreated* and *Independent Gods*, it would not therefore follow, that the *Arians were Idolaters*, if the *Pagans* were. But that this was indeed the ſence of the Fathers, both before and after the *Nicene* Council, concerning the *Pagan Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry*, that it conſiſted not in worſhiping *Many Uncreated* and *Independent Gods*, but only *One Uncreated* and *Many Created*; hath been already otherwiſe manifeſted; and it might be further confirmed by ſundry Teſtimonies of them; as this of Saint *Gregory Nazianzen* in his 37. Oration; Τί δαὶ ἐχὶ καὶ παῤ Ἕλλησι φαῖεν ἂν μία θεότης, ὡς οἱ τὰ πλεώτερα παῤ ἐκείνοις φιλοσοφοῦντες; *What then would ſome ſay, is there not One Divinity alſo amongſt the Pagans, as they who Philoſophize more fully and perfectly amongſt them do declare?* And that full and remarkable One of *Irenæus*, where he plainly affirmeth of the Gentiles; *Ita Creaturæ potius quam Creatori ſerviebant, & his qui non ſunt Dii, ut Primum Deitatis Locum attribuerent, Uni alicui & Summo Fabricatori hujus Univerſitatis Deo*; *That they ſo ſerved the Creature, and thoſe who are not Gods, rather than the Creator; that notwithſtanding they attributed the Firſt place of the Deity, to One certain Supreme God, the Maker of this Univerſe.* The ſecond thing is, that *Athanaſius* and all thoſe other Orthodox Fathers, who charged the *Arians* with *Pagan Idolatry*, did thereby plainly imply, Thoſe not to be *Uncapable of Idolatry*, who worſhip *One Soveraign Numen*, or acknowledge *One Supreme Deity*, the Maker of the whole World; ſince not only the *Arians* unqueſtionably did ſo, but alſo according to theſe Fathers, the very Pagans themſelves. The *Third Thing* is, that in the Judgement of *Athanaſius*, and all the *Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers*, to give *Religious Worſhip* to any *Created Being* whatſoever, though Inferiour to that worſhip, which is given to the *Supreme God*, and therefore according to the *Modern Diſtinction*, not λατρεία, but δουλεία, is abſolutely, *Idolatry*. Becauſe it is certain, that the *Arians* gave much an Inferiour worſhip, to Chriſt *the Son* or Word of God, whom they contended to be a meer *Creature*, Made in *Time*, *Mutable* and *Defectible*, than they did to that Eternal God, who was the Creator of

L. 2. c. 9.

him. As those Fathers imply, the Pagans themselves to have given much an Inferiour Worship, to their πολλοὶ γενητοὶ θεοὶ, their *Many Gods*, whom themselves look'd upon, as *Creatures*, than they did ἑνὶ ἀγενήτῳ, To that *One Uncreated God*.

Now if the Arians, who zealously contended for the *Unity of the Godhead*, were nevertheless, by the Fathers condemned, as guilty of Idolatry, for bestowing but an *Inferiour* kind of *Religious Worship*, upon *Christ* the *Son* or *Word* of *God* himself, as he was supposed by them to be a *Creature*; then certainly cannot they be excused from that Guilt, who bestow *Religious Worship*, upon these other Creatures, *Angels* and *Souls* of men, though Inferiour to what they give to the *Supreme Omnipotent God*, the *Creator* of all. Because the *Son* or *Word of God*, however conceived by these *Arians* to be a *Creature*, yet was look'd upon by them as the *First*, the most Glorious, and most Excellent of all Creatures, and that by which as an Instrument, all other *Creatures*, as Angels and Souls, were made: and therefore if it were *Idolatry* in them, to give an *Inferiour* kind of *Religious Worship*, to this *Son* and *Word of God* himself, according to their *Hypothesis*, then can it not possibly be accounted less, to bestow the same upon those other *Creatures*, *Made* by him, as *Angels* and *Men deceased*. Besides which, the *Word* and *Son* of *God*, howsoever supposed by these Arians to be a *Creature*, yet was not Really such; and is in Scripture unquestionably declared to be a *True Object* of *Religious Worship* (*Worship him all ye Gods*) so that the Arians though *Formally Idolaters*, according to their own false *Hypothesis*; yet were not *Materially* and *Really* so: whereas these *Religious Angel*- and *Saint-Worshippers*, must be as well *Materially* as *Formally* such. And here it is observable, that these Ancient *Fathers* made no such *Distinction* of *Religious Worship*, into *Latria*, as peculiar to the Supreme God, it being that whereby he is adored as *Self-Existent* and *Omnipotent*, or the *Creator of all*; and *Dulia*, such an *Inferiour Religious Worship*, as is communicable to Creatures; but concluded of *Religious Worship* Universally, and without Distinction, that the due Object of it all was the *Creator* only, and not any *Creature*. Thus *Athanasius* plainly in his Third Oration, εἰ γὰρ ὡς τῇ δόξῃ ὑπερέχων προσκυνεῖτο, ἔδει ἂν ἕκαστον τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων, τὰ ὑπερέχοντα προσκυνεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως, κτίσματι γὰρ κτίσμα οὐ προσκυνεῖ, ἀλλὰ κτίσμα θεόν· *If the Son or Word of God were to be Worshipped*, (though *a Creature*) *because transcending us in glory and dignity, then ought every Inferiour Being to Worship what is Superiour to it: Whereas the case is otherwise; For a Creature doth not Religiously worship a Creature, but only God the Creator.* Now they who distinguish *Religious Worship*, into *Latria* and *Dulia*, must needs suppose the Object of it in general, to be that which is *Superiour to us*, and not the *Creator* only; which is here contradicted by *Athanasius*. But because it was objected against these *Orthodox Fathers* by the Arians, that the *Humanity* of our Saviour Christ, which is unquestionably a *Creature*, did share in their Religious Worship also; it is worth the while to see what account *Athanasius* gives of this; οὐ κτίσμα προσκυνοῦμεν, μὴ γένοιτο· Ἐθνικῶν γὰρ ἦν Ἀρειανῶν ἡ τοιαύτη πλάνη· ἀλλὰ τὸ Κύριον τῆς κτίσεως σαρκοθέντα τῷ θεῷ λόγον προσκυνοῦμεν· εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἡ σὰρξ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν μέρος

Ad Adelph. p. 157.

μέρος ὄζι τῆς κτισμάτων, ἀλλὰ θεὸς γέγονε σῶμα, ἢ ὅτε τὸ τοιοῦτον σῶμα, καθ' ἑαυτὸ διαιρεθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, προσκυνοῦμεν, ὅτε τὸν λόγον προσκυνῆσαι θέλοντες, μακρύνομεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς· ἀλλ' εἰδότες, τὸ, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, τοῦτον καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενον ὑπογινώσκομεν θεόν. *We give no Religious Worship to any Creature, far be it from us: For this is the Errour of the Pagans and of the Arians; But We Worship the Word of God the Lord of the Creation Incarnated. For though the Flesh of Christ, considered alone by it self, were but a part of the Creatures, nevertheless was it made the Body of God. And we neither Worship this Body by it self alone, divided from the Word; nor yet intending to worship the Word, do we remove it, at a great distance from this flesh; but knowing that of the Scripture,* The Word was made Flesh, *we look upon this Word even in the Flesh as God.* And again to the same purpose, P. 160. Καὶ γινωσκέτωσαν ὅτι τὸν Κύριον ἐν σαρκὶ προσκυνοῦντες, οὐ κτίσματι προσκυνοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κτίσαντι, ἐνδυσαμένου τὸ κτιστὸν σῶμα. *Let these Arians Know, at length, that we who Worship the Lord in Flesh, Worship no Creature, but only the Creator cloathed with a Creaturely Body.* And for the same cause was it that *Nestorius* afterwards, dividing the *Word* from the *Flesh*, the *Divinity* of Christ from the *Humanity*, and not acknowledging such an *Hypostatick Union* betwixt them as he ought, but nevertheless Religiously Worshipping our Saviour Christ, was therefore branded by the Christian Church, with the Name of Ἀνθρωπολάτρης, *A Man-Worshipper*, or *Idolater*. To conclude, they who excuse themselves from being Idolaters no otherwise, than because they do not give that very same *Religious Worship*, to *Saints* and *Angels*, which is pecular to *God Almighty*, and consists in honouring him as *Self-Existent*, and the *Creator* of all things, but acknowledge those others to be Creatures; Suppose that to be *Necessary* to *Idolatry*, which is *Absolutely Impossible*, *viz.* to acknowledge more Omnipotents as Creators of all than One, or to account *Creatures* as such *Creators*; as they imply all those to be Uncapable of Idolatry, who acknowledge *One Supreme God* the *Creator of the whole World*; which is directly contradictious to the Doctrine of the Ancient Church.

Hitherto in way of Answer to an *Atheistick Objection*, against the *Naturality* of the *Idea of God*, as including *Onelineſs* in it, from the Pagan *Polytheism*, have we largely proved, that at least the Civilized and Intelligent Pagans, generally acknowledged One *Sovereign Numen*, and that their *Polytheism* was partly but Phantastical, nothing but the *Polyonymy* of one *Supreme God*, or the Worshipping him under different Names and Notions according to his several *Vertues* and *Manifestations*. And that though besides this they had another *Natural and Real Polytheism* also; yet this was only of *Many Inferiour* or *Created Gods*, Subordinate to *One Supreme* Αὐτόθεος, or *Uncreated*.

Which notwithstanding, is not so to be understood, as if we did confidently affirm, that Opinion of *Many Independent Deities*, never to have so much as entred into the Mind of any Mortal. For since Humane Nature is so Mutable and Depravable, as that notwithstanding the *Connate Idea* and *Prolepsis* of God in the Minds of Men, some unquestionably do degenerate and lapse into Atheism; there can be no reason

reaſon why it ſhould be thought abſolutely impoſſible, for any ever to entertain that falſe Conceit of *More Independent Deities.* But as for *Independent Gods Inviſible*, we cannot trace the footſteps of ſuch a Polytheiſm as this, any where, nor find any more than a *Ditheiſm*, of a *Good and Evil Principle:* Only *Philo* and others ſeem to have conceived, That amongſt the ancient Pagans, ſome were ſo groſly ſottiſh, as to ſuppoſe a Plurality of *Independent Gods Viſible*, and to take the Sun, and Moon, and all the Stars for Such. However, if there were any ſuch, and theſe Writers were not miſtaken, as it frequently happened, it is certain that they were but very few, becauſe amongſt the moſt *Barbarian Pagans* at this day, there is hardly any Nation to be found, without an acknowledgment of a *Sovereign Deity*, as appears from all thoſe Diſcoveries which have been made of them, ſince the improvement of Navigation.

Wherefore what hath been hitherto declared by us, might well be thought a ſufficient Anſwer to the forementioned *Atheiſtick Objection*, againſt the Idea of God. Notwithſtanding which, when we wrote the Contents of this Chapter, we intended a further Account, of the *Natural* and *Real Polytheiſm* of the Pagans, and their *Multifarious Idolatry*, chiefly in order to the *Vindication* of the Truth of *Chriſtianity* againſt *Atheiſts:* foraſmuch as one grand Deſign hereof, was unqueſtionably, to deſtroy the *Pagan Polytheiſm* and *Idolatry*, which conſiſted in *Worſhipping* the *Creature beſides* the *Creator.*

But we are very Senſible, that we have been ſurprized in the Length of this Chapter, which is already ſwelled into a *Diſproportionate Bigneſs*; by means whereof we cannot comprehend within the compaſs of this Volume, all that belongs to the *Remaining Contents*, together with ſuch a Full and Copious *Confutation* of the *Atheiſtick Grounds*, as was intended. Wherefore we ſhall here Divide the Chapter, and reſerve thoſe *Remaining Contents* together, with a further *Confutation of Atheiſm*, for another Volume, which God affording Life, Health, and Leiſure, we intend ſhall follow. Only ſubjoyning in the mean time, a *Short* and *Compendious Confutation*, of all the *Atheiſtick Arguments* propoſed.

AN

A CONFUTATION OF ATHEISM.

CHAP. V.

HAving in the *Second* Chapter revealed all the *Dark Myſteries* of *Atheiſm*, and produced the utmoſt ſtrength of that Cauſe; and in the *Third*, made an *Introduction* to the Confutation of thoſe *Atheiſtick Grounds*, by repreſenting all the ſeveral *Forms* and *Schemes* of *Atheiſm*, and ſhewing both their Diſagreements amongſt themſelves, and wherein they all agree together againſt *Theiſts*; We have been hitherto prevented, of that full and Copious Confutation of them, intended by us, by reaſon of that large Account given, of the *Pagan Polytheiſm*; which yet was no Impertinent Digreſſion neither, it removing the *Grand Objection* againſt the *Naturality* of the *Idea* of *God*, as including *Onelineſs* in it, as alſo preparing a way for that *Defence* of *Chriſtianity*, deſigned by us againſt *Atheiſts*. Wherefore that we may not here be quite excluded, of what was principally intended, we ſhall ſubjoyn a *Contracted* and *Compendious Confutation*, of all the Premiſed *Atheiſtick Principles*. The *FIRST* whereof was this, That *either men have no Idea of God at all*, or elſe *none but ſuch as is Compounded and Made up of Impoſſible and Contradictious Notions*; from whence theſe Atheiſts would inferr Him, to be an *Unconceivable Nothing*. In Anſwer whereunto, there hath been ſomething done already, it being declared in the Beginning of the Fourth Chapter, what the *Idea of God is*, viz. *A Perfect Underſtanding Nature, Neceſſarily Self-Exiſtent, and the Cauſe of all other things*. And as there is Nothing either *Unconceivable*, or *Contradictious* in this *Idea*, ſo have we ſhewed, that theſe *Confounded Atheiſts*, do not only at the ſame time, when they verbally deny an *Idea of God*, implicitly acknowledge and confeſs it, for as much as otherwiſe, denying his *Exiſtence*, they ſhould deny the Exiſtence of *Nothing*; but alſo that they agree with Theiſts in this very Idea; it being the only thing which Atheiſts Contend for, That the Firſt *Originl*

and *Head of all things*, is no *Perfect Underſtanding Nature*, but that all ſprung from *Tohu* and *Bohu*, or *Dark and Senſleſs Matter Fortuitouſly* moved. Moreover we have not only thus declared the *Idea* of *God*, but alſo largely proved, and made it clearly evident, that the *Generality* of Mankind in all Ages, have had a *Prolepſis* or *Anticipation* in their Minds, concerning the *Real* and *Actual Exiſtence* of ſuch a Being: the Pagans themſelves, beſides their other *Many Gods* (which were *Underſtanding Beings Superiour to men*,) acknowledging *One Chief* and *Sovereign* Numen, the *Maker* of them all, and of the Whole World. From whence it plainly appears, that thoſe few *Atheiſts*, that formerly have been, and ſtill are, here and there up and down in the World, are no other than the *Monſters* and *Anomalies* of Humane Kind. And this alone might be ſufficient, to repel the *Firſt Atheiſtick Aſſault*, made againſt the *Idea* of *God*.

Nevertheleſs, that we may not ſeem to diſſemble any of the Atheiſts Strength, we ſhall here Particularly declare, all their moſt *Colourable Pretences*, againſt the *Idea* of *God*, and then ſhow the Folly and Invalidity of them. Which *Pretences* are as follow; Firſt, *That we have no Idea nor Thought of any thing not Subject to Corporeal Senſe; nor the leaſt* Evidence *of the Exiſtence of any thing, but from the ſame.* Secondly, *That Theiſts themſelves acknowledging God to be Incomprehenſible, he may be from thence inferred to be a Non-Entity* Thirdly, *That the Theiſts Idea of God including Infinity in it, is therefore abſolutely Unconceivable and Impoſſible.* Fourthly, *That Theology is an Arbitrarious Compilement of Inconſiſtent and Contradictious Notions*; And Laſtly, *That the* Idea *and* Exiſtence *of God ows all its being, either to the Confounded Non-Sence of Aſtoniſh'd Minds; or elſe to the Fiction and Impoſture of Politicians.*

We begin with the Firſt. That we can have no *Idea*, *Conception*, or *Thought* of any thing, not *Subject to Senſe*; nor the leaſt *Evidence* of the *Exiſtence* of any thing, but from the ſame. Thus a Modern *Atheiſtick Writer*; *Whatſoever we can conceive, hath been Perceived firſt by Senſe, either at once or in parts; and a man can have no Thought repreſenting any thing not Subject to Senſe.* From whence it follows, that whatſoever is not *Senſible* and *Imaginable*, is utterly *unconceivable* and to us *Nothing*. Moreover the ſame Writer adds, *That the only Evidence which we have of the Exiſtence of any thing, is from Senſe*; the Conſequence whereof is this, That there being no *Corporeal Senſe* of a *Deity*, there can be no *Evidence* at all of his *Exiſtence*. Wherefore according to the Tenour of the *Atheiſtick Philoſophy*, all is Reſolved into *Senſe*; as the only Criterion of Truth, accordingly as *Protagoras* in *Plato's Theætetus* concludes, *Knowledge to be Senſe*; and a late Writer of our own determins, *Senſe to be Original Knowledge.* Here have we a wide Ocean before us, but we muſt Contract our Sayls, Were *Senſe*, *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*; then he that ſees *Light* and *Colours*, and feels *Heat* and *Cold*, would underſtand *Light* and *Colours*, *Heat* and *Cold*, and the like of all other Senſible Things: neither would there be any *Philoſophy* at all concerning them. Whereas the Mind of man remaineth altogether unſatisfied, concerning the Nature of

of theſe Corporeal Things, even after the Strongeſt Senſations of them, and is but thereby awakened, to a further *Philoſophick Enquiry* and Search about them, what this Light and Colours, this Heat and Cold, *&c.* Really ſhould be; and whether they be indeed *Qualities* in the *Objects* without us, or only Phantaſms and Senſations in our ſelves. Now it is certain, that there could be no Suſpicion of any ſuch thing as this, were *Senſe* the Higheſt Faculty in us; neither can *Senſe* it ſelf ever decide this Controverſie; ſince one Senſe cannot judge of another, or correct the Error of it; all Senſe as ſuch, (that is, as *Phancy* and *Apparition*) being alike True. And had not theſe Atheiſts been Notorious Dunces, in that *Atomick Philoſophy* which they ſo much pretend to, they would clearly have learn'd from thence, That *Senſe* is not *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, nor the *Criterion* of Truth as to *Senſible* things themſelves; it reaching not to the *Eſſence* or *Abſolute Nature* of them, but only taking notice of their *Outſide*, and perceiving its own *Paſſions* from them, rather than the Things themſelves: and That there is a Higher Faculty in the Soul, of *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding*, which judges of Senſe, detects the *Phantaſtry* and *Impoſture* of it; diſcovers to us that there is nothing in the Objects themſelves like to thoſe forementioned *Senſible Ideas*; and reſolves all Senſible Things into *Intelligible Principles*; the *Ideas* whereof are not *Foraign* and *Adventitious*, and meer *Paſſive Impreſſions* upon the Soul from without; but *Native* and *Domeſtick* to it, or *Actively Exerted* from the Soul it ſelf: no Paſſion being able to make a Judgment either of it ſelf or other things. This is a thing ſo Evident, that *Democritus* himſelf could not but take notice of it, and acknowledge it, though he made not a right uſe thereof; he in all Probability, continuing notwithſtanding a *Confounded* and *Beſotted Atheiſt*: *Sextus Empiricus* having recorded this of him. Ἐν τοῖς κανόσι δύο φησὶν εἶναι γνώσεις, τὴν μὲν διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῆς διανοίας· ὧν τὴν μὲν διὰ τῆς διανοίας γνῶσιν καταγει, προσμαρτυρῶν αὐτῇ τὸ πιστὸν εἰς ἀληθείας κρίσιν, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σκοτίην ὀνομάζει, ἀφαιρούμενος αὐτῆς τὸ πρὸς διάγνωσιν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀπλανές· λέγει δὲ πῶς λέξιν, γνώμης δύο εἰσὶν ἰδέαι· ἡ μὲν γνησίη· ἡ δὲ σκοτίη· τῆς σκοτίης μέν, τάδε σύμπασα, ὄψις, ἀκοή, ὀδμή, γεῦσις, ψαῦσις· ἡ δὲ γνησίη ἀποκεκρυμμένη ἐστὶ ταύτης· Democritus *in his Canons affirmeth, that there are Two kinds of Knowledges, One by the Senſes, and another by the Mind. Of which that by the Mind is only accounted Knowledge, he bearing witneſs to the Faithfulneſs and Firmneſs thereof, for the judgment of Truth. The other by the* Senſes, *he calleth Dark, denying it to be a Rule and Meaſure of Truth. His own words are theſe. There are Two Species of Knowledge, the One Genuine the other Dark or Obſcure. The Dark and Obſcure Knowledge is* Seeing, Hearing Smelling, Taſting, Touching. *But the Genuine Knowledge, is another more Hidden and Recondit.* To which purpoſe there is another Fragment alſo of this *Democritus* preſerved by the ſame *Sextus*; Νόμῳ γλυκύ, καὶ νόμῳ πικρόν, νόμῳ θερμόν, νόμῳ ψυχρόν· νόμῳ χροιή· ἐτεῇ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν· ὅπερ νομίζεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ δοξάζεται τὰ αἰσθητὰ, ἐπ' ἐξ δὲ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ταῦτα· *Bitter and Sweet, Hot and Cold, are only in Opinion or Phancy. Colour is only in opinion. Atoms and* Vacuum *alone in Truth and Reality. That which is thought to be, are Senſibles; but theſe are not according to Truth, but Atoms and* Vacuum *only.* Now

the chief Ground of this Rational Diſcovery of the ancient Atomiſts, that Senſible things, as Heat and Cold, Bitter and Sweet, Red and Green, are no *Real Qualities* in the Objects without, but only our own *Phancies*, was becauſe in Body, there are no ſuch things *Intelligible*; but only *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, *Motion* and *Reſt*. Of which we have not only *Senſible Ideas*, Paſſively impreſſed upon us from without, but alſo, *Intelligible Notions*, *Actively Exerted* from the Mind it ſelf. Which Latter notwithſtanding, becauſe they are not unaccompanied with *Senſible Phantaſms*, are by many unskilfully confounded with them. But beſides theſe, we have other *Intelligible Notions* or *Ideas* alſo, which have no *Genuine Phantaſms* at all belonging to them. Of which whoſoever doubts, may eaſily be ſatisfied and convinced, by reading but a Sentence or two, that he underſtands, in any Book almoſt that ſhall come next to his hand; and reflexively examining himſelf, whether he have a *Phantaſm* or *Senſible Idea*, belonging to every Word, or no. For whoever is modeſt and ingenuous, will quickly be forced to confeſs, that he meets with many Words, which though they have a *Sence* or *Intelligible Notion*, yet have no *Genuine Phantaſm* belonging to them. And we have known ſome, who were confidently engaged in the other Opininon; being put to read the beginning of *Tully*'s Offices, preſently non-pluſt and confounded, in that firſt word *Quanquam*; they being neither able to deny but that there was a *Sence* belonging to it, nor yet to affirm, that they had any *Phantaſm* thereof, ſave only of the *Sound* or *Letters*. But to prove that there are *Cogitations* not ſubject to *Corporeal Senſe*, we need go no further than this very *Idea* or *Deſcription* of God; *A Subſtance*, *Abſolutely Perfect*, *Infinitely Good*, *Wiſe and Powerful*, *Neceſſarily Self-exiſtent*, *and the Cauſe of all other things*. Where there is not One Word unintelligible, to him that hath any Uunderſtanding in him, and yet no Conſiderative and Ingenuous Perſon can pretend, that he hath a *Genuine Phantaſm* or *Senſible Idea*, anſwering to any one of thoſe words; either to *Subſtance*, or to *Abſolutely Perfect*, or to *Infinitely*, or to *Good*, or to *Wiſe*, or to *Powerful*, or to *Neceſſity*, or to *Self-exiſtence*, or to *Cauſe*; or indeed to *All*, or *Other*, or *Things*. Wherefore it is nothing but want of *Meditation*, together with a *Fond and Sottiſh Dotage* upon *Corporeal Senſe*, which hath ſo far impoſed upon ſome, as to make them believe, that they have not the leaſt *Cogitation* of any thing, not ſubject to *Corporeal Senſe*, or that there is nothing in *Humane Underſtanding* or *Conception*, which was not Firſt in *Bodily Senſe*; a Doctrine highly favourable to *Atheiſm*. But ſince it is certain on the contrary, that we have many Thoughts not Subject to Senſe, it is manifeſt that whatſoever falls not under External Senſe, is not therefore *Unconceivable*, and *Nothing*. Which whoſoever aſſerts, muſt needs affirm, *Life* and *Cogitation* it ſelf, *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding*, *Reaſon* and *Memory*, *Volition* and *Appetite*, things of the greateſt Moment and Reality, to be Nothing but mere Words without any *Signification*. Nay *Phancy* and *Senſe* it ſelf, upon this *Hypotheſis*, could hardly ſcape from becoming *Non-Entities* too, foraſmuch as neither *Phancy* nor *Senſe* falls under *Senſe*, but only the Objects of them; we neither *ſeeing Viſion*, nor *feeling Taction*, *nor hearing Audition*, much leſs,

leſs, *hearing Sight*, or *ſeeing Taſt*, or the like. Wherefore though God ſhould be never ſo much Corporeal, as ſome Theiſts have conceived him to be, yet ſince the *Chief of his Eſſence*, and as it were his *Inſide*, muſt by theſe be acknowledged to conſiſt in *Mind*, *Wiſdom*, and *Underſtanding*, he could not poſſibly as to this, fall under *Corporeal Senſe* (Sight or Touch) any more than *Thought* can. But that there is *Subſtance Incorporeal* alſo, and therefore in it ſelf altogether *Inſenſible*; and that the Deity is ſuch; is demonſtrated elſewhere.

We grant indeed that the *Evidence* of Particular Bodies, exiſting *Hîc & Nunc*, without us, doth neceſſarily depend upon the *Information of Senſe:* but yet nevertheleſs the *Certainty* of this very *Evidence*, is not from *Senſe* alone, but from a *Complication of Reaſon and Underſtanding* together with it. Were *Senſe* the only *Evidence* of things, there could be no *Abſolute Truth and Falſhood*, nor *Certainty* at all of any thing; Senſe as ſuch being only *Relative* to Particular *Perſons*, *Seeming* and *Phantaſtical*, and obnoxious to much *Deluſion*. For if our *Nerves* and *Brain* be inwardly ſo moved, and affected, as they would be by ſuch an Object preſent, when indeed it is abſent, and no other Motion or Senſation, in the mean time prevail againſt it and obliterate it; then muſt that Object of neceſſity ſeem to us preſent. Moreover thoſe *Imaginations*, that ſpring and bubble from the Soul it ſelf, are commonly taken for *Senſations* by us when aſleep, and ſometimes in *Melancholick* and *Phanciful* Perſons alſo, when awake. That *Atheiſtick Principle*, that there is no Evidence at all of any thing as Exiſting, but only from *Corporeal Senſe*, is plainly contradicted by the *Atomick Atheiſts* themſelves, When they aſſert *Atoms* and *Vacuum* to be the Principles of all things, and the *Exuvious Images* of Bodies to be the Cauſes both of Sight and Cogitation: for *Single Atoms*, and thoſe *Exuvious Images*, were never Seen nor Felt; and *Vacuum* or *Empty Space*, is ſo far from being *Senſible*, that theſe *Atheiſts* themſelves allow it to be the *One Only Incorporeal*. Wherefore they muſt here go beyond the Ken of Senſe, and appeal to Reaſon only for the *Exiſtence* of theſe Principles: as *Protagoras* one of them in *Plato* profeſſedly doth; ἄθρει θεσμοποιῶν μήτις τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐπακούῃ· ἐσὶ δ' ὅτοι, οἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο οἰόμενοι εἶναι, ἢ ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται ἁπτῇ ταῖν χερσῖν λαβέσθαι, πᾶν τὸ ἀόρατον μὴ ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος μέρος· *Have a Care that none of the Prophane and Uninitiated in the Myſteries, over-hear you. By the Prophane, I mean* (ſaith he) *thoſe who think nothing to Exiſt, but what they can feel with their Fingers, and exclude all that is Inviſible, out of the Rank of Being.* Were Exiſtence to be allowed to nothing, that doth not fall under Corporeal Senſe, then muſt we deny the *Exiſtence* of *Soul* and *Mind*, in our ſelves, and others, becauſe we can neither Feel nor See any ſuch thing. Whereas we are certain of the Exiſtence of our own Souls, partly from an inward *Conſciouſneſs* of our own *Cogitations*, and partly from that *Principle of Reaſon*, That, *Nothing can not Act*. And the Exiſtence of other Individual Souls, is manifeſt to us, from their Effects, upon their Reſpective Bodies, their *Motions*, *Actions*, and *Diſcourſe*. Wherefore ſince the *Atheiſts* cannot deny the Exiſtence

Theæt. P. 155. Steph.

of Soul or Mind in men, though no ſuch thing fall under External Senſe; they have as little Reaſon to deny, the Exiſtence of a *Perfect Mind*, preſiding over the *Univerſe*, without which it cannot be conceived whence our *Imperfect* ones ſhould be derived. The Exiſtence of that *God, whom no Eye hath ſeen nor can ſee*, is plainly proved by *Reaſon* from his *Effects*, in the *Viſible Phænomena* of the Univerſe, and from what we are Conſcious of within our ſelves.

The Second *Pretence* of *Atheiſts* againſt the *Idea of God*, and conſequently his *Exiſtence*, is becauſe Theiſts themſelves acknowledging *God* to be *Incomprehenſible*, it may be from thence Inferred, that he is a *Non-Entity*. Which Argumentation of the Atheiſts, ſuppoſes theſe Two Things, Firſt, That what is *Incomprehenſible*, is altogether *Unconceivable*; and then, that what is *Unconceivable*, is *Nothing*. The Latter of which *Two*, perhaps may be granted to them, That what is ſo Utterly *Unconceivable*, as that no man can frame any manner of *Idea* or *Conception* of it, is therefore either in it ſelf, or at leaſt to us, *Nothing*. Becauſe though that of *Protagoras* be not true, in his ſence, πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δὲ μὴ ὄντων, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν· *That Man is the meaſure of all things, either as Exiſting or not Exiſting*. He meaning indeed nothing elſe thereby, but that there was no *Abſolute Truth* or *Falſhood* of any thing, but all was *Relative* to particular perſons, and *Phantaſtical* or *Seeming* only. And though it muſt not be granted, that whatſoever any man's ſhallow Underſtanding, cannot eaſily and fully comprehend, is therefore preſently to be expunged out of the Catalogue of Beings; which is the *Reaſon*, or rather *Infidelity* of the Anti-Trinitarians; yet is there notwithſtanding ſome Truth in that of *Ariſtotle*, that ψυχὴ πῶς πάντα, *the Rational Soul or Mind, is in a manner All things*; it being able to frame ſome *Idea* and *Conception* or other, of whatſoever is in the *Nature of things*, and hath either an *Actual* or *Poſſible Exiſtence*, from the very Higheſt to the Loweſt. Mind and Underſtanding is as it were a *Diaphanous* and *Cryſtalline Globe*, or a kind of *Notional World*, which hath ſome *Reflex Image*, and correſpondent Ray, or Repreſentation in it, to whatſoever is in the *True and Real World of Being*. And upon this account may it be ſaid, that whatſoever is in its own Nature Abſolutely *Unconceivable*, is indeed a *Non-Entity*.

Plato Theæt.

But the Former is abſolutely denied by us, That Whatſoever is *Incomprehenſible* is *Unconceivable*; and therefore when we affirm that God is Incomprehenſible, our meaning is only this, that our *Imperfect Minds* cannot have ſuch a *Conception* of his Nature, as doth perfectly *Maſter*, *Conquer*, and *Subdue* that Vaſt Object under it; or at leaſt is ſo fully *Adequate* and *Commenſurate* to the ſame, as that it doth every way Match and Equalize it. Now it doth not at all follow from hence, becauſe God is thus *Incomprehenſible* to our *Finite* and Narrow Underſtandings, that he is utterly *Unconceivable* by them, ſo that they cannot frame any *Idea* at all of him, and he may therefore be concluded to be a *Non-Entity*. For it is certain, that we cannot fully *Comprehend* our Selves, and that we have not ſuch an *Adequate* and *Comprehenſive Knowledge* of the *Eſſence* of any Subſtantial thing, as that

that we can perfectly *Maſter* and *Conquer* it. It was a Truth, though abuſed by the Scepticks, that there is ἀκαταλῆπτόν τι, *ſomething Incomprehenſible* in the Eſſence of the Loweſt Subſtances. For even *Body* it ſelf, which the *Atheiſts* think themſelves ſo well acquainted with, becauſe they can feel it with their fingers, and which is the only Subſtance that they acknowledge either in themſelves or the Univerſe, hath ſuch puzzling Difficulties and Entanglements in the Speculation of it, that they can never be able to extricate themſelves from. We might inſtance alſo in ſome *Accidental things*, as *Time* and *Motion*. *Truth is Bigger than our Minds*, and we are not the *Same* with it, but have a lower Participation only of the *Intellectual Nature*, and are rather *Apprehenders* than *Comprehenders* thereof. This is indeed One Badge of our *Creaturely State*, that we have not a perfectly *Comprehenſive Knowledge*, or ſuch as is *Adequate* and *Commenſurate* to the Eſſences of things; from whence we ought to be led to this acknowledgment, that there is another *Perfect Mind* or *Underſtanding Being* above us in the Univerſe, from which our Imperfect Minds were derived, and upon which they do depend. Wherefore if we can have no *Idea* or *Conception* of any thing whereof we have not a Full and *Perfect Comprehenſion*, then can we not have an *Idea* or *Conception* of the Nature of any Subſtance. But though we do not Comprehend all Truth, as if our Mind were *Above* it, or *Maſter* of it; and cannot Penetrate into, and look quite thorough the Nature of every thing; yet may Rational Souls frame certain *Ideas* and *Conceptions*, of whatſoever is in the *Orb of Being*,, proportionate to their own Nature, and ſufficient for their purpoſe. And though we cannot fully Comprehend the Deity, nor Exhauſt the *Infiniteneſs* of its *Perfection*, yet may we have an *Idea* or *Conception* of a *Being Abſolutely Perfect*, ſuch a one as is, *Noſtro modulo conformis*, *agreeable and proportionate to our Meaſure and Scantling*; as we may approach near to a Mountain, and touch it with our hands, though we cannot encompaſs it all round, and enclaſp it within our arms. Whatſoever is in its own Nature Abſolutely *Unconceivable*, is Nothing; but not whatſoever is not fully *Comprehenſible* by our *Imperfect Underſtandings*.

It is true indeed, that the Deity is more *Incomprehenſible* to us than any thing elſe whatſoever, which proceeds from the Fulneſs of its Being and Perfection, and from the Tranſcendency of its Brightneſs, but for the very ſame reaſon, may it be ſaid alſo, in ſome ſence, that it is more Knowable and Conceivable than any thing. As the Sun, though by reaſon of its Exceſſive Splendour, it dazle our weak ſight, yet is it notwithſtanding far more Viſible alſo, than any of the *Nebuloſæ Stellæ*, *the Small Miſty Stars*. Where there is more of Light, there is more of Viſibility, ſo where there is more of Entity, Reality, and Perfection, there is there more of *Conceptibility* and *Cognoſcibility*; ſuch an Object Filling up the Mind more, and Acting more ſtrongly upon it. Nevertheleſs becauſe our Weak and Imperfect Minds are loſt in the Vaſt Immenſity and Redundancy of the Deity, and overcome with its tranſcendent Light, and dazeling Brightneſs, therefore hath it to us an Appearance of *Darkneſs* and *Incomprehenſibility*.

Thus

As the unbounded Expansion of Light, in the clear transparent *Ether*, hath to us the *Apparition* of an *Azure Obscurity*; which yet is not any Absolute thing in it self, but only *Relative* to our *Sense*, and a meer *Phancy* in us.

The *Incomprehensibility of the Deity*, is so far from being an Argument against the *Reality* of its *Existence*, as that it is most certain on the contrary, that were there nothing *Incomprehensible* to us, who are but contemptible Pieces, and small Atoms of the Universe; were there no other Being in the world, but what our *Finite* and *Imperfect Understandings* could span or fathom, and encompass round about, look thorough and thorough, have a commanding view of, and perfectly Conquer and Subdue under them; then could there be nothing *Absolutely and Infinitely Perfect*, that is, no *God*. For though that of *Empedocles* be not true in a Literal Sence, as it seems to have been taken by *Aristotle*, γαῖα μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν, &c. *That by Earth we see Earth, by Water Water, and by Fire Fire; and understand every thing by something of the same within our selves*; yet is it certain, that every thing is apprehended by some *Internal Congruity* in that which apprehends, which perhaps was the sence intended by that Noble Philosophick Poet. Wherefore it cannot possibly otherwise be, but that the *Finiteness*, *Scantness*, and *Imperfection* of our narrow Understandings, must make them *Asymmetral* or *Incommensurate*, to that which is *Absolutely* and *Infinitely Perfect*.

And Nature it self plainly intimates to us, that there is some such *Absolutely Perfect Being*, which though not *Inconceivable*, yet is *Incomprehensible* to our Finite Understandings; by certain *Passions* which it hath implanted in us, that otherwise would want an *Object* to display themselves upon; namely those, of *Devout Veneration*, *Adoration*, and *Admiration*, together with a kind of *Ecstasie*, and *Pleasing Horrour*; which in the silent Language of Nature, seem to speak thus much to us, that there is some Object in the World, so much *Bigger* and *Vaster* than our *Mind* and *Thoughts*, that it is the very same to them, that the Ocean is to narrow Vessels, so that when they have taken into themselves as much as they can thereof by Contemplation, and filled up all their Capacity, there is still an Immensity of it left without, which cannot enter in for want of room to receive it, and therefore must be apprehended after some other strange and more mysterious manner, *viz.* by their being as it were *Plunged* into it, and *Swallowed up* or *Lost in it*. To conclude, the Deity is indeed *Incomprehensible* to our *Finite* and *Imperfect Understandings*, but not *Inconceivable*, and therefore there is no Ground at all for this Atheistick Pretence, to make it a *Non-Entity*.

We come to the *Third Atheistick Argumentation*; That because *Infinity* (which according to *Theology* is included in the *Idea* of *God*, and pervadeth all his *Attributes*) is utterly *Unconceivable*, the Deity it self is therefore an *Impossibility*, and *Non-Entity*. To this Sence sound sundry *Passages* of a *Modern Writer*; as, *Whatsoever we know, we learn from our Phantasms, but there is no* Phantasm *of* Infinite, and

and therefore no Knowledge or Conception of it. Again, *Whatsoever we Imagine is Finite, and therefore there is no Conception or* Idea, *of that which we call Infinite. No man can have in his Mind an Image of Infinite Time, or of Infinite Power. Wherefore the Name of God is used, not to make us conceive him, but only that we may Honour him.* The true Meaning whereof (as may be plainly gathered from other Passages of the same Writer) is thus to be Interpreted; That there is nothing of *Philosophick Truth* and *Reality*, in the *Idea* or *Attributes* of God; nor any other Sence in those Words, but only to signifie, the *Veneration* and *Astonishment* of mens own *Confounded Minds*. And accordingly the Word *Infinite*, is declared, to signifie nothing at all in that which is so called, (there being no such thing really existing) but only the *Inability* of mens own Minds, together with their *Rustick Astonishment* and *Admiration*. Wherefore when the same Writer determins, that God must not be said to be Finite; this being no good *Courtship* nor *Complement*; and yet the Word *Infinite*, signifieth nothing in the thing it self, nor hath any Conception at all answering to it; he either does plainly abuse his Reader, or else he leaves him to make up this Conclusion; That since God is neither *Finite* nor *Infinite*, he is an *Unconceivable Nothing*. In like manner, another Learned *Well-willer* to *Atheism*, declareth, That he who calleth any thing *Infinite*, doth but *Rei quam non capit, attribuere nomen quod non intelligit, Attribute an Unintelligible Name, to a thing Unconceivable; because all Conception is Finite, and it is impossible to conceive any thing that hath no Bounds or Limits. But that which is mistaken for Infinite, is nothing but a Confused* Chaos *of the Mind, or an unshapen Embryo of Thought; when men going on further and further, and making a Continual Progress, without seeing any End before them, being at length quite weary and tyred ont with this their endless Journey, they sit down, and call the thing by this Hard and Unintelligible Name, Infinite.* And from hence does he also infer; That because we can have no *Idea* of *Infinite*, as to signifie any thing in that which is so called; we therefore cannot possibly have, *Germanam Ideam Dei, Any True and Genuine Idea or Notion of God.* Of which, they who understand the *Language of Atheists*, know very well the meaning to be this; That there is indeed No such thing; or, That he is a *Non-Entity.*

Now since this *Exception* against the *Idea of God*, and consequently his *Existence*, is made by our *Modern* and *Neoterick Atheists*; we shall in the first place shew, how Contradictious they are herein to their *Predecessors*, the *Old Philosophick Atheists*; and consequently how inconsistent and disagreeing, Atheists in several Ages have been with one another. For whereas these Modern Atheists, would have this thought a sufficient Confutation of a Deity, *That there can be Nothing Infinite*; it is certain that the Ancient *Philosophick Atheists* were so far from being of this Perswasion, that some of them, as *Anaximander* expresly, made Ἄπειρον, or *Infinite*, the *Principle* of all things; that is, *Infinitely Extended and Eternal Matter, devoid of all Life and Understanding.* For though *Melissus* his Ἄπειρον or *Infinite*, which he made *The First Principle*, was a *Most Perfect Being*, Eminently

nently containing *all things* (as hath been already ſhewed) and therefore the *True Deity: Anaximander*'s Ἄπειρον or *Infinite*, yet however called θεῖον or *Divine* by him, (it being the only *Divinity* which he acknowledged) was nothing but *Senſleſs Matter*; an *Atheiſtick Infinite*. Wherefore both *Theiſts* and *Atheiſts* in thoſe former times, did very well agree together in this One Point, that there was Something or other *Infinite*, as the *Firſt Principle* of all things; either *Infinite Mind*, or *Infinite Matter*; though this latter *Atheiſtick Infinity* of *Extended Matter*, be indeed repugnant to Conception, (as ſhall be proved afterwards) there being no *True Infinite*, but a *Perfect Being*, or the Holy Trinity. Furthermore, not only *Anaximander*, but alſo after him, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*, and many others of that Atheiſtick Gang, heretofore aſſerted likewiſe, a *Numerical Infinity of Worlds*, and therefore much more than an *Infinity of Atoms*, or *Particles of Matter*. And though this *Numerical Infinity* of theirs were alſo *Unconceivable* and *Impoſſible*; yet does it ſufficiently appear from hence, that theſe Ancient *Philoſophick Atheiſts* were ſo far from being abhorrent from *Infinity*, as a Thing *Impoſſible*, and a *Non-Entity*, that they were on the contrary very fond thereof; and therefore never went about to diſprove a Deity, after this manner, *Becauſe there can be Nothing Infinite*.

But in the next place, we ſhall make it manifeſt, that theſe Modern Atheiſts, do no leſs contradict plain Reaſon and their very Selves alſo, than they do their Predeceſſors in that Impiety, when they thus go about to diſprove the Exiſtence of a God; *Becauſe there can be Nothing Infinite*, neither in *Duration*, nor in *Power*, nor in any other regard. For Firſt, though it ſhould be doubted, whether there be a God or no, yet muſt it needs be acknowledged to be as Indubitable, as any thing in all Geometry, that there was ſomething or other *Infinite in Duration*, or *Eternal, without Beginning*: becauſe, if there had been once Nothing at all, there could never have been Any thing; that *Common Notion* or Principle of Reaſon, having here an *Irreſiſtible Force*, *That Nothing could ever come from Nothing*. Now if there were *never Nothing*, but *always Something*, then muſt there of neceſſity be ſomething *Infinite in Duration*, and *Eternal without Beginning*. Wherefore it cannot be accounted leſs than *Extreme Sottiſhneſs* and *Stupidity* of Mind, in theſe *Modern Atheiſts*, thus to impugn a Deity, from the *Impoſſibility* of Infinite Duration without beginning. But in the next place, we muſt confeſs it ſeems to us hardly conceivable, that any Atheiſt whatſoever, could poſſibly be ſo prodigiouſly Sottiſh, or ſo monſtrouſly infatuated, as really to think; that once there was *Nothing* at all, but that afterwards *Senſleſs Matter* happened, (no body knows how) to come into Being, from whence all other things were derived. According to which *Hypotheſis*, it would follow alſo, that *Matter* might as well ſome time or other happen again, to ceaſe to be, and ſo all things vaniſh into Nothing. To conclude therefore, theſe Atheiſts muſt of neceſſity be Guilty, of One or Other of theſe Two Things; either of Extreme *Sottiſhneſs* and *Stupidity*, in acknowledging neither God, nor Matter, nor Any Thing, to have Exiſted *Infinitely* from *Eternity*

Eternity without *Beginning*; or elſe if they do acknowledge the *Pre-Eternity of Matter*, or its *Infinite Paſt-duration* without *Beginning*; then, of the moſt *Notorious Impudence*, in making that an Argument againſt *the Exiſtence of a God*, which themſelves acknowledge to *Matter*.

Nevertheleſs we ſhall here readily comply, with theſe *Modern Atheiſts* thus far, as to grant them theſe *Two following Things*; *Firſt*, that we can have no Proper and Genuine *Phantaſm* of any *Infinite* whatſoever, becauſe we never had *Corporeal Senſe* of any, neither of *Infinite Number*, nor of *Infinite Magnitude*, and therefore much leſs of *Infinite Time* or *Duration*, and of *Infinite Power*; theſe two Latter things, *Time* and *Power*, themſelves not falling under Corporeal Senſe. Secondly, That as we have no *Phantaſm* of any *Infinite*, ſo neither is *Infinity Fully Comprehenſible* by our humane Underſtandings, that are but *Finite*. But ſince it is certain even to *Mathematical Evidence*, *That there was Something Infinite in Duration*, or *without Beginning*, inſomuch that no Intelligent Atheiſt, upon Mature Conſideration will ever venture to contradict it, we ſhall from hence extort from theſe Atheiſts an acknowledgment, of the *Falſneſs* of theſe Two *Theorems* of theirs, That whatſoever we have no *Phantaſm* or *Senſible Idea* of, as alſo whatſoever is not *Fully Comprehenſible* by us, is therefore a pure *Non-Entity* or *Nothing*: and enforce them to confeſs, That there is ſomething Really Exiſting in Nature, which we have neither any *Phantaſm* of, nor yet can *Fully Comprehend* with our Imperfect Underſtandings.

Nay, we will yet go further in compliance with them and acknowledge likewiſe, That as for thoſe *Infinities*, of *Number*, of *Corporeal Magnitude*, and of *Time* or *Succeſſive Duration*, we have not only no *Phantaſm*, nor *Full Intellectual Comprehenſion* of them, but alſo no manner of *Intelligible Idea*, *Notion* or *Conception*. For though it be true, that Number be ſomewhere ſaid by *Ariſtotle* to be *Infinite*, yet was his meaning there only in ſuch a negative Sence as this, that we can never poſſibly come to an End thereof by Addition, but may in our minds ſtill add Number to Number *Infinitely*; which is all one as if he ſhould indeed have affirmed, that there can be no *Number* Actually and Poſitively *Infinite*, according to *Ariſtotle*'s own Definition of Infinite elſewhere given, namely, *That to which nothing can be added*: no Number being ever ſo Great, but that One or More may ſtill be added to it. And as there can be no *Infinite Number*, ſo neither can there be any *Infinity* of *Corporeal Magnitude*; not only becauſe if there were, the parts thereof muſt needs be Infinite in Number; but alſo becauſe, as no Number can be ſo great, but that More may be added to it; ſo neither can any *Body* or *Magnitude* be evet ſo Vaſt, but that more *Body* or *Magnitude* may be ſuppoſed ſtill further and further; this *Addition* of *Finites*, never making up *Infinite*. Indeed *Infinite Space*, beyond the *Finite World*, is a thing which hath been much talked of; and it is by ſome ſuppoſed to be *Infinite Body*, but by others to be an *Incorporeal Infinite*; through whoſe Actual Diſtance notwithſtanding (Menſurable by Poles and Miles)

this *Finite World* might rowl and tumble *Infinitely*. But as we conceive, all that can be demonſtrated here, is no more than this, That how vaſt ſoever the Finite World ſhould be, yet is there a *Poſſibility* of more and more *Magnitude* and *Body*, ſtill to be added to it, further and further, by *Divine Power*, *Infinitely*; or that the World could never be made ſo Great, no not by God himſelf, as that his own Omnipotence could not make it yet Greater. Which *Potential Infinity* or *Indefinite Encreaſableneſs* of *Corporeal Magnitude*, ſeems to have been miſtaken for an *Actual Infinity* of *Space*. Whereas for this very Reaſon, becauſe more could be added to the Magnitude of the Corporeal World *Infinitely*, or without *End*; therefore is it *Impoſſible* that it ſhould ever be *Poſitively* and *Actually Infinite*; That is, ſuch as to which nothing more can Poſſibly be added. Wherefore we conclude concerning *Corporeal Magnitude*, as we did before of *Number*, that there can be no *Abſolute* and *Actual Infinity* thereof; and that how much Vaſter ſoever, the World may be, than according to the Suppoſition of Vulgar Aſtronomers, who make the *Starry Sphere* the *Utmoſt Wall* thereof, yet is it not *Abſolutely Infinite*; ſuch as Really hath *No Bounds* or *Limits* at all; nor to which Nothing more could by *Divine Power* be added. Laſtly, we affirm likewiſe concerning *Time* or *Succeſſive Duration*, that there can be no *Infinity* of that neither, no *Temporal Eternity* without *Beginning:* and that not only becauſe there would then be an *Actual Infinity* and more than an Infinity of Number; but alſo becauſe upon this Suppoſition, there would always have been an Infinity of *Time Paſt*, and conſequently an Infinity of *Time Paſt*, which was never *Preſent*. Whereas all the Moments of *Paſt Time*, muſt needs have been once *Preſent*; and if ſo, then all of them, at leaſt ſave One, Future too; from whence it will follow, that there was a *Firſt Moment* or *Beginning* of *Time*. And thus does Reaſon conclude, neither the *World* nor *Time* it ſelf, to have been *Infinite* in their *Paſt Duration*, or *Eternal* without *Beginning*.

Here will the *Atheiſt* think preſently, he hath got a great advantage to diſprove the *Exiſtence of a God*, *Nonne qui Æternitatem Mundi ſic tollunt, eâdem operâ etiam Mundi Conditori Æternitatem tollunt? Do not they, who thus deſtroy the Eternity of the World, at the ſame time deſtroy alſo the Eternity of the Creator? For if Time it ſelf were not Eternal, then how could the Deity or any thing be ſo?* The Atheiſt ſecurely taking it for granted, that God himſelf could not be otherwiſe *Eternal*, than by a *Succeſſive Flux of Infinite Time*. But we ſay, that this will on the contrary afford us a plain *Demonſtration* of the *Exiſtence* of a *Deity*. For ſince the *World* and *Time* it ſelf, were not *Infinite* in their *Paſt-Duration*, but had a *Beginning*, therefore were they both certainly made together by ſome other Being, who is in order of *Nature Senior* to *Time*, and ſo without Time, before Time; he being above that Succeſſive Flux, and compehending in the *Stability* and *Immutable Perfection* of his own Being, his *Yeſterday* and *To day* and *For ever*. Or thus; Something was of neceſſity *Infinite* in *Duration*, and *without Beginning*; But neither the *World*, nor *Motion*, nor *Time*, that is, no *Succeſſive Being*, was ſuch; therefore is there ſomething elſe whoſe Being and Duration is not *Succeſſive*

ceſſive and *Flowing*, but *Permanent*; to whom this *Infinity* belongeth. The Atheiſts here, can only ſmile, or make faces; and ſhow their little wit, in quibbling upon *Nunc-ſtans*, or a *Standing Now of Eternity*; as if that *Standing Eternity* of the *Deity* (which with ſo much Reaſon hath been contended for, by the Ancient *Genuine Theiſts*) were nothing but a *Pitiful Small Moment* of *Time Standing ſtill*; and as if the Duration of all Beings whatſoever muſt needs be like our own. Whereas the Duration of every thing, muſt of neceſſity be agreeable to its Nature; and therefore, As that whoſe *Imperfect Nature* is ever *Flowing* like a River, and conſiſts in *Continual Motion* and *Changes* one after another, muſt needs have accordingly a *Succeſſive* and *Flowing Duration*, ſliding perpetually from *Preſent* into *Paſt*, and always poſting on towards the *Future*, expecting Something of it ſelf, which is not yet in being, but to come: So muſt that, whoſe *Perfect Nature*, is *Eſſentially Immutable*, and always the *Same*, and *Neceſſarily Exiſtent*, have a *Permanent Duration*; never loſing any thing of it ſelf once Preſent, as ſliding away from it; nor yet running forwards to meet ſomething of it ſelf before, which is not yet in being: and it is as Contradictious for it, ever to have begun; as ever to Ceaſe to be.

Now whereas the *Modern Atheiſts* pretend to have proved, that there is *Nothing Infinite*, neither in *Duration* nor otherwiſe, and conſequently *No Deity*; meerly becauſe we have no *Senſe* nor *Phantaſm* of *Infinite*, nor can *Fully Comprehend* the ſame; and therefore will needs conclude that the *Words*, *Infinite* and *Eternal*, ſignifie nothing in the thing it ſelf, but either mens own *Ignorance* and *Inability* to conceive When, or Whether, that which is called *Eternal*, began; together with the *Confounded Non-ſence* of their Aſtoniſh'd Minds, and their *Stupid Veneration*, of that which their own *Fear* and *Phancy*, has raiſed up as a *Bugbear* to themſelves; or elſe the *Progreſs* of their Thoughts further and further backward *Indefinitely*; (though they plainly confute themſelves in all this, by ſometimes acknowledging *Matter* and *Motion Infinite* and *Eternal*, which argues either their Extreme Sottiſhneſs or Impudence.) We have ſhewed with *Mathematical Evidence* and *Certainty*, that there is really ſomething *Infinite in Duration* or *Eternal*, by which therefore cannot be meant, Mens own *Ignorance*, or the *Confounded Non-ſence of their Devotion*, nor yet the *Idle Progreſs* of their Minds further and further *Indefinitely*, which never reaches *Infinite*; but a Reality in the thing it ſelf, namely this, that it *Never was Not*; nor had any *Beginning*. Moreover having Demonſtrated concerning this *Infinity* and *Eternity*, *without Beginning*; that it cannot poſſibly belong to any *Succeſſive Being*, we confidently conclude againſt theſe Atheiſts alſo, that it was not *Matter* and *Motion*, or this *Mundane Syſtem*, but a *Perfect Immutable Nature* of a *Permanent Duration*, (that is, *a God*) to whom it belonged. To ſumm up all therefore, we ſay that *Infinite* and *Eternal*, are not Words that ſignifie *nothing in the thing it ſelf*, nor meer *Attributes of Honour*, *Complement* and *Flattery*, that is, of *Devout* and *Religious Non-ſence*, *Error* and *Falſhood*, but *Attributes* belonging to the *Deity*, and to that alone, of the moſt *Philoſophick*

Truth and *Reality*. And though we being *Finite*, have no *Full Comprehenſion* and *Adequate Underſtanding* of this *Infinity* and *Eternity* (as not of the Deity) yet can we not be without ſome *Notion*, *Conception* and *Apprehenſion* thereof, ſo long as we can thus demonſtrate concerning it, that it belongs to ſomething, and yet to nothing neither but a *Perfect Immutable Nature*. But the Notion of this *Infinite Eternity* will be yet further cleared in the following *Explanation* and *Vindication* of *Infinite Power*.

For the Atheiſts principally quarrel with *Infinite Power*, or *Omnipotence*, and pretend in like manner this to be *Utterly Unconceivable*, and *Impoſſible*, and Subjected in Nothing. Thus a *Modern Atheiſtick Writer* concludes, that ſince *No man can conceive Infinite Power*, this is alſo but an *Attribute of Honour* which the *Confounded Non-ſence* of *Aſtoniſh'd Minds*, beſtows upon the *Object* of their *Devotion*, without any *Philoſophick Truth* and *Reality*. And here have our Modern Atheiſts indeed the Suffrage and Agreement of the ancient Philoſophick Atheiſts alſo with them, who as appears from the Verſes before cited out of *Lucretius*, concern'd themſelves in nothing more, than aſſerting *All Power to be Finite*, and *Omnipotence or Infinite Power to belong to Nothing*.

Firſt therefore it is here obſervable, that this *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power* aſſerted by *Theiſts*, has been commonly either ignorantly miſtaken, or wilfully miſrepreſented by theſe *Atheiſts*, out of deſign to make it ſeem *Impoſſible* and *Ridiculous*; as if by it were meant, a Power of Producing and Doing any thing whatſoever without Exception, though never ſo *Contradictious*. As a late *Atheiſtick Perſon*, ſeeming to aſſert this *Divine Omnipotence* and *Infinite Power*, really and deſignedly notwithſtanding abuſed the ſame, with this *Scoptick Irony*, *That God by his Omnipotence, or Infinite Power, could turn this Tree into a Syllogiſm*. Children indeed have ſometimes ſuch Childiſh apprehenſions of the *Divine Omnipotence*; and *Ren. Carteſius*, (though otherwiſe an Acute Philoſopher) was here no leſs *Childiſh*, in affirming, that all things whatſoever, even the Natures of *Good and Evil*, and all *Truth* and *Falſhood*, do ſo depend upon the *Arbitrary Will* and *Power of God*, as that if he had pleaſed, *Twice Two ſhould not have been Four*, nor the *Three Angles of a Plain Triangle, Equal to Two Right ones*, and the like: he only adding, that all theſe things notwithſtanding, when they were once ſettled by the Divine Decree, became *Immutable*; that is, I ſuppoſe, not in themſelves or to God, but unto us. Than which, no Paradox of any old Philoſopher, was ever more *Abſurd* and *Irrational*: and certainly if any one did deſire, to perſwade the World, that *Carteſius*, notwithſtanding all his pretences to Demonſtrate a Deity, was indeed but an *Hypocritical Theiſt*, or *Perſonated* and *Diſguiſed Atheiſt*, he could not have a fairer pretence for it out of all his Writings, than from hence. This being plainly to deſtroy the Deity, by making one *Attribute* thereof, to *Devour* and *Swallow* up another; *Infinite Will and Power, Infinite Underſtanding and Wiſdom*. For to ſuppoſe God to *Underſtand* and to be *Wiſe* only by his *Will*, is all one as to ſuppoſe him,

him, to have Really no *Understanding* at all. Wherefore we do not affirm, God to be so *Omnipotent* or *Infinitely Powerful*, as that he is able to Destroy or Change the *Intelligible Natures* of things at Pleasure; this being all one, as to say, that God is so *Omnipotent* and *Infinitely Powerful* that he is able to Destroy, or to *Baffle* and *Befool* his own *Wisdom* and *Understanding*; which is the very *Rule* and *Measure* of his *Power*. We say not therefore, that God by his *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*, could make *Twice Two* not to be *Four*, or turn a *Tree* into a *Syllogism*; but we say, that *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*, is that which can *Produce* and *Do*, all whatsoever is *Possible*, that is, whatsoever is *Conceivable*, and Implies no manner of *Contradiction*: the very *Essence* of *Possibility* being no other than *Conceptibility*. And thus has the Point been stated all along, not only by Christian Theists, but even the Ancient *Pagan Theologers* themselves; that *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*, is that which can do all things, that do not imply a *Contradiction*; or which are not *Unconceivable*. This appearing from that of *Agatho*, cited before out of *Aristotle*, *That nothing is exempted from the Divine Power, but only to make* πεπραγμένα ἀγένητα, *what hath been done, to be Undone*; or the like hereunto. Now *Infinite Power*, being nothing else, but a *Power* of Doing whatsoever is *Conceivable*, it is plainly Absurd to say; That a *Power* of doing nothing but what is *Conceivable*, is *Unconceivable*.

But because the Atheists look upon *Infinity*, as such a *Desperate* and *Affrightful* thing; we shall here render it something more easie, and take off that Frightful Vizard from it, which makes it seem such a *Mormo* or Bugbear to them; by declaring in the next place, that *Infinity*, is Really nothing else but *Perfection*. For *Infinite Understanding* and *Knowledge*, is nothing else but *Perfect Knowledge*, that which hath no Defect or Mixture of Ignorance with it; or the Knowledge of whatsoever is *Knowable*. So in like manner, *Infinite Power* is nothing else but *Perfect Power*, that which hath no *Defect* or Mixture of *Impotency* in it; a *Power* of *Producing* and *Doing* all whatsoever is *Possible*; that is, whatsoever is *Conceivable*. Infinite Power can Do, whatsoever *Infinite Understanding* can *Conceive*, and nothing else: Conception being the Measure of *Power* and its *Extent*, and whatsoever is in it self *Unconceivable*, being therefore *Impossible*. Lastly *Infinity of Duration* or *Eternity*, is Really nothing else, but *Perfection*, as including Necessary Existence and Immutability in it. So that it is not only Contradictious to such a Being, to Cease to Be, or Exist; but also to have had a *Newness* or *Beginning* of Being; or to have any Flux or Change therein, by *Dying* to the *Present*, and acquiring something New to it self which was not before. Notwithstanding which, this Being comprehends the differences of *Past*, *Present*, and *Future*, or the *Successive Priority* and *Posteriority* of all *Temporary Things*. And because *Infinity* is *Perfection*, therefore can nothing which includeth any thing of *Imperfection*, in the very *Idea* and *Essence* of it, be ever Truly and Properly *Infinite*; as Number, Corporeal Magnitude, and Successive Duration. All which can only, *Mentiri Infinitatem*, *Counterfeit and Imitate Infinity*, in their having more and more added to them *Infinitely*, whereby not-

notwithstanding they never reach it or overtake it. There is nothing *truly Infinite*, neither in *Knowledge*, nor in *Power*, nor in *Duration*, but only One *Absolutely Perfect Being* or *The Holy Trinity*.

Now, that we have an *Idea* or *Conception* of *Perfection*, or a *Perfect Being*; is Evident, from the *Notion* that we have, of *Imperfection* so familiar to us: *Perfection* being the *Rule* and *Measure* of *Imperfection*, and not *Imperfection* of *Perfection*; as a *Straight Line*, is the *Rule* and *Measure* of a *Crooked*, and not a *Crooked Line* of a *Straight*. So that *Perfection* is *First Conceiveable*, in order of nature, before *Imperfection*, as *Light* before *Darkness*, a *Positive* before the *Privative* or *Defect*. For *Perfection* is not properly the want of *Imperfection*, but *Imperfection* of *Perfection*. Moreover, we perceive divers Degrees of *Perfection*, in the Essences of things, and consequently a *Scale* or *Ladder of Perfections*, in Nature, one above another, as of *Living* and *Animate Things*, above *Senseless* and *Inanimate*; of *Rational* things above *Sensitive*. And this by Reason of that *Notion* or *Idea*, which we first have, of that which is *Absolutely Perfect*; as the Standard; by comparing of things with which, and measuring of them, we take notice of their approaching more or less near thereunto. Nor indeed, could these *Gradual Ascents*, be *Infinite*, or Without End; but they must come at last, to that which is *Absolutely Perfect*, as the Top of them all. Lastly, we could not perceive *Imperfection*, in the most *Perfect* of all those things which we ever had *Sence* or *Experience* of in our lives, had we not a *Notion* or *Idea* of That which is *Absolutely Perfect*, which secretly comparing the same with, we perceive it to come short thereof. And we might add here, that it is not Conceiveable neither, how there should be any *Lesser Perfection*, Existent in any Kind, were there not *First* something *Perfect* in that Kind, from whence it was derived. This of *Boetius*, being the very *Sence* and *Language* of *Nature* in Rational Beings; *Omne quod Imperfectum esse dicitur, id deminutione Perfecti Imperfectum esse perhibetur. Quò fit, ut si in quolibet genere Imperfectum quid esse videatur, in eo Perfectum quoque aliquid esse, necesse sit. Etenim sublata Perfectione, unde illud, quod Imperfectum perhibetur, exstiterit, ne fingi quidem potest. Neque enim à Diminutis Inconsummatisque, Natura Rerum cepit exordum; sed ab Integris Absolutisque procedens, in hæc extrema, atque effæta dilabitur. Whatsoever is said to be Imperfect, is accounted such, by the Diminution of that which is Perfect, From whence it comes to pass, that if in any kind, any thing appear Imperfect, there must of Necessity be something also, in that Kind, Perfect. For Perfection being once taken away, it could not be imagined, from whence that which is accounted Imperfect, should have proceeded. Nor did the Nature of things, take beginning, from Inconsummate and Imperfect things, but proceeding from things Absolute and Complete, thence descend down to these lower, Effete, and Languid things.* But of this more elsewhere.

Wherefore since *Infinite*, is the same with *Absolutely Perfect*, we having a *Notion* or *Idea* of the *Latter*, must needs have of the *Former*.

mer. From whence we learn alſo, that though the word *Infinite*, be in the form thereof, *Negative*, yet is the Sence of it, in thoſe things which are really capable of the ſame, *Poſitive*; it being all one with *Abſolutely Perfect*: as likewiſe the Sence of the word *Finite*, is *Negative*; it being the ſame with *Imperfect*. So that, *Finite* is properly the *Negation* of *Infinite*, as that which in order of Nature is before it; and not *Infinite* the *Negation* of *Finite*. However in thoſe things which are capable of no true *Infinity*, becauſe they are Eſſentially *Finite*, as *Number*, *Corporeal Magnitude*, and *Time*, *Infinity* being there a meer *Imaginary thing*, and a *Non-Entity*, it can only be conceived, by the *Negation* of *Finite*; as we alſo conceive *Nothing*, by the *Negation of Something*; that is, we can have no *Poſitive Conception* at all thereof.

We conclude, To aſſert an *Infinite Being*, is nothing elſe but to aſſert a Being *Abſolutely Perfect*, ſuch as Never was Not, or had no Beginning, which could produce all things Poſſible and Conceivable, and upon which all other things muſt depend. And this is to aſſert a *God*; One *Abſolutely Perfect Being*, the *Original of all things*. *God*, and *Infinite*, and *Abſolutely Perfect*, being but different Names for One and the ſame thing.

We come now to the *Fourth Atheiſtick Objection*, *That Theology is nothing but an Arbitrarious Compilement of Inconſiſtent and Contradictious Notions.* Where Firſt, we deny not, but that as ſome *Theologers* (or *Bigotical Religioniſts*) of later times, extend the *Divine Omnipotence*, to things *Contradictious* and *Impoſſible*, as to *the Making of One and the ſame Body, to be all of it, in ſeveral diſtant places at once*: ſo may others ſometimes unskilfully attribute to the Deity, things *Inconſiſtent* or *Contradictious* to one another, becauſe ſeeming to them to be all *Perfections*. As for example, though it be concluded generally by Theologers, that there is a *Natural Juſtice* and *Sanctity* in the Deity, yet do ſome notwithſtanding contend, That the *Will of God* is not determined by any *Antecedent Rule* or *Nature of Juſtice*, but that whatſoever he could be ſuppoſed to Will Arbitrarily, would therefore be *Ipſo facto Juſt*; which is called by them the *Divine Soveraignty*, and look'd upon as a *Great Perfection*. Though it be certain that theſe Two Things are directly Contradictious to one another; *viz. That there is ſomething φύσει, in its own Nature Juſt and Unjuſt, or a Natural Sanctity in God*; and *That the Arbitrary Will and Command of the Deity, is the only Rule of Juſtice and Injuſtice.* Again ſome Theologers determining, That *Whatſoever is in God, is God*, or Eſſential to the Deity; they conceiving ſuch an *Immutability* to be a Neceſſary Perfection thereof, ſeem thereby not only to Contradict all *Liberty of Will* in the Deity, which themſelves notwithſtanding contend for in a high degree; that all things are Arbitrarily determined by *Divine Decree*; but alſo to take away from it, all Power of Acting *ad Extra*, and of *Perceiving* or Animadverting things done ſucceſſively here in the World. But it will not follow from theſe and the like *Contradictions*, of *miſtaken Theologers*, that therefore *Theology* it ſelf is *Contradictious*, and hath nothing of *Philoſophick Truth* at all in it; no more

more than because Philosophers also hold *Contradictory Opinions*, that therefore Philosophy it self is *Contradictious*, and that there is *Nothing Absolutely True or False*, but (according to the Protagorean Doctrine) all *Seeming and Phantastical*.

But in the next place we add, that though it be true, that the Nature of things, admits of nothing *Contradictious*, and that whatsoever plainly Implies a *Contradiction*, must therefore of necessity be a *Non-Entity*, yet is this *Rule* notwithstanding, obnoxious to be much abused, when whatsoever mens Shallow and Gross Understandings cannot Reach to, they will therefore presently conclude to be *Contradictious*, and *Impossible*. As for example, the *Atheists* and *Materialists* cannot Conceive of any other *Substance* besides *Body*, and therefore do they determine presently, that *Incorporeal Substance* is a *Contradiction* in the very Terms; it being as much as to say *Incorporeal Body*; wherefore when God is said by Theologers, to be an *Incorporeal Substance*, this is to them an *Absolute Impossibility*. Thus a Modern Writer; *The Universe, that is, the whole Mass of all things, is Corporeal; that is to say, Body. Now every Part of Body is Body, and Consequently every Part of the Universe is Body; and that which is not Body is no part thereof. And because the Universe is All, that which is no part of it, is nothing. Therefore when Spirits are called Incorporeal, this is only a name of Honour, and it may with more Piety be attributed to God himself, in whom we consider, not what Attribute best expresseth his Nature which is Incomprehensible; But what best expresseth our Desire to Honour him.* Where, *Incorporeal*, is said to be, an *Attribute of Honour*, that is, such an *Attribute*, as expresseth only the *Veneration* of mens Minds, but signifieth nothing in Nature, nor hath any *Philosophick Truth* and *Reality* under it: a *Substance Incorporeal* being as *Contradictious*, as *Something* and *Nothing*. Notwithstanding which, this *Contradiction* is only in the Weakness and Childishness of these mens Understandings, and not the thing it self; it being *Demonstrable*, that there is some other *Substance* besides *Body*, according to the *True* and *Genuine Notion* of it. But because, this mistake is not proper to Atheists only, there being some Theists also, who labour under this same Infirmity of Mind, not to be able to Conceive any other *Substance* besides *Body*, and who therefore assert a *Corporeal Deity*: we shall in the next place show, from a passage of a *Modern Writer*, what kind of *Contradictions* they are, which these Atheists impute to all Theology; namely such as these, that it supposes God, *to Perceive things Sensible, without any Organs of Sense; and to Understand and be Wise without any Brains. Pious men* (saith he) *attribute to God Almighty for Honours sake, whatsoever they see Honourable in the world, as Seeing, Hearing, Willing, Knowing, Justice, Wisdom*, &c. *But they deny him such poor things, as Eyes, Ears and Brains, and other Organs, without which we Worms, neither have, nor can conceive, such Faculties to Be; and so far they do well. But when they dispute of God's Actions Philosophically, then do they Consider them again, as if He had indeed such Faculties. This is not well, and thence is it, that they fall into so many Difficulties. We ought not to dispute of God's Nature. He is no fit Subject of our Philosophy.*

True

True Religion conſiſteth in Obedience to Chriſt's Lieutenants, and in giving God ſuch Honour, both in Attributes and Actions, as they in their ſeveral Lieutenancies ſhall ordain. Where the plain and *Undiſguiſed meaning* of the Author ſeems to be this; That God is no Subject of Philoſophy, as all Real things are: (accordingly as he declareth elſewhere, that *Religio non eſt Philoſophia ſed Lex, Religion is not a Matter of Philoſophy, but only of Law and Arbitrary Conſtitution*) He having no *Real Nature* of his own, nor being any *True Inhabitant of the World or Heaven,* but (as all other *Ghoſts* and *Spirits*) an *Inhabitant* of *mens Brains* only, that is, a *Figment of their Fear and Phancy,* or a meer *Political Scare-Crow.* And therefore ſuch Attributes are to be be given to him, without any Scrupuloſity, as the Civil Law of every Country ſhall appoint, and no other. The Wiſe and Naſute, very well underſtanding, that all this Buſineſs of Religion, is nothing but meer *Pageantry,* and that the *Attributes* of the *Deity,* indeed ſignifie neither *True* nor *Falſe* nor any thing in *Nature,* but only mens *Reverence* and *Devotion* towards the Object of their *Fear*: the manner of expreſſing which, is determined by Civil Law. Wherefore to ſay, that God ſees all Things, and yet hath no Eyes; and that he hears all things, and yet hath no Ears; and that he Underſtands and is Wiſe, and yet hath no Brains; and whatſoever elſe you will pleaſe to ſay of him, as *Attributes of Honour* and only as ſignifying *Devotion,* is thus far well enough. But when men, not underſtanding the true Cabal, will needs go further, they miſtaking *Attributes of Honour,* for *Attributes of Nature* and of *Philoſophick Truth,* and making them *Premiſes* to infer *Abſolute Truth,* and convince *Falſhood* from, or Matters to Diſpute and Reaſon upon, that is, when they will needs ſuppoſe ſuch a thing as a God, Really to Exiſt in the World, then do they involve themſelves in all manner of *Contradiction, Nonſence,* and *Abſurdity*; as for example, to affirm ſeriouſly, that this God Really ſees all things in the world, and yet hath no Eyes; and that He indeed hears all things, and yet hath no Ears; and Laſtly that he Underſtands and is Wiſe, and yet hath no Brains, which things are all Abſolutely Contradictious, Unconceivable and Impoſſible. The ſumm of all is this, that when *Religion* and *Theology,* which is indeed nothing but *Law* and *Phantaſtry,* is made *Philoſophy,* then is it all meer *Jargon* and *Inſignificant Non-ſence.* And now we ſee, what thoſe *Contradictions* are, which the Atheiſts charge upon Theology; ſuch as owe all their Being, only to the *Groſſneſs, Sottiſhneſs,* and *Brutiſhneſs,* of theſe mens own apprehenſions. From whence proceedeth likewiſe, this following Definition of Knowledge and Underſtanding, That it is *nothing but a Tumult of the Mind, raiſed by External Things, Preſſing the Organical Parts of mans Body. O Ye Brutiſh among the People, when will ye Underſtand? and ye Fools, when will ye be Wiſe? He that Planted the Ear* (and gave mans Soul a power of hearing thereby) *ſhall not He* (though himſelf have no Ears) *hear? He that formed the Eye,* (and gave the Humane Soul a power of Seeing, by it as an Inſtrument) *ſhall not he* (though himſelf have no Eyes) *ſee?* Laſtly, *He that teacheth man Knowledge,* (or gave him an Underſtanding Mind, beſides *Brains*) *ſhall not he* (though himſelf be without Brains) *Know and Underſtand?*

It is certain, that no *Simple Idea*, as that of a *Triangle* or a *Square*, of a *Cube* or *Sphere*, can poſſibly be *Contradictious* to it ſelf; and therefore much leſs can the *Idea* of a *Perfect Being* (which is the *Compendious Idea of God*) it being more Simple, than any of the other. Indeed this Simple Idea of a *Perfect Being*, is *Pregnant* of many *Attributes*, and therefore the Idea of God, more fully declared by them all, may ſeem to be in this reſpect a *Compounded Idea*, or One Idea and Conception, Conſiſting or made up of Many; which if they were really Contradictious, would render the whole, a *Non-Entity*. As for example, This, *A Plain Triangle, whoſe Three Angles are Greater than Two Right ones*; it being Contradictious and Unconceivable, is therefore no *True Idea*, but a *Non-Entitie*. But all the *Genuine Attributes* of the *Deity*, of which its Entire Idea is made up, are Things as *Demonſtrable* of a *Perfect Being*, as the *Properties* of a *Triangle* or a *Square* are of thoſe Ideas reſpectively, and therefore cannot they Poſſibly be *Contradictious*, neither to it, nor to one another; becauſe thoſe things which agree in one Third, muſt needs agree together amongſt themſelves.

Nay the *Genuine Attributes of the Deity*, namely, ſuch as are *Demonſtrable* of an *Abſolutely Perfect Being*, are not only not *Contradictious*; but alſo *neceſſarily Connected together*, and *Inſeparable from one another*. For there could not poſſibly be, One Thing *Infinite in Wiſdom Only*, Another Thing *Infinite Only in Power*, and Another thing *Only Infinite in Duration* or *Eternal*. But the very ſame thing which is *Infinite in Wiſdom*, muſt needs be alſo *Infinite in Power*, and *Infinite in Duration*, and ſo *vice verſâ*. That which is *Infinite* in any one Perfection, muſt of neceſſity, have all Perfections in it. Thus are all the *Genuine Attributes* of the *Deity*, not only not *Contradictious*, but alſo *Inſeparably Concatenate*; and the *Idea of God* no Congeries either of Diſagreeing things; or elſe of ſuch as are unneceſſarily Connected with one another.

In very truth, all the ſeveral *Attributes of the Deity*, are nothing elſe but ſo many *Partial* and *Inadequate Conceptions*, of *One and the Same*, *Simple Perfect Being*, taken in as it were by piecemeal: by reaſon of the Imperfection of our Humane Underſtandings, which could not fully Conceive it all together at once: And therefore are they Really all but *One thing*, though they have the Appearance of *Multiplicity* to us. As the *One Simple Light* of the Sun, diverſly *Refracted* and *Reflected* from a Rorid Cloud, hath to us the *Appearance*, of the variegated Colours of the *Rainbow*.

Wherefore the *Attributes* of God, are no *Bundle* of *Unconceivables*, and *Impoſſibles*, huddled up together; nor Attributes of Honour and Complement only, and nothing but the *Religious Nonſence* of Aſtoniſh'd Minds, expreſſing their Devotion towards what they Fear; but all of them *Attributes of Nature*, and of *moſt ſevere Philoſophick Truth*. Neither is the *Idea of God*, an *Arbitrarious Compilement*, of things *Unneceſſarily Connected*, and *Separable* from one another:

another: it is no *Factitious* nor *Fictitious* thing, made up by any *Feigning Power* of the Soul, but it is a *Natural* and moſt *Simple Uncompounded Idea*; ſuch as to which nothing can be Arbitrariouſly added, nor nothing detracted from. Notwithſtanding which, by reaſon of the Imperfection of humane Minds there may be, and are, different Apprehenſions concerning it For as every one that hath a *Conception* of a Plain Triangle in general, doth not therefore know, that it includes this *Property* in it, to have *Three Angles Equal to Two Right ones*; nor doth every one, who hath an Idea of a *Rectangular Triangle*, preſently underſtand, that the *Square of the Subtenſe*, is Equal to the *Squares of both the Sides*; ſo neither doth every one, who hath a Conception of a *Perfect Being*, therefore preſently know all that is included in that *Idea*. Moreover men may eaſily miſtake things, for *Abſolute Perfections*, which are not ſuch, as hath been partly already ſhewed.

And now whereas the Atheiſts, pretend in the next place, to give an Account of that *Suppoſed Contradictiouſneſs*, in the *Idea* and *Attributes of God*; namely, that it proceeded principally, from *Fear*, or the *Confounded Nonſence of mens Aſtoniſhed Minds*, huddling up together all *Imaginable Attributes of Honour*, *Couriſhip*, and *Complement* without any *Philoſophick Truth*, *Sence*, or *Signification*: as alſo in part from the *Fiction* and *Impoſture* of Politicians: all this hath been already prevented, and the Foundation thereof quite taken away, by our ſhewing, that there is nothing in the *Genuine Idea of God* and his *Attributes*, but what is *Demonſtrable of a Perfect Being*, and that there cannot be the leaſt either *Added* to that Idea, or *Detracted* from it, any more than there can be any thing Added to, or Detracted from the *Idea of a Triangle* or of a *Square*. From whence it follows unavoidably, that there cannot poſſibly be any thing, either *Contradictious* or *Arbitrarious* in the *Divine Idea*, and that the Genuine Attributes thereof, are *Attributes* of *Neceſſary Philoſophick Truth*: namely, ſuch as do not only ſpeak the *Piety*, *Devotion*, and *Reverence* of mens own Minds; but declare the *Real Nature* of the thing it ſelf. Wherefore when a *Modern Atheiſtick Writer*, affirmeth of all thoſe who Reaſon and conclude concerning *God's Nature*, from his Attributes; *That Loſing their Underſtanding in the very firſt attempt, they fall from one Inconvenience* (or Abſurdity) *to another without end, after the ſame manner as when one ignorant of Court-ceremonies, coming into the preſence of a greater perſon than he was wont to ſpeak to, and ſtumbling at his entrance, to ſave himſelf from falling lets ſlip his Cloak, to recover his Cloak, lets fall his Hat, and ſo with one diſorder after another, diſcovers his Ruſticity and Aſtoniſhment*: We ſay, that though there be ſomething of *Wit* and *Phancy* in this, yet as it is applied to Theology and the *Genuine Attributes* of the *Deity*, there is not the leaſt of *Philoſophick Truth*. However we deny not, but that ſome, either out of *Superſtition*, or elſe out of *Flattery*, (for thus are they ſtiled by St. *Jerome*, *Stulti Adulatores Dei*, *Fooliſh Flatterers of God Almighty*) have ſometimes attributed ſuch things to him, as are Incongruous to his Nature, and under a pretence of *Honouring him*, by Magnifying his *Power* and *Sovereignty*, do indeed

moſt highly Diſhonour him; they repreſenting him to be ſuch a Being, as is no way *Amiable* or *Deſirable*.

But the Atheiſts are moſt of all concerned, to give an Account of that *Unqueſtionable Phenomenon*, the *General Perſwaſion of the Exiſtence of a God*, in the Minds of men, and their *Propenſity to Religion*, in all ages and places of the world; whence this ſhould come, if there be really no ſuch thing in Nature. And this they think to do, in the Laſt place alſo, *Partly*, from mens *Own Fear*, together with their *Ignorance of Cauſes*, and Partly, from the *Fiction* of *Lawmakers* and *Politicians*, they endeavouring thereby to keep men in Civil Subjection under them. Where we ſhall *Firſt* plainly and Nakedly declare the *Atheiſts* meaning, and then manifeſt the *Invalidity* and *Foolery* of theſe their Pretences, to ſalve the forementioned *Phenomenon*.

Firſt therefore, theſe Atheiſts affirm, That mankind by reaſon of their *Natural Imbecillity*, are in perpetual *Solicitude*, *Anxiety*, and *Fear*, concerning *Future Events*, or their *Good* and *Evil Fortune* to come; and this *Paſſion of Fear* inclining men to *Imagine* things *Formidable* and *Fearful*, and to *Suſpect* or *Believe* the Exiſtence of what really is not; I ſay, that this *Diſtruſtful Fear* and *Jealouſie* in the Minds of men, concerning their *Future Condition*, raiſes up to them the *Phantaſm*, of a moſt *Affrightful Spectre*, *an Inviſible Underſtanding Being*, *Arbitrarily Governing and Swaying the affairs of the whole World*, *and at pleaſure Tyrannizing over Mankind*. And when mens Exorbitant *Fear* and *Fancy*, has thus raiſed up to it ſelf, ſuch a *Mormo* or *Bugbear*, ſuch an *Affrightful Spectre* as this, a thing that is really no *Inhabitant of the World or of Heaven*, but only of *mens Brains*; they afterward ſtand in awe of this their *Own Imagination*, and Tremblingly worſhip this *Creature* and *Figment* of their own *Fear* and *Phancy*, as a thing *Really Exiſting* without them, or a *God*: deviſing all manner of expreſſions of *Honour* and *Reverence* towards it, and anxiouſly endeavouring, by all ways conceivable, to *Propitiate* and *Atone* the ſame. And thus have they brought upon themſelves, a moſt heavie *Yoke of Bondage*, and filled their Lives with all manner of Bitterneſs and Miſery.

Again to this *Fear of Future Events*, the Atheiſts add alſo *Ignorance of Cauſes*, as a further *Account of this Phenomenon of Religion*, ſo generally entertained in the world. For Mankind (ſay they) are *Naturally Inquiſitive* into the *Cauſes* of things, and that not only of the *Events* of their *Own Good* and *Evil Fortune*, but alſo of the *Phænomena of the World*, and the *Effects of Nature*. And ſuch is their *Curioſity*, that whereſoever they can diſcover no *Viſible* and *Natural Cauſes*, there are they prone to *Feign* and *Imagine*, other *Cauſes Inviſible* and *Supernatural*. As it was obſerved of the *Tragick Dramatiſts*, that whenever they could not well extricate themſelves, they were wont to bring in a *God* upon the Stage: and as *Ariſtotle* recordeth of *Anaxagoras*, that he never betook himſelf to *Mind* or *Underſtanding*, that is, to *God*, for a *Cauſe*; but only then when he was at a loſs for other *Natural* and *Neceſſary Cauſes*. From whence theſe Atheiſts would infer, that nothing but *Ignorance of Cauſes*, made *Anaxagoras*

xagoras to assert a *Deity*. Wherefore it is no wonder (say they) if the Generality of Mankind, being *Ignorant of the Causes*, almost of all Events, and Effects of Nature, have by reason of their *Natural Curiosity* and *Fear* Feigned or Introduced, one *Invisible Power* or *Agent Omnipotent*, as the *Supreme Cause of all things*: they betaking themselves thereto, as to a kind of *Refuge*, *Asylum*, or *Sanctuary* for their *Ignorance*.

These two *Accounts* of the *Phenomenon of Religion*, from mens *Fear* and *Solicitude* about *Future Events*, and from their *Ignorance of Causes*, together with their *Curiosity*, are thus joyned together by a *Modern Writer*; *Perpetual fear of Future Evils, always accompanying mankind, in the Ignorance of Causes, as it were in the Dark, must needs have for Object Something. And therefore when there is nothing to be seen, there is nothing to accuse for their Evil Fortune, but some Power or Agent Invisible.* Moreover it is concluded, that from the same Originals, sprang, not only that vulgar opinion of *Inferiour Ghosts* and *Spirits* also, subservient to the Supreme Deity (as the *Great Ghost* of the whole World) (Apparitions being nothing but mens own *Dreams* and *Phancies* taken by them for *Sensations*) but also mens taking things *Casual* for *Prognosticks*, and their being so Superstitiously addicted to *Omens* and *Portents*, *Oracles*, and *Divinations* and *Prophecies*; this proceeding likewise, from the same Phantastick Supposition, that the things of the *World*, are disposed of, not by *Nature*, but by some *Understanding* and *Intending Agent* or *Person*.

But lest these Two forementioned Accounts, of that *Phænomenon of Religion*, and the *Belief of a Deity*, so Epidemical to Mankind, should yet seem insufficient; the Atheists will superadd a *Third* to them, from the *Fiction* and *Imposture* of *Civil Soveraigns*, *Crafty Lawmakers* and *Designing Politicians*. Who perceiving a great advantage to be made, from the *Belief* of a *God* and *Religion*, for the better keeping of men in *Obedience* and *Subjection* to themselves, and in *Peace* and *Civil Society* with one another (when they are perswaded, that besides the *Punishments* appointed by Laws, which can only take place upon open and convicted Transgressors, and are often eluded and avoided, there are other *Punishments* that will be inflicted even upon the secret violators of them, both in this Life and after Death, by a Divine, Invisible and Irresistible Hand) have thereupon *Dextrously laid hold of mens Fear and Ignorance*, and cherished those *Seeds of Religion* in them (being the Infirmities of their *Nature*) and further confirmed their *Belief* of *Ghosts* and *Spirits*, *Miracles* and *Prodigies*, *Oracles* and *Divinations*, by *Tales* or *Fables*, publickly allowed and recommended. According to that *Definition of Religion*, given by a *Modern Writer*; *Fear of Power Invisible, Feigned by the Mind, or Imagined from Tales publickly allowed, Religion; not allowed, Superstition.* And that Religion thus Nursed up by Politicians, might be every way Compliant with, and Obsequious to their Designs, and no way Refractory to the same; it hath been their great care to perswade the People, that their Laws were not meerly their

own

own Inventions, but that themſelves were only the *Interpreters of the Gods therein*, and *that the ſame things were really diſpleaſing to the Gods, which were forbidden by them: God ruling over the world no otherwiſe than in them, as his Vicegerents*; according to that Aſſertion of a *Late Writer*, *Deum nullum Regnum in homines habere, niſi per eos qui Imperium tenent, that God Reigneth over men, only in the Civil Soveraigns.* This is therefore another *Atheiſtick Account* of *Religions* ſo generally prevailing in the world, from its being a fit *Engine of State*, and Politicians generally looking upon it, as an *Arcanum Imperii, a Myſtery of Government*, to poſſeſs the Minds of the People with the Belief of a *God*, and to keep them buſily employed in the *exerciſes of Religion*, thereby to render them the more *Tame* and *Gentle*; apt to *Obedience*, *Subjection*, *Peace* and *Civil Society.*

Tract. Theol. Polit.

Neither is all this, the meer Invention of *Modern Atheiſts*, but indeed the old *Atheiſtick Cabal*; as may appear partly, from that known Paſſage of the Poet, *That the Gods were firſt made by Fear*; and from *Lucretius* his ſo fequently inſiſting upon the ſame, according to the mind of *Epicurus.* For in his Firſt Book, he makes *Terrorem animi, & Tenebras, Terrour of Mind, and Darkneſs*, the Chief Cauſes of *Theiſm:* and in his Sixth, he further purſues the ſame Grounds, eſpecially the Latter of them, after this manner;

Lamb. 528.

Cætera quæ fieri in Terris Cæloque tuentur,
Mortales, pavidis quom pendent mentibu' ſæpe,
Efficiunt animos humiles formidine Divûm:
Depreſſoſque premunt ad terram, propterea quod
IGNORANTIA CAUSARUM, conferre Deorum
Cogit ad Imperium res; & concedere Regnum, &,
Quorum operum cauſas nulla ratione videre
Poſſunt, hæc fieri Divino Numine rentur.

To this Sence. *Mortals, when with Trembling Minds they behold the Objects both of Heaven and Earth, they become depreſſed and ſunk down under the Fear of the Gods. Ignorance of Cauſes ſetting up the Reign and Empire of the Gods. For when men can find no Natural Cauſes of theſe things, they ſuppoſe them preſently, to have been done by a Divine Power.*

And this *Ignorance of Cauſes*, is alſo elſewhere inſiſted upon by the ſame Poet, as the chief Source of Religion, or the Belief of a God.

Lib. 5. Lamb. p. 500.

Præterea cœli rationes ordine certo,
Et varia annorum cernebant tempora verti;
Nec poterant quibus id fieret cognoſcere cauſis.
Ergo PERFUGIUM ſibi habebant, omnia Divis
Tradere, & ipſorum nutu facere omnia flecti.

Moreover when a Modern Writer, declares the *Opinion of Ghoſts*, to be one of thoſe things, in which conſiſteth the *Natural Seeds of Religion:*

Religion: As alſo that this *Opinion* proceedeth from the Ignorance how to diſtinguiſh *Dreams* and other *ſtrong Phancies*, from *Viſion* and *Senſe*; he ſeemeth herein to have trod likewiſe in the Footſteps of *Lucretius*, giving not obſcurely, the ſame Account of *Religion* in his Fifth Book.

Nunc quæ cauſa Deûm per magnas Numina gentes,
Pervolgarit, & ararum compleverit Urbes, &c.
Non ita difficile eſt rationem reddere Verbis.
Quippe etenim jam tum Divûm mortalia Secla,
Egregias animo facies vigilante videbant,
Et magis in Somnis, mirando corporis auctu.
His igitur Senſum tribuebant, &c.

That is, *How the Noiſe of the Gods, came thus to ring over the whole world, and to fill all places with Temples and Altars, is not a thing very difficult to give an account of, it proceeding firſt, from mens Fearful Dreams, and their Phantaſms when awake; taken by them for Viſions and Senſations. Whereupon they attributed not only Senſe to theſe things as really Exiſting, but alſo Immortality and great Power.* For though this were properly an Account only, of thoſe *Inferiour* and *Plebeian Gods*, called *Demons* and *Genii*, yet was it ſuppoſed, that the belief of theſe things, did eaſily diſpoſe the minds of men alſo, to the Perſwaſion of *One Supreme Omnipotent Deity over all.*

Laſtly, That the Ancient Atheiſts, as well as the Modern, pretended, *the Opinion of a God, and Religion*, to have been a *Political Invention*, is frequently declared in the writings of the Pagans; as in this of *Cicero*, *Ii qui dixerunt totam de Diis Immortalibus Opinionem, fictam eſſe ab hominibus Sapientibus, Reipublicæ cauſa, ut quos Ratio non poſſet, eos ad Officium Religio duceret; nonne omnem Religionem funditus ſuſtulerunt? They who affirmed the whole opinion of the Gods, to have been feigned by wiſe men for the ſake of the Commonwealth, that ſo Religion might engage thoſe to their Duty whom Reaſon could not; did they not utterly deſtroy all Religion?* And the ſence of the Ancicient Atheiſts is thus repreſented by *Plato*; Θεὸς, ὦ μακάρε, εἶναι πρῶτον φασὶν ὅτι τέχνῃ, ὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ τισὶ νόμοις, ἅ τ' τότος ἄλλως ἄλλοις, ὅπη ἕκαστοι συνομολόγησαν νομοθετούμενοι· *They Firſt of all affirm, that the Gods are not by Nature, but by Art and Laws onely, and that from thence it comes to paſs, that they are different to different Nations and Countreys, accordingly as the ſeveral humours of their Law-makers did chance to determine.* And before *Plato*, *Critias* one of the Thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, plainly declared Religion at firſt to have been a *Political Intrigue* in thoſe Verſes of his recorded by *Sextus* the Philoſopher, beginning to this purpoſe; *That there was a time at firſt, when mens life was Diſorderly and Brutiſh, and the Will of the Stronger was the only Law. After which they conſented and agreed together to make Civil Laws*; that ſo the diſorderly might be puniſhed. Notwithſtanding which, it was ſtill found that men were only hindred from open, but not from ſecret Injuſtices. Whereupon ſome Sagacious and Witty perſon was the Author of a further Invention, to deterr men as well from ſecret, as from open Injuries; ἐνθὺ-

De Leg. L. 10.

Εἶτα τεῦθεν ὧν τὸ θεῖον εἰσηγήσατο·
Ὡς ἦσι δαίμων ἀφθίτῳ θάλλων βίῳ,
Νόῳ τ' ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων, φρονῶντε·
Ὑφ ὧν πᾶν μὴ τὸ λεχθὲν ἐν βροτοῖς ἀκύσεται,
Δρώμενον ὃ πᾶν ἰδεῖν δυνήσεται.

Namely, *by introducing or feigning a God Immortal and Incorruptible, who hears and ſees and takes notice of all things.* *Critias* then concluding his Poem in theſe words,

Οὕτω δ' πρῶτον οἶομαι πεῖσαι τινὰ
Θνητὸς νομίζειν δαιμόνων ἔναι γένος.

And in this manner do I conceive, ſome One at firſt, to have perſwaded mortals to believe, that there is a kind of Gods.

Thus have we fully declared, the ſence of the Atheiſts, in their Account of the *Phenomenon of Religion* and the *Belief of a God*; namely, that they derive it principally from theſe *Three Springs* or *Originals*; *Firſt* from mens own *Fear* and *Solicitude* concerning *Future Events*, or their *Good and Evil Fortune*. *Secondly*, from their *Ignorance* of the *Cauſes* both of thoſe *Events*, and the *Phænomena* of *Nature*; together with their *Curioſity*. And *Laſtly*, from the *Fiction* of *Civil Soveraigns*, *Law-makers*, and *Politicians*. The *Weakneſs* and *Foolery* of all which, we ſhall now briefly manifeſt. *Firſt* therefore, it is certain, that ſuch an *Exceſs of Fear*, as makes any one conſtantly and obſtinately to believe, the *Exiſtence* of That, which there is no manner of ground neither from Senſe nor Reaſon for; tending alſo to the great *Diſquiet* of mens own Lives, and the *Terrour of their Minds*; cannot be accounted other than a kind of *Crazedneſs* or *Diſtraction*. Wherefore the Atheiſts themſelves acknowledging, the Generality of mankind, to be poſſeſſed with ſuch a *Belief* of a *Deity*, when they reſolve this into ſuch an *Exceſs of Fear*; it is all one, as if they ſhould affirm, the Generality of mankind, to be Frighted out of their Wits, or Crazed and Diſtemper'd in their Brains: none but a few Atheiſts, who being undaunted and undiſmaied have eſcaped this *Panick Terrour*, remaining *Sober* and in their *Right Senſes*. But whereas the Atheiſts, thus impute to the Generality of mankind not only *Light-Minded Credulity*, and *Phantaſtry*, but alſo ſuch an *Exceſs of Fear*, as differs nothing at all from *Crazedneſs* and *Diſtraction* or *Madneſs*; We affirm on the contrary, that their ſuppoſed *Courage*, *Stayedneſs* and *Sobriety*, is really nothing elſe but the *Dull and Sottiſh Stupidity* of their minds; *Dead and Heavy Incredulity*, and *Earthly Diffidence* or *Diſtruſt*; by reaſon whereof, they will believe nothing but what they can *Feel* or *See*.

Theiſts indeed have a *Religious Fear* of God, which is Conſequent from him, or their Belief of him (of which more afterwards;) but the Deity it ſelf or the Belief thereof, was not *Created* by any *Antecedent Fear*, that is, by *Fear concerning Mens Good and Evil Fortune*; it being

being certain, that none are leſs *Solicitous* concerning ſuch *Events*, than they who are moſt truly *Religious*. The Reaſon whereof is, becauſe theſe place their *Chief Good*, in nothing that is ἀλλότριον, *Aliene* or *in Anothers Power*, and Expoſed to the *ſtrokes of Fortune*; but in that which is moſt truly their Own, namely the *Right uſe of their own Will*. As the Atheiſts on the contrary, muſt needs for this very reaſon be liable to great *Fears* and *Solicitudes*, concerning *Outward Events*, becauſe they place their *Good* and *Evil*, in the πάθος ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης, *the Paſſion of Pleaſure and Pain*; or at leaſt denying *Natural Honeſty*, they acknowledge no other Good, but what belongs to the *Animal Life only*, and ſo is under the *Empire of Fortune*. And that the Atheiſts are indeed generally, *Timorous* and *Fearful*, *Suſpicious* and *Diſtruſtful things*; ſeems to appear plainly, from their building all their *Politicks*, *Civil Societies*, and *Juſtice*, (improperly ſo called) upon that only *Foundation* of *Fear and Diſtruſt*.

But the *Grand Errour* of the *Atheiſts* here is this, that they ſuppoſe the *Deity*, according to the ſence of the Generality of mankind, to be nothing but a *Mormo*, *Bug-bear*, or *Terriculum*; an *Affrightful*, *Hurtful*, and *moſt Undeſirable thing*: Whereas men every where invoke the Deity in their Straits and Difficulties for aid and aſſiſtance; looking upon it as *Exorable* and *Placable*; and by their *Truſt* and *Confidence* in it, acknowledge its *Goodneſs* and *Benignity*. *Syneſius* affirms, that though men were otherwiſe much divided in their opinions, yet ἀγαθὸν τὸν θεὸν ὑμνοῦσιν ἅπαντες ἁπανταχοῦ καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ ἄσοφοι, *They all every where, both Wiſe and Unwiſe, agree in this, that God is to be praiſed, as one who is Good and Benign.* *De Regno p. 9.*

If amongſt the Pagans, there were any, who underſtood that *Proverbial Speech*, φθονερὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον in the worſt ſence, as if *God Almighty*, were of an *Envious and Spiteful Nature*, theſe were certainly, but a few *Ill-natur'd men*, who therefore drew a Picture of the *Deity*, according to their own Likeneſs. For the Proverb in that ſence, was diſclaimed and cried down, by all the wiſer Pagans; as *Ariſtotle*, who affirmed the *Poets to have lyed in this, as well as they did in many other things*; and *Plutarch*, who taxeth *Herodotus* for inſinuating, τὸ θεῖον πᾶν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες, *The Deity univerſally* (that is, All the Gods) *to be of an Envious and Vexatious or Spiteful diſpoſition*, whereas Himſelf appropriated this only to that *Evil Demon* or *Principle* aſſerted by him; as appeareth from the *Life* of *P. Æmilius* written by him, where he affirmeth, not that τὸ θεῖον πᾶν φθονερὸν, *The Deity Univerſally was of an Envious Nature*, but, *That there is a Certain Deity or Dæmon, whoſe proper task it is, to bring down all great and overſwelling humane Proſperity, and ſo to temper every mans Life, that none may be happy in this world ſincerely and unmixedly, without a check of Adverſity*; which is as if a Chriſtian, ſhould aſcribe it to the *Devil*. And *Plato* plainly declares the reaſon of God's making the World at firſt, to have been no other than this, ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος, *becauſe he was Good, and there is no manner of Envy in that which is Good*. From whence he alſo concluded, πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐβούλήθη γενέσθαι ὅμοια αὑτῷ, *That God* *Metaph. L. 1. c. 2.* ἔστι τὸ θεῖον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεσθαι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ψεύδονται ποιηταί. *c. de Herod. Malign.*

therefore willed, all things ſhould be made the moſt like himſelf, that is, *after the beſt manner.* But the true meaning of that *Ill-languaged Proverb,* ſeems at firſt, to have been no other, than what, beſides *Heſiod,* the Scripture it ſelf alſo attributes to God almighty, that he affecteth to *Humble* and *Abaſe* the *Pride* of men, and to pull down all *High, Towering, and Lofty things,* whether as Noxious and Hurtful to the men themſelves, or as in ſome ſence *Invidious* to him, and Derogatory from his Honour, who alone ought to be exalted, and no fleſh to glory before him. And there hath been ſo much experience of ſuch a thing as this in the world, that the Epicurean Poet himſelf, could not but confeſs, that there was ſome *Hidden Force* or *Power* which ſeemed to have a ſpite to all Over-ſwelling Greatneſſes, and affect to caſt contempt and ſcorn upon the Pride of men,

Lamb. 503.

Vſque adeò res humanas Vis Abdita quædam
Obterit, & pulchros faſces, ſævaſque ſecures,
Proculcare, ac ludibrio ſibi habere videtur.

Where he plainly Reel'd and Stagger'd in his *Atheiſm,* or elſe was indeed a Theiſt, but knew it not; it being certain that there can be no ſuch *Force* as this, *in Regno Atomorum, in the Reign or Empire of Senſleſs Atoms.* And as for thoſe among Chriſtians, who make ſuch a horrid Repreſentation of God Almighty, as one who Created far the greateſt part of mankind, for no other end or deſign, but only this, that he might *Recreate* and *Delight* himſelf in their *Eternal Torments*; theſe alſo do but *tranſcribe* or *copy out* their own *Ill Nature,* and then read it in the *Deity*; the Scripture declaring on the contrary, That *God is Love.* Nevertheleſs theſe very perſons in the mean time, dearly hug and embrace God Almighty in their own Conceit, as one that is Fondly Good, Kind, and Gracious to themſelves; he having faſtned his affections upon their very *Perſons,* without any conſideration of their *Diſpoſitions* or *Qualifications.*

It is true indeed, that *Religion* is often expreſſed in the Scripture, by the *Fear of God,* and *Fear* hath been ſaid to be *Prima Menſura Deitatis, the Firſt Meaſure of the Divinity in us,* or the *Firſt Impreſſion* that *Religion* makes upon men in this Obnoxious and Guilty ſtate, before they have arrived to the *true Love of God* and Righteouſneſs. But this *Religious Fear,* is not a *Fear* of *God,* as a meer *Arbitrary Omnipotent Being,* much leſs as *Hurtful* and *Miſchievous* (which could not be disjoyned from *Hatred*;) but an aweful regard of him, as of one who is Eſſentially *Juſt,* and as well a *Puniſher of Vice* and *Wickedneſs,* as a *Rewarder of Vertue. Lucretius* himſelf, when he deſcribes this Religious Fear of men, confeſſing it to to be conjoyned with a *Conſcience of their Duty,* or to include the ſame within it ſelf.

P. 503.

Tunc Populi Genteſque tremunt, &c.
Ne quod ob admiſſum fœdè dictumve ſuperbè,
Pœnarum grave ſit ſolvendi tempus adactum.

And

And this is the Sence of the Generality of mankind, that there being a *Natural Difference of Good and Evil Moral*, there is an *Impartial Justice* in the Deity which presideth over the same, and inclines it as well, to *Punish the wicked*, as to *Reward the Vertuous*: *Epicurus* himself acknowledging thus much, ἔνθεν ἡ μεγίσας βλάβας οἴονται, τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπιγενέσθαι, ἢ ὠφελείας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, *Theists suppose, that there are both great Evils inflicted upon the wicked from the Gods; and also great Rewards by them bestowed upon the Good.* *Ep. ad Menoec. P. 46. Gass.* And this *Fear of God*, is not only Beneficial to mankind in general, by repressing the growth of wickedness, but also wholesom and Salutary to those very persons themselves, that are thus *Religiously affected*, it being Preservative of them both from *Moral Evils*, and likewise from the *Evils of Punishment* consequent thereupon. This is the *True* and *Genuine Fear of Religion*; which when it degenerates into a *Dark* kind, of *Jealous* and *Suspicious Fear* of *God Almighty*, either as a *Hurtful*, or as a meer Arbitrary and Tyrannical Being, then is it look'd upon, as the *Vice or Extreme of Religion*, and distinguished from it by that name of δεισιδαιμονία, *Superstition*. Thus is the Character of a Superstitious Man given by *Plutarch*, οἴεται θεὸς εἶναι, λυπηρὸς ἢ βλαβερὸς, περὶ δεισιδαιμ. *That he thinks there are Gods, but that they are Noxious and Hurtful*; and ἀνάγκη μισεῖν τὸ δεισιδαίμονα καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν, *a Superstitious man must needs Hate God, as well as Fear him.* *The true Fear of God* (as the Son of *Sirach* speaks) *is the Beginning of his Love, and Faith is the Beginning of cleaving to him.* *Cap. 25. 12.* As if he should have said, *The first Entrance into Religion* is an Awful regard to God as the Punisher of Vice; the *Second* step forwards therein, is *Faith* or *Confidence in God*, whereby men Rely upon him for Good, and Cleave to him: and the *Top and Perfection* of all *Religion*, is the *Love of God* above all, as the most Amiable Being. Christianity, the best of Religions, recommendeth *Faith* to us, as the Inlet or Introduction into all True and Ingenuous Piety; for *He that cometh to God, must not only believe that he Is, but also that he is a Rewarder of those that seek him.* *Hebr. c. 11. 1.* Which *Faith* is better defined in the Scripture, than by any Scholastick; to be *the Substance of things* (that are to be) *hoped for, and the Evidence of things not seen.* That is, a Confident Perswasion of things that fall not under *Sight*, (because they are either *Invisible* or *Future*) and *which also are to be Hoped for.* So that *Religious Fear* consisteth well with *Faith*, and *Faith* is near of kin to *Hope*, and the result of both *Faith* and *Hope*, is *Love*: which *Faith*, *Hope* and *Love*, do all suppose an *Essential Goodness* in the *Deity*. God is such a Being, who if He were not, were of all things whatsoever most to be Wished for. It being indeed no way desirable (as that noble Emperour concluded) for a man to live in a world, void of a *God* and *Providence*. He that believes a God, believes all that *Good* and *Perfection in the Universe*, which his Heart can possibly wish or desire. It is the Interest of none, that there should be no *God*, but only of such wretched Persons, as have abandoned their First and only true Interest, of being Good, and Friends to God, and are desperately resolved upon ways of Wickedness.

The *Reason* why the Atheists do thus grosly mistake the *Notion of*

God, and conceive of him differently from the Generality of mankind, as a thing which is only to be F*eared*, and must consequently be *Hated*, is from nothing but their own *Vice* and *Ill Nature*. For first, their *Vice* so far blinding them, as to make them think, that the *Moral Differences* of *Good* and *Evil*, have no foundation in *Nature*, but only in *Law* or *Arbitrary Constitution* (which *Law* is contrary to *Nature*, *Nature* being *Liberty*, but *Law Restraint*;) as they cannot but really *Hate* that, which *Hinders* them of their *True Liberty* and *Chief Good*, so must they needs interpret the *Severity of the Deity* so much spoken of against *Wickedness*, to be nothing else, but *Cruelty* and *Arbitrary Tyranny*. Again it is a wretched *Ill-natured Maxim*, which these Atheists have, That there is *Nulla Naturalis Charitas*, *No Natural Charity*, but that *Omnis Benevolentia oritur ex Imbecillitate & Metu*, *All Benevolence ariseth onely, from Imbecillity and* Fear; that is, from being either *obnoxious* to anothers Power, or standing in need of his Help. So that all that is now called *Love* and F*riendship* amongst Men, is according to these really nothing, but either a *crouching* under *Anothers Power*, *whom they cannot Resist*; or else *Mercatura quædam Utilitatum*, *a certain kind of Merchandizing for Utilities*. And thus does *Cotta* in *Cicero* declare their sence, *Ne Homines quidem censetis, nisi Imbecilli essent, futuros Beneficos aut Benignos, You conceive that no man would be any way Beneficent or Benevolent to another, were it not for his Imbecillity or Indigence.* But as for *God Almighty*, these Atheists conclude, That upon the supposition of his Existence, there could not be so much as this *Spurious Love* or *Benevolence* in him neither, towards any thing; because by reason of his *Absolute* and *Irresistible Power*, He would neither stand in Need of Any thing, and be devoid of all F*ear*. Thus the forementioned *Cotta*. *Quid est Præstantius Bonitate & Beneficentiâ? Quâ cum carere Deum vultis, neminem Deo nec Deum nec Hominem Carum, neminem ab eo amari vultis. Ita fit ut non modo Homines à Diis, sed ipsi Dii inter se ab aliis alii negligantur. What is there more excellent than Goodness and Beneficence? which when you will needs have God to be utterly devoid of, you suppose that neither any God nor Man, is Dear to the Supreme God, or beloved of him. From whence it will follow, that not only men are neglected by the Gods, but also the Gods amongst themselves are neglected by one another.* Accordingly a late Pretender to Politicks, who in this manner, discards all *Natural Justice* and *Charity*, determines concerning God, *Regnandi & Puniendi eos qui Leges suas violant, Jus Deo esse à Solâ Potentiâ Irresistibli, That he has no other Right of Reigning over men, and of Punishing those who transgress his Laws, but only from his Irresistible Power.* Which indeed is all one as to say, *That God has no Right at all of Ruling over mankind, and imposing Commands upon them*, but what he doth in this kind, he doth it only by F*orce* and *Power*; *Right*, and *Might*, (or *Power*) being very different things from one another, and there being no *Jus* or *Right* without *Natural Justice*; so that the word *Right* is here only Abused. And Consentaneously hereunto the same Writer further adds,, *Si Jus Regnandi habeat Deus ab Omnipotentia sua, manifestum est Obligationem ad præstandum ipsi Obedientiam incumbere Hominibus propter Imbicillitatem, That if God's Right of Commanding, be derived only from his Omnipotence, then*

Cic. de N.D. L. 1. 213. Lamb.

Cic. Ibid.

Cic. Ibid.

then is it manifeſt, that mens Obligation to obey him, lies upon them only from their Imbecillity. Or as it isfurther explained by him, *Homines ideò Deo ſubjectos eſſe, quia Omnipotentes non ſunt, aut quia ad Reſiſtendum ſatis Virium non habent, That men are therefore only ſubject to God, becauſe they are not Omnipotent, or have not ſufficient Power to Reſiſt him.* Thus do we ſee plainly, how the Atheiſts by reaſon of their *Vice* and and *Ill Nature* (which makes them deny all *Natural Juſtice* and *Honeſty*, all *Natural Charity* and *Benevolence*) transform the Deity into a monſtrous ſhape; ſuch an *Omnipotent Being*, as if he were, could have nothing neither of *Juſtice*, in him, nor of *Benevolence* towards his Creatures; and whoſe only *Right* and *Authority* of Commanding them, would be his *Irreſiſtible Power*; whom his Creatures could not place any *Hope*, *Truſt* and *Confidence* in, nor have any other *Obligation* to obey, than that of *Fear* and *Neceſſity*, proceeding from their *Imbecillity*, or *Inability to reſiſt him.* And ſuch a Deity as this, is indeed a *Mormo* or *Bug-bear*, a moſt *Formidable* and *Affrightful thing*.

But all this is nothing, but the Atheiſts *Falſe Imagination*; True Religion repreſenting a moſt comfortable Proſpect of things from the Deity; whereas on the contrary, the *Atheiſtick Scene of things*, is *Diſmal*, *Hopeleſs* and *Forlorn*, That there ſhould be no other Good, than what depends upon things wholly out of our own power, the momentany gratification of our Inſatiate Appetites, and the perpetual pouring in to a *Dolium Pertuſum, a Perforated and Leaking Veſſel.* That our ſelves ſhould be but a *Congeries* of *Atoms*, upon the diſſolution of whoſe Compages, our *Life* ſhould vaniſh into nothing, and all our *Hope* periſh. That there ſhould be no *Providence* over us, nor any *Kind* and *Good-natured Being* above, to take care of us, there being nothing without us, but *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter.* True indeed there could be no ſpiteful Deſigns in *Senſleſs Atoms*, or a Dark *Inconſcious Nature.* Upon which account, *Plutarch* would grant, that even this *Atheiſtick Hypotheſis* it ſelf, as bad as it is, were notwithſtanding to be preferred, before that of an *Omnipotent*, *Spiteful* and *Malicious Being*, (if there can be any ſuch *Hypotheſis* as this) a *Monarchy* of the *Manichean Evil Principle*, reigning all alone over the whole world, without any Corrival, and having an undiſturbed Empire. Nevertheleſs it is certain alſo, that there could be no *Faith* nor *Hope* neither, in theſe *Senſleſs Atoms*, both *Neceſſarily* and *Fortuitouſly* moved, no more than there could be Faith and Hope in a Whirlwind, or in a Tempeſtuous Sea, whoſe mercileſs waves are *Inexorable*, and deaf to all *Cries* and *Supplications*. For which reaſon *Epicurus* himſelf confeſſed, that it was better to give credit to the *Fable of the Gods*, (as he calls it) than to ſerve the *Atheiſtick Fate*, or that *Material Neceſſity* of all things, introduced by thoſe Atheiſtick Phyſiologers *Leucippus* and *Democritus*; κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ περὶ θεῶν μύθῳ κατακολουθεῖν, ἢ τῇ τῶν φυσικῶν ἁμαρτίᾳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα παραιτήσεως ὑπογράφει θεῶν διὰ τιμῆς· ἡ δὲ ἀπαραίτητον ἔχει τὸν ἀγάλυτον· *Becauſe there is Hopes that the Gods may be prevailed with, by worſhip and prayer; but the other (Neceſſity) is altogether deaf and Inexorable.* And though *Epicurus* thought to mend the matter, and make the *Atheiſtick Hypotheſis* more tolerable, by introducing into it (contrary to the Tenour of thoſe *Principles*) *Liberty*

De Superſt.

Epiſt. ad Men. P. 49. Gaſſ.

of

of Will in Men; yet this being not a *Power* over things Without us, but our ſelves only, could alter the caſe very little. *Epicurus* himſelf was in a *Panick Fear*, leſt the frame of Heaven ſhould ſometime upon a ſudden crack, and tumble about his Ears, and this Fortuitous Compilement of Atoms be diſſolved into a *Chaos*,

——— Tria talia Texta
Una Dies dabit exitio; multoſque per annos
Suſtentata ruet moles, & Machina mundi.

And what Comfort could his *Liberty of Will* then afford Him, who placed all his happineſs in *Security* from *External Evils*? Τέλος τὸ μὴ νομίζειν θεὸς, μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, (ſaith *Plutarch*) *The Atheiſtick Deſign in ſhaking off the Belief of a God, was to be without Fear*; but by means hereof, they framed ſuch a Syſtem of things to themſelves, as under which, they could not have the leaſt *Hope*, *Faith* or *Confidence*. Thus running from *Fear*, did they plunge themſelves into *Fear*; for they who are without *Hope*, can never be free from *Fear*. Endleſs of neceſſity muſt the *Fears* and *Anxieties* of thoſe men be, who ſhake off that *One* Fear of God, that would only preſerve them from *Evil*, and have no *Faith* nor *Hope* in him. Wherefore we might conclude upon better grounds than the Atheiſts do of *Theiſm*; that *Atheiſm* (which hath no foundation at all in Nature nor in Reaſon) ſprings firſt from the *Impoſture of* Fear. For the *Faith* of *Religion*, being *the Subſtance or Confidence of ſuch things not ſeen, as are to be Hoped for*; *Atheiſtick Infidelity* muſt needs on the contrary be, a certain heavy *Diffidence*, *Deſpondence* and *Miſgiving of Mind*, or a *Timorous Diſtruſt* and *Disbelief of Good*, to be Hoped for, beyond the reach of Senſe; namely of an *Inviſible Being Omnipotent*, that exerciſeth a *Juſt*, *Kind*, and *Gracious Povidence*, over all thoſe who commit their ways to him, with an endeavour to pleaſe him, both here in this Life and after Death. But *Vice*, or the *Love of Lawleſs Liberty*, prevailing over ſuch *Disbelieving perſons*, makes them by degrees, more and more deſirous, that there ſhould be no *God*; that is, no ſuch *Hinderer* of their *Liberty*, and to count it a happineſs to be freed from the Fear of him, whoſe *Juſtice* (if he were) they muſt needs be obnoxious to.

De Superſt.

And now have we made it Evident, that theſe Atheiſts who make Religion and the *Belief of a God*, to proceed from the *Impoſture* of Fear, do firſt of all diſguiſe the *Deity*, and put a *Monſtrous*, *Horrid* and *Affrightful Vizard* upon it, transforming it into ſuch a thing, as can only be Feared and *Hated*; and then do they conclude concerning it (as well indeed they may) that there is no ſuch thing as this, really *Exiſting in Nature*, but that it is only a *Mormo* or *Bugbear*, raiſed up by mens Fear *and Phanſie*. Of the Two, it might better be ſaid, that the *Opinion of a God*, ſprung from mens *Hope of Good*, than from their Fear *of Evil*; but really, it ſprings neither from *Hope* nor Fear, (however in different Circumſtances it raiſes both thoſe *Paſſions* in our Minds;) nor is it *the Impoſture of any Paſſion*, but that whoſe *Belief* is ſupported and Suſtained, by the ſtrongeſt

strongest and cleerest *Reason*; as shall be declared in due place. But the Sense of a *Deity*, often *Preventing Ratiocination* in us, and urging it self more *Immediately* upon us, it is certain that there is also, besides a *Rational Belief* thereof, a *Natural Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* in the Minds of men concerning it, which by *Aristotle* is called μαντεία, *A Vaticination.*

Thus have we sufficiently confuted, the *First Atheistick Pretence*, to salve the *Phænomenon of Religion* and the *Belief of a God*, so generally entertained, from the *Imposture of Fear:* we come now to the *Second*, That it proceeded from the *Ignorance of Causes* also, or Mens *want of Philosophy:* they being prone, by reason of their *Innate Curiosity*, where they find no *Causes* to make or feign them; and from their *Fear*, in the Absence of *Natural* and *Necessary Causes*, to imagine *Super-natural* and *Divine*; this also affording them a handsom *Cover* and *Pretext* for their *Ignorance*. For which cause these Atheists stick not to affirm of *God Almighty*, what some Philosophers do of *Occult Qualities*, that he is but *Perfugium & Asylum Ignorantiæ, a Refuge and Shelter for mens Ignorance*; that is, in plain and downright Language, *The meer Sanctuary of Fools.* *Lucret. p. 500. L.*

And these two things are here commonly joyned together by these Atheists, both *Fear*, and *Ignorance of Causes*, as which joyntly concurr in the Production of *Theism*. Because as the *Fear* of Children raises up *Bugbears* especially in the *Dark*, so do they suppose in like manner, the Fear of men, in the *Darkness* of their *Ignorance of Causes* especially, to raise up the *Mormo, Spectre* or *Phantasm* of a *God*; which is thus intimated by the Epicurean Poet,

——————— *Omnia Cæcis*
In tenebris Metuunt.

And accordingly *Democritus* gave this account of the Original of *Theism* or *Religion*, ὁρῶντες τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις παθήματα οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν ἀνθρώπων, καθάπερ βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς, καὶ κεραυνὸς, ἁλίσ τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψεις, ἐφοβοῦντο θεὸς οἰόμενοι τούτων αἰτίας· *That when in old times, men observed strange and affrightful things in the Meteors and the Heaven, as Thunder, Lightning, Thunderbolts & Eclipses; they not knowing the Causes thereof, & being terrified thereby, presently imputed them to the Gods.* And *Epicurus* declares this to have been the reason, why he took such great pains in the study of *Physiology*, that by finding out the *Natural* and *Necessary Causes* of things, he might be able to free both himself and others from the *Terrour of a God*, which would otherwise Invade and Assault them: the *Importunity* of mens minds, when-ever they are at a loss for *Natural Causes*, urging them so much, with the *Fear, Suspicion*, and *Jealousie* of a *Deity*. *Steph. Pœc. Phil. 158. ex Sexto.*

Wherefore the Atheists thus dabling in *Physiology*, and finding out as they conceive, *Material* and *Mechanical Causes*, for some of the *Phænomena* of *Nature*, and especially for such of them, as the unskilful Vulgar some times impute to God himself; when they can prove,

Eclipses

Eclipses (for example) to be no *Miracles*, and render it probable, that *Thunder* is not the *Voice of God Almighty* himself, as it were roaring above in the Heavens, meerly to affright and amaze poor Mortals, and make them quake and tremble; and that *Thunderbolts* are not there flung by his own hands, as the direful messengers of his wrath and displeasure; they presently conclude triumphantly thereupon, concerning *Nature* or *Matter*, that it doth

Ipsa suâ per se, sponte, omnia, Diis agere expers,

Do all things alone of it self without a God. But we shall here make it appear in a few Instances as briefly as we may, that *Philosophy* and the *True Knowledge of Causes*, leads to God; and that *Atheism* is nothing but *Ignorance of Causes and of Philosophy.*

For first, no Atheist, who derives all from senseless Atoms or Matter, is able to assign any Cause at all of Himself, or give any true account of the Original of his own *Soul* or *Mind*, it being utterly Unconceivable and Impossible, that *Soul* and *Mind*, *Sense*, *Reason* and *Understanding*, should ever arise from *Irrational* and *Senseless Matter* however modified; or result from *Atoms*, devoid of all manner of Qualities; that is, from meer *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site* and *Motion* of Parts. For though it be indeed absurd to say (as these Atheists alledge) that *Laughing and Crying Things*, are made out of *Laughing* and *Crying Principles*,

Et Ridere potest non ex Ridentibu' factus;

Yet does it not therefore follow, that *Sensitive* and *Rational Beings*, might result from a Composition of *Irrational* and *Senseless Atoms*, which according to the *Democritick Hypothesis*, have nothing in them, but *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*, or *Rest*. Because *Laughing* and *Crying*, are *Motions*, which result from the *Mechanism* of Humane Bodies, in such a manner *Organized*, but *Sense* and *Understanding* are neither *Local Motion*, nor *Mechanism*. And the Case will be the very same, both in the *Anaximandrian* or *Hylopathian*, and in the *Stratonick* or *Hylozoick Atheism*, because *Sense* and *Conscious Understanding*, could no more result, either from those Qualities of Heat and Cold, Moist and Dry, contempered together, or from the meer *Organization* of *Inanimate* and *Senseless Matter*, than it could from the

Concursus, Motus, Ordo, Positura, Figuræ,

of *Atoms* devoid of all manner of *Qualities*. Had there been once nothing but *Senseless Matter*, *Fortuitously Moved*, there could never have emerged into *Being*, any *Soul* or *Mind*, *Sense* and *Understanding*: because no *Effect* can possibly transcend the *Perfection* of its *Cause*. Wherefore Atheists supposing *Themselves*, and all *Souls* and *Minds*, to have sprung from *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter*; and all that *Wisdom* which is any where in the World, both *Political* and *Philosophical*,

to

to be the Reſult of meer *Fortune* and *Chance*; muſt needs be concluded, to be Groſly *Ignorant of Cauſes*; which had they not been, they could never have been *Atheiſts*. So that *Ignorance of Cauſes*, is the *Seed*, not of *Theiſm*, but of *Atheiſm*: true *Philoſophy*, and the *Knowledge* of the *Cauſe of our Selves*, leading neceſſarily to a *Deity*.

Again, *Atheiſts* are *Ignorant of* the *Cauſe of Motion* in *Bodies* alſo; by which notwithſtanding they ſuppoſe all things to be done; that is, they are never able to *Salve this Phænomenon*, ſo long as they are *Atheiſts*, and acknowledge no other Subſtance beſides *Matter* or *Body*. For Firſt it is undeniably certain, that *Motion* is not *Eſſential* to all *Body* as ſuch, becauſe then no Particles of Matter could ever *Reſt*; and conſequently there could have been no *Generation*, nor no ſuch *Mundane Syſtem* produced as this is, which requires a certain Proportionate Commixture of *Motion* and *Reſt*; no Sun, nor Moon, nor Earth, nor Bodies of Animals; ſince there could be no Coherent Conſiſtency of any thing, when all things flutter'd and were in continual *Separation* and *Divulſion* from one another. Again it is certain likewiſe, that *Matter* or *Body* as ſuch, hath no Power of *Moving* it ſelf *Freely* or *Spontaneouſly* neither, by *Will* or *Appetite*; both becauſe the ſame Inconvenience would from hence enſue likewiſe, and becauſe the *Phænomena* or *Appearances* do plainly evince the contrary. And as for that Prodigiouſly Abſurd Paradox, of ſome few *Hylozoick Atheiſts*, that all *Matter* as ſuch, and therefore every *Smalleſt Particle* thereof, hath not only *Life* Eſſentially belonging to it, but alſo *Perfect Wiſdom* and *Knowledge*, together with *Appetite*, and *Self-moving Power*, though without *Animal Senſe* or *Conſciouſneſs*: this, I ſay, will be elſewhere in due place further confuted. But the Generality of the ancient Atheiſts, that is, the *Anaximandrians* and *Democriticks*, attributed no manner of *Life* to *Matter* as ſuch; and therefore could aſcribe no *Voluntary*, or *Spontaneous Motion* to the ſame, but *Fortuitous* only; according to that of the Epicurean Poet already cited,

Nam certè neque Conſilio, Primordia rerum,
Ordine ſe quæque, atque ſagaci mente locarunt;
Nec quos quæque darent Motus pepigere profectò.

Wherefore theſe *Democriticks*, as *Ariſtotle* ſomewhere intimates, were able to aſſign no other *Cauſe* of *Motion*, than only this, *That One Body moved another from Eternity Infinitely*, ſo that there was no πρῶτον κινοῦν, no *Firſt Unmoved Mover*, ever to be found; becauſe there is no *Beginning* nor *Firſt* in *Eternity*. From whence probably that Doctrine of ſome Atheiſtick Stoicks in *Alex. Aphrodiſius* was derived, *That there is no Firſt in the rank and order of Cauſes*. In the footſteps of which Philoſophers, a Modern Writer ſeemeth to have trodden, when declaring himſelf after this manner; *Si quis ab Effectu quocunque, ad Cauſam ejus Immediatam, atque inde and Remotiorem, ac ſic perpetuò ratiocinatione aſcenderit, non tamen in æternum procedere poterit, ſed defatigatus aliquando deficiet. If any one will from whatſoever Effect, aſcend upward to its Immediate Cauſe, and from*

Alex. Aph. Lib. de Fato, P.

from thence to a Remoter, and ſo onwards perpetually, in his Ratiocination; yet ſhall he never be able to hold on thorough all Eternity, but at length being quite tyred out with his Journey, be forced to deſiſt or give over. Which ſeems to be all one, as if he ſhould have ſaid; One thing *Moved* or *Cauſed* another *Infinitely* from *Eternity*, in which there being no *Beginning*, there is conſequently no *Firſt Mover* or *Cauſe* to be reach'd unto. But this *Infinite Progreſs* of theſe *Democriticks*, in the *Order of Cauſes*, and their ſhifting off the *Cauſe of Motion*, from one thing to another without end or beginning, was rightly underſtood by *Ariſtotle*, to be indeed the Aſſigning of *No Cauſe* of *Motion* at all, εἰς ἄπειρον εἶσιν, εἰ μήτι ἔσται τι φύσιν κινοῦν πρῶτον, *They acknowledging* (ſaith he) *no Firſt Mover according to Nature, muſt needs make an idle Progreſs Infinitely*; that is, in the Language of this Philoſopher, aſſign no *Cauſe* at all of *Motion*. *Epicurus* therefore to mend the matter, though according to the Principles of the *Atomick Phyſiology*, he diſcarded all other *Qualities*, yet did he notwithſtanding admit this *One Quality* of *Gravity* or *Ponderoſity* in *Atoms*, preſſing them continually *downwards* in *Infinite Space*. In which, as nothing could be more Abſurd nor *Unphiloſophical*, than to make *Upwards* and *Downwards* in *Infinite Space*, or a *Gravity tending to no Centre*, nor *Place of Reſt*; ſo did he not aſſign any *Cauſe of Motion* neither; but only in effect affirm, the Atoms therefore to tend *Downwards*, becauſe they did ſo: a *Quality* of *Gravity* ſignifying only an *Endeavour to tend Downwards*, but Why or Wherefore, no body knows. And it is all one as if *Epicurus* ſhould have ſaid; that Atoms moved *Downwards* by an *Occult Quality*, he either betaking himſelf to this as an *Aſylum*, a *Sanctuary* or *Refuge* for his *Ignorance*; or elſe indeed more abſurdly making his very Ignorance it ſelf (diſguized under that name of a *Quality*) to be the *Cauſe of Motion*. Thus the Atheiſts univerſally, either aſſigned no *Cauſe* at all for *Motion*, as the *Anaximandrians* and *Democriticks*; or elſe no True one, as the *Hylozoiſts*; when to avoid *Incorporeal Subſtance*, they would venture to attribute, *Perfect Underſtanding*, *Appetite* or *Will*, and *Self-moving Power*, to all *Senſleſs Matter* whatſoever. But ſince it appears plainly, that *Matter* or *Body* cannot *Move it ſelf*; either the *Motion* of all Bodies, muſt have no manner of *Cauſe*, or elſe muſt there of neceſſity, be ſome other *Subſtance* beſides *Body*, ſuch as is *Self-active* and *Hylarchical*, or hath a *Natural Power*, of *Ruling over Matter*. Upon which latter account, *Plato* rightly determin'd, that *Cogitation*, which is *Self-activity* or *Autochineſie*, was in *order of Nature*, before the *Local Motion* of Body, which is *Heterochineſie*. Though Motion conſidered *Paſſively* in Bodies, or taken for their *Tranſlation*, or *Change* of *Diſtance* and *Place*, be indeed a Corporeal thing, or a Mode of thoſe Bodies themſelves moving; yet as it is conſidered *Actively*, for the *Vis Movens*, that *Active Force* which cauſes this *Tranſlation* or *Change of Place*, ſo is it an *Incorporeal thing*; the *Energy* of a *Self-Active Subſtance*, upon that ſluggiſh *Matter* or *Body*, which cannot at all move it ſelf. Wherefore in the Bodies of Animals, the True and Proper *Cauſe of Motion*, or the *Determination* thereof at leaſt; is not the *Matter* it ſelf *Organized*; but the *Soul* either as *Cogitative*, or *Plaſtickly-Self-Active*, *Vitally* united thereunto, and *Naturally* Ruling over it. But in the whole World it is either *God* himſelf, Originally impreſſ-

ed

ing a certain *Quantity* of *Motion* upon the Matter of the Universe, and constantly conserving the same, according to that of the Sripture, *In him we Live & Move:* (which seems to have been the Sence also of that Noble Agrigentine Poet and Philosopher, when he described God, to be only, *A Pure or Holy Mind, that with swift thoughts agitates the whole World*) or else it is Instrumentally, an *Inferiour Created Spirit, Soul*, or *Life of Nature*, that is, a *Subordinate Hylarchical Principle*, which hath a Power of *Moving Matter Regularly*, according to the Direction of a *Superiour Perfect Mind*. And thus do we see again, that *Ignorance of Causes*, is the *Seed* of *Atheism*, and not of *Theism*; no Atheists being able to assign a true *Cause of Motion*; the Knowledge whereof plainly leadeth to a God. *Act.* 17. 28.

Furthermore those Atheists who acknowledge no other Principle of things, but *Senseless Matter Fortuitously moved*, must needs be *Ignorant* also of the *Cause* of that *Grand Phænomenon*, called by *Aristotle*, the τὸ εὖ ἢ, καλῶς, *the Well and Fit in Nature*, that is, of the most *Artificial Frame* of the whole Mundane System in General, and of the *Bodies of Animals* in Particular, together with the *Conspiring Harmony* of all. For they who boasted themselves able to give *Natural Causes* of all things whatsoever without a God; can give no other Cause at all of this *Phænomenon*, but only that the World *Happened by Chance to be thus made as it is*. Now they who make *Fortune* and *Chance*, to be the only *Cause* of this so Admirable *Phænomenon*, the most *Regular* and *Artificial Frame*, and *Harmony* of the *Universe*; they either make the meer *Absence* and *Want of a Cause*, to *be a Cause*, Fortune and Chance being nothing else but the *Absence or want of an Intending Cause*. Or else do they make, their own *Ignorance* of a Cause, and *They know not How*, to be a Cause; as the *Author* of the *Leviathan* interprets the meaning hereof, *Many times* (saith he) *men put for Cause of Natural Events, their own Ignorance, but disguised in other words, as when they say, that Fortune is the Cause of things Contingent, that is, of things whereof they know no Cause*. Or else they affirm against all Reason, one Contrary to be the Cause of another, as *Confusion* to be the Cause of *Order*, *Pulchritude* and *Harmony*; *Chance* and *Fortune*, to be the Cause of *Art* and *Skill*; *Folly* and *Nonsence*, the Cause of the most *Wise* and *Regular Contrivance*. Or Lastly, they deny it to have any Cause at all, since they deny an Intending Cause, and there cannot Possibly be any other Cause of *Artificialness* and *Conspiring Harmony*, than *Mind* and *Wisdom*, *Councel* and *Contrivance*.

But because the *Atheists* here make some *Pretences* for this their *Ignorance*, we shall not conceal any of them, but bring them all to light; to the end that we may discover their *Weakness* and *Foolery*. First therefore they *Pretend*, that the World is not so *Artificially* and *Well made*, but that it might have been made much *Better*, and that there are many *Faults* and *Flaws* to be found therein; from whence they would infer, that it was not made by a *God*, he being supposed by *Theists*, to be no *Bungler*, but a *Perfect Mind*, or a *Being Infinitely Good* and *Wise*, who therefore should have made all things *for the Best*.

But this being already ſet down by it ſelf, as a *Twelfth Atheiſtick Objection* againſt a *Deity*, we muſt reſerve the Confutation thereof for its proper place. Only we ſhall obſerve thus much here by the way; That thoſe *Theiſts* of Later times, who either becauſe they Fancy a meer *Arbitary Deity*; or becauſe their *Faith* in the *Divine Goodneſs* is but weak; or becauſe they Judge of things according to their own *Private Appetites*, and *Selfiſh Paſſions*, and not with a Free Uncaptivated *Univerſality* of Mind, and an *Impartial Regard* to the *Good* of the *Whole*; or becauſe they look only upon the *Preſent Scene* of things, and take not in the *Future* into conſideration, nor have a Comprehenſive View of the whole *Plot* of *Divine Providence* together; or laſtly, becauſe we Mortals do all ſtand upon too *Low a Ground*, to take a commanding view and *Proſpect* upon the whole Frame of things; and our ſhallow Underſtandings are not able to fathom the Depths of the Divine Wiſdom, nor trace all the Methods and Deſigns of Providence; grant, That the World might have been made much *Better* than now it is; which indeed is all one as to ſay, that it is *Not Well* made; theſe *Neoterick Chriſtians* (I ſay) ſeem hereby, to give a much greater advantage to the Atheiſts, than the Pagan Theiſts themſelves heretofore did, who ſtood their Ground, and generouſly maintained againſt them; that *Mind* being the *Maker of all things*, and not *Fortune* or *Chance*, nor *Arbitary Self-will*, and *Irational Humour Omnipotent*, the τὸ βέλτιστον, that which is *Abſolutely the Beſt* in every caſe, ſo far as the *Neceſſity* of things would admit, and in compliance with the Good of the Whole, was the *Meaſure* and *Rule* both of *Nature* and *Providence*.

Again the *Atomick Atheiſts* further alledge, that though there be many things in the world, which ſerve well for *Uſes*, yet it does not at all follow, that therefore they were made *Intentionally* and *Deſignedly* for thoſe *Uſes*; becauſe though things Happen by Chance to be ſo or ſo Made, yet may they ſerve for ſomething or other afterward, and have their ſeveral *Uſes Conſequent*. Wherefore all the things of Nature, *Happened* (ſay they) by *Chance*, to be ſo made as they are, and their ſeveral Uſes notwithſtanding were *Conſequent*, or Following thereupon. Thus the Epicurean Poet,

Lucret. L. 4. P. 367. Lamb.

——Nil ideo natum eſt in Corpore, ut Uti
Poſſemus, ſed quod Natum eſt id procreat Uſum.

Nothing in mans Body was made out of deſign for any Uſe, but all the ſeveral Parts thereof, happening to be ſo made as they are, their Uſes were Conſequent thereupon. In like manner the Old Atheiſtick Philoſophers in *Ariſtotle*, concluded, τὰς ὀδόντας ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀνατεῖλαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐμπροσθίους ὀξεῖς, ὀπτικοὺς πρὸς τὸ διαιρεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γομφίους πλατεῖς, ἢ χρησίμους πρὸς τὸ λεαίνειν τῇ τροφῇ· ἐπεὶ δ' τοῦτο ἕνεκα γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ συμπεσεῖν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν, ἐν ὅσοις δοκεῖ ὑπάρχειν τὸ ἕνεκά του· *That the Former Teeth, were made by Material or Mechanical Neceſſity, Thin and Sharp, by means whereof they became fit for Cutting; but the Jaw-Teeth Thick and Broad, whereby they became*

Phyſ. L. 2. c. 8.

came Uſeful for the Grinding of Food. But neither of them were Intended to be ſuch, for the ſake of theſe Uſes, but Happened by Chance only. And the like concerning all the other Parts of the Body, which ſeem to be made for Ends. Accordingly the ſame *Ariſtotle*, repreſents the ſence of thoſe ancient *Atheiſts*, concerning the other Parts of the Univerſe, or Things of Nature, that they were all likewiſe made ſuch, by the *Neceſſity of Material (or Mechanical) Motions Undirected*, and yet had nevertheleſs their ſeveral *Uſes* Conſequent, upon this their *Accidental Structure.* Τί κωλύει τὴν φύσιν μὴ ἕνεκά τ᾽ ποιεῖν, μηδ᾽ ὅτι βέλτιον, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ὕει ὁ Ζεὺς, ὐχ ὅπως ὁ σῖτον αὐξήσῃ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, &c. *What hinders but that Nature might act without any reſpect to Ends or Good and Better, as* Jupiter *or the Heaven, raineth not Intentionally to make the Corn grow, but from Neceſſity? Becauſe the vapours being raiſed up into the Middle Region, and there Refrigerated and Condenſed, muſt needs deſcend down again in the form of Water. But this happens by meer Chance and without any Intention, that the Grain is made to grow thereby; as the Contrary ſometimes Happens, by the exceſs of it.*

But to this we Reply, That though a thing that Happens Accidentally to be ſo or ſo Made, may afterwards notwithſtanding prove often ſerviceable for ſome Uſe or other; yet when any thing conſiſteth of many Parts, that are all *Artificially* proportionated together, and with much *Curioſity* accommodated one to another; any one of which *Parts* having been wanting, or otherwiſe in the leaſt placed and diſpoſed of, would have rendred the whole altogether *Inept* for ſuch a *Uſe*; then may we well conclude it not to have been made by *Chance*, but by *Counſel* and *Deſign Intentionally*, for ſuch *Uſes*. As for example, *The Eye*, whoſe *Structure* and *Fabrick* conſiſting of many Parts (Humours and Membranes) is ſo *Artificially* compoſed; no reaſonable perſon who conſiders the whole Anatomy thereof, and the *Curioſity* of its *Structure*, can think otherwiſe of it, but that it was made out of *Deſign* for the *Uſe of Seeing*; and did not *Happen Accidentally* to be ſo made, and then the *Uſe of Seeing* follow; as the Epicurean Poet would fain perſwade us,

Lumina ne facias Oculorum clara Creata,
Proſpicere ut poſſimus. P. 367. Lamb.

You are by all means to take heed, of entertaining that ſo dangerous Opinion (to Atheiſm) that *Eyes were made for the ſake of Seeing*; and *Ears for the ſake of Hearing.* But for a man to think, that not only *Eyes* happened to be ſo made, and the *Uſe of Seeing Unintended Followed*; but alſo that in all the ſame Animals, *Ears Happened* to be ſo made too, and the *Uſe of Hearing Followed* them; and a *Mouth* and *Tongue Happened* to be ſo made likewiſe, and the *Uſe of Eating*, and (in men) of *Speaking*, was alſo *Accidentally Conſequent* thereupon; and *Feet* were in the ſame Animals made by Chance too, and the *Uſe of Walking Followed*; and *Hands* made in them by Chance alſo, upon which ſo many neceſſary Uſes depend; beſides Innumerble other *Parts* of the *Body*, both Similar and Organical, none of which could

could have been wanting, without rendering the whole *Inept* or *Uſeleſs*; I ſay, to think, that all theſe things ſhould Happen by Chance to be Thus made in every one and the ſame Animal, and not *Deſigned* by *Mind* or *Councel*, that they might joyntly *Concur* and *Contribute* to the Good of the whole; This argues the greateſt *Inſenſibility of Mind Imaginable*. But this Abſurd and Ridiculous Conceit hath been long ſince ſo induſtriouſly Confuted, and the folly thereof ſo fully manifeſted, by that learned Pagan Philoſopher and Phyſician, *Galen*, in his Book of the Uſe of Parts, that it would be altogether Superfluous to inſiſt any more upon it.

Wherefore that the *Former Teeth* are made *Thin* and *Sharp*, and the *Jaw-Teeth Thick* and *Broad*, by *Chance only*, and not for *Uſe*, was one of the Democritick Dotages; as alſo That nothing in the Clouds and Meteors, was intended for the *Good* of this Habitable Earth, within whoſe *Atmo-ſphere* they are contained, but all proceeeded from *Material* and *Mechanical Neceſſity*. Which Conceit, though *Carteſius* ſeem to have written his whole Book of Meteors in favour of, he beginning it with the Deriſion of thoſe, who *Seat God in the Clouds, and imagine his hands to be Employed, in opening and ſhutting the Cloiſters of the Winds, in ſprinkling the Flowers with dews, and thunder-ſtriking the Tops of Mountains*; and cloſing his Diſcourſe with this Boaſt; that he had now made it manifeſt, there was no need to *fly to Miracles*, (that is, to Bring in a *God upon the Stage*) to ſalve thoſe *Phænomena*; yet were it eaſie enough to demonſtrate, the Defectiveneſs of thoſe his *Mechanical Undertakings*, in ſundry particulars, and to evince that all thoſe things could not be carried on, with ſuch conſtant Regularity, by meer *Fortuitous Mechaniſm*, without any *Superiour Principle* to guide and ſteer them. Nevertheleſs we acknowledge, that *God* and *Nature* do things every where, in the moſt *Frugal* and *Compendious way*, and with the leaſt *Operoſeneſs*, and therefore that the *Mechanick Powers* are not rejected, but taken in, ſo far as they could comply ſerviceably with the *Intellectual Model and Platform*. But ſtill ſo, as that all is ſuperviſed by One *Underſtanding* and *Intending Cauſe*, and nothing paſſes, without *Approbation* His; who when either thoſe *Mechanick Powers* fall ſhort, or the *Stubborn Neceſſity* of *Matter* proves uncompliant, does over-rule the ſame, and ſupply the Defects thereof, by that which is *Vital*; and that without ſetting his own Hands immediately to every work too; there being *a Subſervient Miniſter* under him, an *Artificial Nature*, which as an *Archeus* of the whole world, governs the *Fluctuating Mechaniſm* thereof, and does all things faithfully, for Ends and Purpoſes, Intended by its Director.

But our *Atomick Atheiſts* ſtill further alledge, That though it might well ſeem ſtrange, that *Matter Fortuitouſly moved*, ſhould at the very firſt jump, fall into ſuch a *Regular Frame* as this is, having ſo many *Aptitudes* for Uſes, ſo many *Correſpondencies* between ſeveral things, and ſuch an agreeing *Harmony* in the whole; yet ought it not to ſeem a jot ſtrange, if *Atoms* by *Motion*, making all poſſible *Combinations* and *Contextures*, and trying all manner of *Concluſions* and *Experiments*,

ments, should after Innumerable *other Freaks*, and *Discongruous Forms* produced, in length of time, fall into such a *System* as this is. Wherefore they affirm, that this Earth of ours at first, brought forth divers *Monstrous* and *Irregular shapes* of Animals,

Orba pedum partim, manuum viduata vicissim;
Multa sine ore etiam, sine Voltu cæca reperta.

Lucret. L. 5. p. 476. Lamb.

some without Feet, some without Hands, some without a Mouth and Face, some wanting fit Muscles and Nerves for the Motion of their members. And the old Philosophick Atheists, were so frank and lavish herein, that they stuck not to affirm, amongst those monstrous shapes of Animals there were once produced, *Centaurs*, and *Scyllas*, and *Chimeras*; βοϒονῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπεως, *mixtly Boviform and Hominiform, Biform* and *Triform Animals:* but *Epicurus* a little ashamed of this, as that which must needs look Oddly and Ridiculously, and seeming more Cautious and Castigate, pretends to correct the Extravagancy of this Phancy,

Sed neque Centauri fuerunt, neque tempore in ullo,
Esse queat Duplici Natura, & Corpore Bino,
Ex alienigenis Membris compacta potestas.

Luc. L. 5. p. 479.

Nevertheless, there were not then any Centaurs, nor Biform and Triform Animals; he adding, that they who feigned such things as these, might as well phancy, *Rivers flowing with Golden Streams*, and *Trees Germinating sparkling Diamonds*, and *such vastly Gigantean men, as could stride over Seas, and take up Mountains in their Clutches, and turn the Heavens about with the strength of their arms.* Against all which notwithstanding, he gravely gives such a Reason, as plainly overthrows his own Principles,

Res sic quæque suo ritu procedit, & omnes,
Fœdere Naturæ certo discrimina servant.

P. 480.

Because things by a certain Covenant of Nature, always keep up their Specifick Differences, without being confounded together. For what *Covenant of Nature* can there be in Infinite Chance? or what *Law* can there be set to the *Absolutely Fortuitous Motions* of Atoms, to circumscribe them by? Wherefore it must be acknowledged, that according to the genuine *Hypothesis* of the *Atomick Atheism*, all *Imaginable Forms* of Inanimate Bodies, Plants and Animals, as Centaurs, *Scylla's* and *Chimæra's*, are producible by the *Fortuitous Motions of Matter*, there being nothing to hinder it, whilst it doth,

Omnimodis coire, atque omnia pertentare
Quæcunque inter se possint congressa creare,

Put it self into all kind of Combinations, play all manner of Freaks, and try all possible Conclusions and Experiments.

But

But they Pretend, that these *Monstrous*, *Irregular Shapes of Animals*, were not therefore now to be found, because by reason of their *Inept Fabrick*, they could not propagate their kind by Generation, as neither indeed Preserve their own Individuals. Thus does *Lucretius* declare the sence of *Epicurus*,

Lamb. p. 476.

——— *Quoniam Natura absterruit auctum*
Nec potuere cupitum ætatis tangere florem,
Nec reperire cibum, nec jungi per Veneris res.

Nat. Ausc. L. 2. c. 8.] And that this *Atheistick Doctrine* was older than *Epicurus*, appeareth from these words of *Aristotle*, ὅπερ μὲν ἂν ἅπαντα συνέβη, ταῦτα μὲν ἐσώθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου συσάντα ἐπιτηδείως· ὅσα δὲ μὴ ὅτως, ἀπώλετο, καθάπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει τὰ βουγενῆ ἢ ἀνδρόπρωρα· *When Animals Happened at first to be made, in all manner of Forms, those of them only, were preserved and continued to the present time, which chanced to be fitly made* (for Generation) *but all the others perished, as* Empedocles *affirmeth of the Partly-Oxe-and-Partly-Man-Animals.* Moreover the ancient both *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists*, concluded that besides this One World of ours, there were other *Infinite Worlds*, (they conceiving it as absurd to think, there should be but One only World in *Infinite Space*, as that in a vast plowed and sowed Field, there should grow up only One Ear of Corn, and no more) and they would have us believe, that amongst these *Infinite Worlds* (all of them Fortuitously made) there is not One of a Thousand or perhaps of Ten thousand, that hath such *Regularity*, *Concinnity*, and *Harmony* in it, as this World that we chanced to emerge in. Now it cannot be thought strange (as they suppose) if amongst *Infinite Worlds*, One or Two, should chance to fall into some Regularity. They would also confidently assure us, that the present System of things, in this World of ours, shall not long continue such as it is, but after a while fall into *Confusion* and *Disorder* again;

——— *Mundi naturam totius ætas*
Mutat, & ex alio terram status excipit alter,
Quod potuit nequeat, possit quod non tulit antè:

The same wheel of Fortune, which moving upward, hath brought into view this Scene of things that now is, turning round, will sometime or other, carry it all away again, introducing a new one in its stead: and then shall we have *Centaurs*, and *Scylla's* and *Chimera's* again; all manner of Inept Forms of Animals, as before.

But because men may yet be puzzled with the *Universality* and *Constancy* of this *Regularity*, and its long Continuance through so many Ages, that there are no Records at all of the contrary any where to be found; the *Atomick Atheist* further adds, that the *Senseless Atoms*, playing and toying up and down, without any care or thought, and from Eternity Trying all manner of *Tricks*, *Conclu-*

sions

ſions and *Experiments*, were at length (they know not how) *Taught*, and by the *Neceſſity of things themſelves*, as it were, *Driven*, to a certain kind of *Trade of Artificialneſs* and *Methodicalneſs:* ſo that though their Motions were at Firſt all *Caſual* and *Fortuitous*, yet in length of Time, they became *Orderly* and *Artificial*, and Governed by a *certain Law*; they contracting as it were upon themſelves by long *Practice* and *Experience*, a kind of *Habit* of moving *Regularly*; or elſe being by the meer *Neceſſity of things*, at length forced ſo to move, as they ſhould have done, had *Art* and *Wiſdom* directed them. Thus *Epicurus* in his Epiſtle to *Herodotus*, ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπολητέον καὶ τὴν φύσιν πολλὰ P. 28. *Gaſſ.* καὶ παντοῖα ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς πραγμάτων διδαχθῆναι τε καὶ ἀναγκαθῆναι, *It muſt be held, that Nature is both Taught and Neceſſitated by the things themſelves:* Or elſe as *Gaſſendus* interprets the words, *quadam veluti Naturali Neceſſariaque Doctrina ſenſim imbuta; by little and little Embued, with a certain kind of Natural and Neceſſary Doctrine.*

To which *Atheiſtick Pretences*, we ſhall briefly reply; *Firſt*, that it is but an *Idle Dream*, or rather *Impudent Forgery* of theſe Atheiſts, that heretofore there were in this World of ours, all manner of *Monſtrous* and *Irregular Shapes* of Animals produced; *Centaurs*, *Scylla's*, and *Chimera's*, *&c.* and indeed at firſt none but ſuch: There being not the leaſt footſtep of any ſuch thing appearing in all the *Monuments of Antiquity*, and Traditions of Former times; and theſe Atheiſts being not able to give any manner of reaſon, why there ſhould not be ſuch produced as well at this Preſent time, however the Individuals themſelves could not continue long, or propagate by Generation; or at leaſt why it ſhould not *Happen*, that in ſome Ages or Countreys, there were either all *Androgyna*, of both Sexes, or elſe no Animal but of One Sex, Male, or Female only; or laſtly none of any Sex at all. Neither is there any more reaſon to give credit to theſe Atheiſts, when (though enemies to *Divination*) they would *Propheſie* concerning Future times, that in this World of ours, all ſhall ſometime fall into *Confuſion* and *Nonſence* again. And as their *Infinity of Worlds*, is an *Abſolute Impoſſibility*; ſo to their Bold and Confident Aſſertion, concerning thoſe Suppoſed other Worlds; as if they had travelled over them all; that amongſt Ten Thouſand of them, there is hardly One, that hath ſo much Regularity in it, as this World of ours; it might be replied, with equal Confidence, and much more Probability of Reaſon; That were every *Planet* about this *Sun* of ours an *Habitable Earth*; and every *Fixed Star* a *Sun*, having likewiſe its ſeveral other *Planets* or *Habitable Earths* moving round about it; and not any one of theſe *Deſert* or *Uninhabited*, but all *Peopled with Animals*; we ſay, were this ſo extravagant Suppoſition true; That there would not be found any one *Ridiculous* or *Inept Syſtem* amongſt them all; but that the *Divine Art* and *Wiſdom* (which being Infinite, can never be Defective, nor any where Idle) would exerciſe its Dominion upon all, and every where *Impreſs* the *Sculptures* and *Signatures* of it ſelf.

In the next place we affirm, That the *Fortuitous Motions* of *Senſleſs Atoms*, trying never ſo many *Experiments* and *Concluſions*, and making

king never ſo many *Combinations* and *Aggregate Forms* of things, could never be able to produce ſo much as the *Form* or *Syſtem* of one complete Animal, with all the Organick parts thereof ſo Artificially diſpoſed (each of theſe being as it were a *Little World*) much leſs the *Syſtem* of this *Great* World, with that variety of Animals in it; but leaſt of all could it *Conſtantly Continue* ſuch *Regularity* and *Artificialneſs* every where. For that the *Fortuitous Motions* of *Irrational*, *Senſleſs* and *Stupid Matter*, ſhould in length of time grow *Artificial*, and contract a *Habit*, of acting as *Regularly* and *Methodically*, as if perfect *Art* or *Wiſdom* had directed them; this it the moſt *Prodigious Nonſence Imaginable*, and can be accounted no other, than *Atheiſtick Fanaticiſm.*

It is no more poſſible, that the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter*, ſhould ever from it ſelf be *Taught* & *Neceſſitated* to produce ſuch an *Orderly* and *Regular Syſtem* as the Frame of this whole World is, together with the Bodies of Animals, and conſtantly to continue the ſame; than that a man perfectly Illiterate, and neither able to write nor read, taking up a Pen into his hand, and making all manner of of ſcrawls, with Ink upon Paper, ſhould at length be *Taught* and *Neceſſitated* by the Thing it ſelf, to write a whole Quire of Paper together, with ſuch Characters, as being *Decyphered* by a certain Key, would all prove coherent *Philoſophick Sence*. Or than that we our ſelves, writing down the meer *Letters of the Alphabet*, tranſpoſedly, any how, as it happens, without the leaſt Thought, either of Words or Sence, after our ſcribling a long time together what was altogether Inſignificant, ſhould at length have been *Taught* & *Neceſſitated* by the Thing it ſelf, without the leaſt Study and Conſideration of our own, to write this whole Volume. Or to uſe another *Inſtance*; This is no more poſſible, than that Ten or a Dozen Perſons, altogether unskilled in *Muſick*, having ſeveral Inſtruments given them, and ſtriking the Strings or Keys thereof, any how, as it happened, ſhould after ſome time of Diſcord and Jarring, at length be *Taught and Neceſſitated*, to fall into moſt *Exquiſite Harmony*, and continue the ſame uninterruptedly for ſeveral Hours together.

Wherefore if it be Ridiculous for one that hath read over the works of *Plato* or *Ariſtotle*, or thoſe ſix Books of *T. Lucretius Carus*, *De Natura Rerum*; to contend, that poſſibly, the Letters of thoſe Books might be all put together by Chance, or Scribled at random, without the leaſt Thought or Study of the Writer, he having alſo no manner of Philoſophick Skill in him; Or for one that hears ten or a dozen Perſons playing in Conſort upon Inſtruments of Muſick, and making Raviſhing Harmony, to perſwade himſelf that none of thoſe Players, had for all that, the leaſt of *Muſical Art* or *Skill* in them, but ſtruck the Strings as it happened: It muſt needs be much more *Ridiculous* and *Abſurd*, to ſuppoſe this *Artificial Syſtem* of the whole World, to have Reſulted from the *Fortuitous Motion of Senſleſs Atoms*, without the Direction of any *Art* or *Wiſdom*; there being much more of *Sence*, *Art* and *Philoſophy therein*, than in any *Philoſophick Volume* or *Poem* ever written by men; and more of *Harmony*

and

and *Proportion*, than in any *Compoſition of Vocal Muſick*. We conclude therefore with *Ariſtotle*, ἀδύναλον ὑ ταῦτα τ῅τον ἔχειν ἢ τρ῅πον, *That it is Abſolutely Impoſſible things ſhould have come to paſs, after this manner*; that is, by meer *Fortune* and *Chance*, and without the Direction of any *Mind* or *God*. The *Divine Mind* and *Wiſdom*, hath ſo Printed its *Seal* or *Signature* upon the *Matter* of the whole Corporeal World, as that *Fortune* and *Chance*, could never poſſibly have counterfeited the ſame. *Nat. Auſc. L. 2. c. 8.*

Notwithſtanding all which, the Ancient Atheiſts would undertake by their wonderful skill in *Logick*, to demonſtrate, that *The Frame of Nature* could not poſſibly be made by any *Intending Cauſe*, and for the ſake of *Ends* and *Uſes*; as for example, that *Eyes* could not be firſt of all made *Intentionally* for the *Uſe* of *Seeing*, nor *Ears Intentionally* for the *Uſe* of *Hearing*, and ſo for the reſt: Becauſe forſooth, theſe things were all of them, in order of *Time* and *Nature*, before their ſeveral *Uſes*. The argument is ſeriouſly propounded by *Lucretius* after this manner,

Nec fuit ante, Videre, Oculorum lumina nata, *Lamb. p. 367.*
Nec Dictis Orare, prius, quam Lingua Creata eſt;
Sed potius longè Linguæ præceſſit Origo
Sermonem, multoque Creatæ ſunt prius Aures,
Quam Sonus eſt Auditus; & omnia denique membra,
Antè fuere, ut opinor, eorum quam fuit uſus.
Haud igitur potuere Utendi creſcere causâ.

To this ſence; *There was no ſuch thing as Seeing before Eyes were made, nor Hearing before Ears, nor Speaking before the Tongue. But the original of the Tongue much preceded Speech: So likewiſe Eyes and Ears were made before there was any Seeing of colours or Hearing of Sounds. In like manner all the other members of the Body, were produced before their reſpective Uſes. And therefore they could not be made Intentionally, for the ſake of thoſe Uſes.* The Force of which Argument conſiſteth in this Propoſition; *That whatſoever is made for the ſake of another thing, muſt exiſt in time after that other thing for whoſe ſake it was made*: Or, *That for which any thing is made, muſt not only be, in order of Nature, but alſo of Time, before that which is made for it.* And this that Epicurean Poet endeavours to prove by ſundry Inſtances;

At Contra conferre Manu certamina pugnæ, *Ibid.*
Antè fuit multò quàm lucida tela volarent, &c.

Darts were made for the ſake of Fighting, but Fighting was before Darts, or elſe they had never been invented. Bucklers were excogitated and deviſed, for the keeping off of blows and ſtrokes, but the declining of ſtrokes was before Bucklers. So were Beds contrived for the ſake of Reſting and Sleeping, but Reſting and Sleeping were older than Beds, and gave occaſion for the invention of them. Cups were intended and deſigned for the ſake of Drinking, which they would not have been, had

there not been drinking before. According to the force of which Instances, the Poet would infer, that whosoever affirms *Eyes* to have been made for the sake of *Seeing*, must suppose in like manner, there was some kind of *Seeing* or other, before *Eyes*. But since there was no *Seeing* at all before *Eyes*, therefore could not *Eyes* be made for the sake of *Seeing*. And this is the *Atheistick Demonstration*, That the Parts of Mens Bodies, and other things of Nature, could not be made by any *Intending Cause*, for the sake of *Ends* and *Uses*.

But it is evident, that this *Logick* of *Atheists*, differs from that of all other *Mortals*; according to which *The End* or That for which any thing is made, is only in *Intention* before the *Means*, or That which is Made for it; but in *Time* and *Execution* after it. And thus, was the More Effectual way of Fighting and doing Execution, for whose sake Darts were invented, in *Time* after Darts, and only in *Intention* before them. It is true indeed, that *Fighting* in General, was before *Darts*, *Sleeping* before *Beds*, and *Drinking* before *Cups*, and thereby did they give occasion for men to think of Means, for the more Effectual *Fighting*, and more *Commodious Sleeping* and *Drinking*. Men being commonly excited from the *Experience of Things*, and the Sense of their *Needs* and *Wants*, to excogitate and provide fit *Means* and *Remedies*. But it doth not therefore follow, that the *Maker of the World*, could not have at once beforehand, a *Preventive Knowledge*, of whatsoever would be Useful and for the Good of Animals, and so make them *Intentionally* for those *Uses*. Wherefore the Argument should have been framed thus; Whatsoever any thing is made for, as the end, that must needs be in the *Knowledge* and *Intention* of the Maker, before the Existence of that which is made for it. And therefore if *Eyes* were made for the Sake or *End* of *Seeing*, Seeing must of necessity be in the *Knowledge* and *Intention* of the Maker of Eyes, before there were any *Eyes* actually existing. But there could be no *Knowledge* of *Seeing*, before there were any Eyes. Wherefore Eyes could not be made for the sake of Seeing.

And this indeed is the Genuine Scope and Drift of the Premised *Atheistick Argument*, however it were disguised by them in their manner of propounding it. The Reason whereof was, because they took it for granted, that all Knowledge as such, is Derived by Sense, from the *Things themselves Known Pre-existing*. From whence it follows, that there could be no *Knowledge* of *Vision* or *Seeing*, before there was *Actual Seeing* and *Eyes*; and so they think it to be Demonstrated, that *Eyes* could not be made by any Deity for the Sake of *Seeing*, before there was Seeing; no more than *Spectacles* by men for the sake of *Eyes*, before there were *Eyes*. Thus does the Epicurean Poet conclude *Triumphantly*,

L. 3. p. 368.

Illa quidem seorsum sunt omnia, quæ prius ipsa
Nata, dedere suæ pòst Notitiam Utilitatis.
Quo genere imprimis Sensus & Membra videmus.
Quare etiam atque etiam procul est ut credere possis,

Utili-

Utilitatis ob officium potuisse creari.

That is, *The Members of Mens Bodies, and Organs of Sense, were first Made by themselves, and then did they afterwards give the Notice or Knowledge of their several Utilities: none of which could have been had before. Wherefore we affirm again and again, that it is Impossible, these things should have been made Designedly for their Uses.*

So that the Controversie is at last resolved wholly into this. Whether or no, all *Knowledge* and *Understanding* as such, Universally, does arise from *Things Antecedently* Existing without the *Knower*. Which being asserted by Atheists, they conclude from thence, that the *Things* of the World could not be made by the *Previous Counsel, Contrivance*, and *Intention* of any *Understanding Deity*, but that they all *Blunder'd* out themselves, one after another, according to the *Train* or *Sequel* of the *Fortuitous Motions of Matter*. And that from thence, *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, *Counsel* and *Intention*, sprung up afterward, as *Junior to Things*, and the *World*. But this being already made the *Eleventh Atheistick Argument* against a *Deity*, *viz. That all Knowledge and Mental Conception, is the Information of the Things themselves Known, existing before and without the Knower, and a Passion from them; and therefore that the World must needs be, before any Knowledge or Conception of it, and no Knowledge or Conception, before the World, as its Cause:* We shall refer the Answer to it, and Confutation of it, to its proper place; where we shall plainly *Demonstrate*, that *Knowledge* or *Understanding*, is not in its own Nature, *Ectypal*, but *Archetypal*; and that it is *Older* than the *World*, and the *Maker* of all things.

But the *Atheists* yet further urge, against the *Proving* of a *God* from the τὸ εὖ ἢ καλῶς, *the Regular Frame of the whole World* in general, and the *Artificial Structure* of the Bodies of Animals, after this manner; That it is altogether Unreasonable to suppose, there should be no *Cause* in *Nature*, for the *Phænomena* thereof, especially for those things which are daily Generated, as the Bodies of Animals: but (as by the Tragick Poets) a God should be introduced, as it were *from a Machin* forcibly to salve them. And indeed though there were a God, yet they think He ought not to be detruded to such mean Offices as this, *viz.* to make the Body of every the most Contemptible Animal, as it were with his *own Hands Miraculously*; nor ought *Nature* or the World to be supposed, so Imperfect, as if it must be Bungled and Botched up every where after this manner. It is *Nature* therefore which is the *Cause* of these *Natural Productions* and *Generations*. Which *Nature*, that it doth not *Intend* nor act *Designedly* for *Ends* and *Uses*, appears not only from hence, because it never *Consults* or *Deliberates*, (which *Aristotle* intimates to have been the Reason why some of old denied, the things of *Nature*, to have been made for *Ends*) but also because it hath no *Animal-Sense* or *Consciousness*, no *Understanding* or *Appetite*. Wherefore this Opinion of, *Intending*, and *Final Causality* in *Nature*, can be accounted no other, than an *Idolum specus* (as some affect to phrase it) or a *Prejudice* of mens Minds,

Minds, when they apply their own *Properties* to things without them, and think becauſe themſelves *Intend*, and act for *Ends*, that therefore *Nature* doth the like. And they might as well ſay, that *Nature Laughs* and *Cryes*, *Speaks* and *Walks*, *Syllogizes* and *Philoſophizes*, becauſe themſelves do ſo. But as a Modern Philoſopher concludeth; *The Univerſe, as one Aggregate of things Natural, hath no Intention belonging to it.* And accordingly were all *Final Cauſes* rightly baniſhed by *Democritus* out of Phyſiology, as *Ariſtotle* recordeth of him, τὸ δ' ἕνεκα ἀφεὶς λέγειν, πάντα ἀνάγκῃ οἷς χρῆται ἡ φύσις· *That he reduced all things to Natural and Neceſſary Cauſes, altogether rejecting Final.*

To all which we briefly reply; That there are indeed two *Extremes* here to be avoided, the *One* of thoſe, who derive all things from the *Fortuitous Motions* of *Senſleſs Matter*, which is the *Extreme* of the *Atomick Atheiſts*; the *Other* of *Bigotical Religioniſts*, who will needs have God αὐτεργεῖν ἅπαντα, *to do all things himſelf immediately*; as if all in *Nature* were *Miracle*. But there is a *Middle* betwixt both theſe *Extremes*; namely, to ſuppoſe, that beſides God and in Subordination to him, there is a *Nature* (not *Fortuitous*, but) *Artificial* and *Methodical*, which governing the *Motion* of *Matter* and bringing it into *Regularity*, is a *Secondary* or *Inferiour Cauſe* of *Generations*. Now this *Natura Artificioſa*, this *Artificial Nature*, though it ſelf indeed do not underſtand the Reaſon of what it doth, nor properly *Intend the Ends* thereof, yet may it well be conceived to act *Regularly* for the ſake of *Ends Underſtood* and *Intended*, by that *Perfect Mind*, upon which it depends. As the *Manuary Opificers*, underſtand not the Deſigns of the *Architect*, but only drudgingly perform their ſeveral tasks impoſed by him: and as *Types* or *Forms of Letters*, compoſed together, Print *Coherent Philoſophick Sence*, which themſelves underſtand nothing of (upon which *Artificial* or *Spermatick Nature*, we have largely inſiſted before, in the *Appendix* to the Third Chapter.) And thus, neither are all things performed *Immediately* and *Miraculouſly* by God himſelf, neither are they all done *Fortuitouſly* and *Temerariouſly*, but *Regularly* and *Methodically* for the ſake of *Ends*, though not *Underſtood* by *Nature* it ſelf, but by that *Higher Mind* which is the Cauſe of it, and doth as it were continually Inſpire it. Some indeed have unskilfully attributed their *Own Properties*, or Animal *Idiopathies* to *Inanimate Bodies*, as when they ſay, that *Matter* deſires *Forms* as the *Female* doth the *Male*, and that *Heavy Bodies* deſcend down by *Appetite* toward the *Centre*, that ſo they may reſt therein: and that they ſometimes again, Aſcend in *Diſcretion*, to avoid a *Vacuum*. Of which Fanciful Extravagances, if the Advancer of Learning be underſtood, there is nothing to be reprehended in this following paſſage of his, *Incredibile eſt quantum agmen Idolorum Philoſophiæ immiſerit, Naturalium Operationum ad Similitudinem Actionum Humanarum Reductio; It is incredible, how many Errours have been transfuſed into Philoſophy, from this One Deluſion, of Reducing Natural actions, to the Mode of Humane; or of thinking that Nature acteth as a Man doth.* But if that of his be extended further, to take away all *Final Cauſes* from the things of *Nature*, as if nothing

nothing were done therein for *Ends Intended* by a *Higher Mind*, then is it the very *Spirit of Atheiſm and Infidelity*. It is no *Idol* of the *Cave* or *Den* (to uſe that *Affected Language*) that is, no *Prejudice*, or *Fallacy* impoſed upon our ſelves, from the attributing our own *Animaliſh Properties, to things without us*; to think that the *Frame* and *Syſtem* of this whole World, was contrived by a *Perfect Underſtanding Being* or *Mind* (now alſo preſiding over the ſame) which hath every where *Printed* the *Signatures* of its own *Wiſdom* upon the *Matter*. As alſo, that though *Nature* it ſelf do not properly *Intend*, yet it acteth according to an *Intellectual Platform* Preſcribed to it, as being the *Manuary Opificer* of the *Divine Architectonick Art*, or this *Art* it ſelf as it were *Transfuſed* into the Matter and *Embodied* in it. Thus *Cicero*'s *Balbus* long ſince declared concerning it; that it was not, *Vis quædam ſine Ratione, ciens Motus in Corporibus Neceſſarios; ſed Vis particeps Ordinis, tanquam via progrediens; cujus Solertiam nulla Ars, nemo Artifex conſequi poteſt imitando; Not a force Unguided by Reaſon, Exciting Neceſſary Motions in Bodies Temeariouſly; but ſuch a Force as partakes of Order, and proceeds as it were Methodically; whoſe Cunning or Ingenioſity, no Art or Humane Opificer can poſſibly reach to by Imitation.* For, it is altogether Unconceivable, how we Our Selves ſhould have *Mind* and *Intention* in us, were there none in the Univerſe, or in that *Higheſt Principle* from which all proceeds. Moreover it was truly affirmed by *Ariſtotle*, that there is much more of *Art* in ſome of the things of *Nature*, than there is in any thing *Artificially* made by men; and therefore *Intention*, or *Final* and *Mental Cauſality*, can no more be ſecluded from the conſideration of *Natural*, than it can from that of *Artificial things*. Now it is plain that *Things Artificial*, as a Houſe or Clock, can neither be Underſtood, nor any true Cauſe of them aſſigned, without *Deſign*, or *Intention* for *Ends* and *Good*. For to ſay, that a *Houſe*, is Stones, Timber, Mortar, Iron, Glaſs, Lead, *&c.* all put together, is not to give a Definition thereof, or to tell what indeed it is; it being ſuch an Apt Diſpoſition of all theſe Materials, as may make up the whole fit for *Habitation*, and the *Uſes* of men. Wherefore this is not ſufficiently to aſſign the Cauſe of a Houſe neither; to declare out of what Quarry the Stones were dugg, nor in what Woods or Foreſts the Timber was felled, and the like: Nor as *Ariſtotle* addeth, ἔτις ἂν τοῖχον γιγνῶσθαι ἐξ ἀνάγκης νομίζοι, ὅτι τὰ μὲν βαρέα κάτω πέφυκε φέρεσθαι, τὰ δ' κοῦφα ὑπὸ πολῆς· διὸ οἱ λίθοι μὲν κάτω ἢ θεμέλια, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἄνω διὰ τὴν κουφότητα, ὑπὸ πολῆς δ' μάλιστα τὰ ξύλα· κουφότατα γάρ· *If any one ſhould go about thus to give an account of a Houſe from Material Neceſſity* (as the Atheiſtick Philoſophers then did of the World and the Bodies of Animals) *That the Heavier things being carried downward of their own accord, and the Lighter upward; therefore the Stones and Foundation lay at the bottom, and the Earth for the Walls being Lighter was Higher; and the Timber being yet Lighter, Higher than that; but above all the Straw or Thatch, it being the Lighteſt of all:* Nor laſtly, if as the ſame *Ariſtotle* elſewhere alſo ſuggeſteth, one ſhould further pretend, that a Houſe was therefore made ſuch, ἐμπέσοι δ' τῷ ὀργάνῳ, &c. meerly becauſe the *Hands of the Labourers*, and the *Axes*, and *Hammers* and *Trowels*, and other *Inſtruments*, Chanced all to be moved ſo and ſo. We ſay, that

Nat. Auſc. L. 2. c. 9.

that none of all theſe, would be to aſſign the true cauſe of a Houſe; without declaring, that the Architect firſt framed in his Mind a Model or Platform of ſuch a thing, to be made out of of thoſe Materials, ſo aptly diſpoſed, into a *Foundation*, *Walls*, *Roof*, *Doors*, *Rooms*, *Stairs*, *Chimneys*, *Windows*, &c. as might render the whole fit for Habitation, and other Humane uſes. And no more certainly can the Things of Nature, (in whoſe very Eſſence Final Cauſality is as much included) be either rightly Underſtood, or the Cauſes of them aſſigned, meerly from *Matter* and *Mechaniſm*, or the Neceſſary and *Unguided Motion* thereof; without *Deſign* or *Intention* for *Ends* and *Good*. Wherefore to ſay, that the Bodies of Animals became ſuch, meerly becauſe the *Fluid Seed*, by Motion Happened to make ſuch *Traces*, and beget ſuch *Stamina* and *Lineaments*, as out of which that Compages of the whole reſulted; is not to aſſign a *Cauſe* of them, but to Diſſemble, Smother, and Conceal their *True Efficient Cauſe*, which is the *Wiſdom* and *Contrivance* of that *Divine Architect* and *Geometer*, making them every way fit, for the Inhabitation and uſes of their reſpective Souls. Neither indeed can we baniſh, all *Final*, that is all *Mental Cauſality*, from Philoſophy, or the Conſideration of *Nature*, without baniſhing at the ſame time, *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding* from our ſelves; and looking upon the Things of Nature, with no other *Eyes*, than *Brutes* do. However none of the Ancient Atheiſts, would ever undertake to aſſign *Neceſſary Cauſes*, for all the *Parts of the Bodies* of Animals, and their *Efformation*, from meer *Matter*, *Motion*, and *Mechaniſm*: Thoſe ſmall and pitiful attempts in order thereunto that have been made by ſome of them in a *few Inſtances*, (as that the *Spina Dorſi*, came from the *Flexure* of the Bodies of Animals, when they firſt ſprung out of the Earth; the *Inteſtines* from the *Flux of Humours* excavating a crooked and winding Channel for it ſelf, and that the *Noſtrils* were broke open, by the *Eruption of breath*;) theſe, I ſay, only ſhowing the *Unfeiſableneſs* and *Impoſſibility* thereof. And therefore *Democritus* was ſo wiſe, as never to pretend to give an Account in this way, of the *Formation* of the *Fœtus*, he looking upon it, as a thing abſolutely Deſperate; nor would he venture to ſay any more concerning it (as *Ariſtotle* informeth us) than ὅτι ὅτως ἀεὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεται, *that it always cometh ſo to paſs of neceſſity*; but ſtopp'd all further Enquiry concerning it after this manner, τὸ ἐρωτᾶν τὸ διὰ τί, περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τινὸς, τὸ ζητεῖν εἶναι τὴν ἄπειρον ἀρχήν, *That to demand, about any of theſe things, for what Cauſe it was thus, was to demand a Beginning of Infinite.* As if, all the Motions *from Eternity*, had an Influence upon, and Contribution to, whatſoever Corporeal thing was now produced. And *Lucretius* notwithſtanding all his ſwaggering, and boaſting, that He and *Epicurus* were able to aſſign *Natural* and *Neceſſary* Cauſes for every thing, without a *God*; hath no where ſo much as one word concerning it. We conclude therefore, that *Ariſtotle's* Judgment concerning *Final Cauſes* in *Philoſophy*, is much to be preferred before that of *Democritus*,

Nat. Auſc. L. 2. c. 9.

Καὶ ἄμφω μὲν τῷ φυσικῷ λεκτέαι αἱ αἰτίαι, μᾶλλον, δ' ἡ τινὸς ἕνεκα· αὕτιον γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς ὕλης, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτη τοῦ τέλους, *That Both kind of Cauſes (Material, and Final) ought to be declared by a Phyſiologer, but eſpecially the Final; the End being the Cauſe of the Matter, but the Matter*

ter not the Cause of the End. And thus do we see plainly, that the *Atomick Atheists* are utterly Ignorant of the Cause, τὸ διὰ τί ἢ καλῶς, *of the Regular and Artificial Frame of the things in Nature*, and consequently of the whole *Mundane System*; the True Knowledge whereof, necessarily leadeth to a God.

But it is prodigiously strange, that these Atheists, should in this their *Ignorance* and *Sottishness*, be Justified by any *Professed Theists* and *Christians* of Later times; who Atomizing in their *Physiology* also, would fain perswade us in like manner, that this whole *Mundane System*, together with *Plants*, and *Animals*, was derived, meerly from the *Necessary* and *Unguided* Motion, of the *Small Particles* of Matter, at first turned round in a *Vortex*, or else jumbled all together in a *Chaos*, without any *Intention* for *Ends* and *Good*, that is, without the *Direction* of any *Mind.* God in the mean time standing by, only as an *Idle Spectator*, of this *Lusus Atomorum*, this *Sportful Dance of Atoms*, and of the various Results thereof. Nay these *Mechanick Theists*, have here quite outstripped and out-done, the *Atomick Atheists* themselves, they being much more Immodest and Extravagant, than ever those were. For the Professed *Atheists*, durst never venture to affirm, that this *Regular System* of things, Resulted from the *Fortuitous Motions* of Atoms, at the very first; before they had for a long time together, produced many other *Inept Combinations*, or *Aggregate Forms* of particular things, and *Nonsensical Systems* of the whole. And they supposed also, that the *Regularity* of things here in this world, would not always continue such neither, but that some time or other, *Confusion* and *Disorder* would break in again. Moreover, that besides this World of ours, there are at this very instant, Innumerable other worlds *Irregular*, and that there is but One of a Thousand or ten Thousand, amongst the *Infinite Worlds*, that have such *Regularity* in them. The reason of all which is, because it was generally taken for granted and look'd upon as a Common Notion, that τὸ ἀπὸ τύχης ἢ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οὐδὲν ἀεὶ οὕτω γίνεται, as *Aristotle* expresseth it, that *None of those things which are from Fortune or Chance, come to pass constantly and always alike.* But our *Mechanick* or *Atomick Theists*, will have their Atoms, never so much as once to have Fumbled, in these their Fortuitous Motions; nor to have produced any *Inept System*, or *Incongruous Forms* at all; but from the very first all along, to have taken up their Places, and have Ranged themselves, so *Orderly*, *Methodically* and *Discreetly*; as that they could not possibly have done it better, had they been Directed by the most *Perfect Wisdom.* Wherefore these *Atomick Theists*, utterly Evacuate that grand Argument for a *God*, taken from the *Phænomenon* of the *Artificial Frame of things*, which hath been so much insisted on in all Ages, and which commonly makes the strongest impression of any other, upon the Minds of men; they leaving only certain *Metaphysical Arguments* for a *Deity*, which though never so good, yet by reason of their *Subtilty*, can do but little *Execution* upon the Minds of the *Generality*, and even amongst the *Learned*, do oftentimes beget, more of *Doubtful Disputation* and *Scepticism*, than of *Clear Conviction* and *Satisfaction.* The Atheists

in the mean time laughing in their ſleeves, and not a little triumphing, to ſee the *Cauſe of Theiſm*, thus betrayed by its profeſſed *Friends* and *Aſſertors*, and the *Grand Argument* for the ſame, totally *Slurred* by them; and ſo their work done, as it were to their hands, for them.

Now as this argues the greateſt *Inſenſibility of Mind*, or *Sottiſhneſs* and *Stupidity*, in *Pretended Theiſts*, not to take the leaſt notice of the *Regular and Artificial Frame of things*, or of the *Signatures* of the *Divine Art* and *Wiſdom* in them, nor to look upon the World and things of Nature, with any *Other Eyes*, than *Oxen* and *Horſes* do; ſo are there many *Phænomena* in Nature, which being partly *Above* the Force of theſe *Mechanick Powers*, and partly *Contrary* to the ſame, can therefore never be Salved by them, nor without *Final Cauſes*, and ſome *Vital Principle*. As for example, that of *Gravity*, or the *Tendency of Bodies Downward*, *the Motion of the Diaphragma in Reſpiration*, *the Syſtole and Diaſtole of the Heart*, which was before declared to be a *Muſcular Conſtriction* and *Relaxation*, and therefore not *Mechanical* but *Vital*. We might alſo add amongſt many others, *the Interſection of the Plains of the Equator and Ecliptick*, or the *Earth's Diurnal* Motion, upon an *Axis* not *Parallel* with that of the *Ecliptick*, nor *Perpendicular* to the *Plain* thereof. For though *Carteſius* would needs imagine this *Earth* of ours once to have been a *Sun*, and ſo it ſelf the Centre of a leſſer *Vortex*; whoſe *Axis* was then *Directed* after this manner, and which therefore ſtill kept the ſame Site or Poſture, by reaſon of the *Striate Particles*, finding no fit Pores or Traces for their paſſage thorough it, but only in this *Direction*; yet does he himſelf confeſs, that becauſe theſe Two Motions of the Earth, the *Annual* and *Diurnal*, would be much more conveniently made upon *Parallel* Axes, therefore according to the *Laws of Mechaniſm*, they ſhould perpetually be brought nearer and nearer together, till at length the *Equator* and the *Ecliptick* come to have their Axes *Parallel* to one another. Which as it hath not yet come to paſs, ſo neither hath there been, for theſe laſt two Thouſand years, (according to the beſt Obſervations and Judgments of *Aſtronomers*) any nearer approach, made of them to one another. Wherefore the Continuation of theſe *Two Motions of the Earth*, the *Annual* and *Diurnal*, upon Axes different or not *Parallel*, is reſolvable into nothing, but a *Final* and *Mental Cauſe*, or the Τὸ βέλτιϛον, becauſe it *was Beſt* it ſhould be ſo, the *Variety* of the *Seaſons* of the year depending hereupon. But the greateſt of all the particular *Phænomena*, is the *Organization* and *Formation* of the Bodies of Animals, conſiſting of ſuch Variety and Curioſity; which theſe *Mechanick Philoſophers* being no way able to give an account of, from the *Neceſſary* Motion *of* Matter, *Unguided by* Mind *for Ends*, prudently therefore break off their Syſtem there, when they ſhould come to Animals, and ſo leave it altogether untouch'd. We acknowledge indeed, that there is a Poſthumous Piece extant, imputed to *Carteſius*, and entituled, *De la Formation du Fœtus*, wherein there is ſome *Pretence* made to ſalve all this by *Fortuitous* Mechaniſm. But as the Theory thereof is wholly built upon a *Falſe Suppoſition*, ſufficiently

sufficiently confuted by the Learned *Harvey*, in his *Book of Generation*, *That the Seed doth Materially enter, into the Composition of the Egg*; so is it all along Precarious and Exceptionable; nor does it extend at all to the Differences that are in several Animals, or offer the least Reason, why an Animal of one Species or Kind, might not be Formed out of the Seed of another.

It is here indeed Pretended by these *Mechanick Theists*, that *Final Causes*, therefore ought not to be of any Regard to a Philosopher, because we should not arrogate to Our selves to be as Wise as God Almighty is, or to be Privy to his Secrets. Thus in the *Metaphysical Meditations*; *Atq; ob hanc Unicam Rationem totum illud Causarum genus, quod à Fine peti solet, in Rebus Physicis nullum Usum habere existimo; non enim absque Temeritate me puto, investigare posse Fines Dei.* And again likewise in the *Principles of Philosophy. Nullas unquam Rationes circa Res Naturales, à Fine quem Deus aut Natura in iis faciendis sibi proposuit, admittimus, quia non tantum nobis debemus arrogare, ut ejus Consiliorum participes esse possimus.* But the Question is not, Whether we can always reach to the *Ends of God Almighty*, and know what is *Absolutely Best* in every case, and accordingly make Conclusions, that therefore the thing is, or ought to be so; but, Whether any thing at all, were made by *God*, for *Ends* and *Good*, otherwise than would of it self have resulted from the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Matter*. Nevertheless we see no Reason at all, why it should be thought *Presumption*, or *Intrusion* into the Secrets of God Almighty, to affirm, that *Eyes* were made by him for the *End of Seeing* (and accordingly so contrived as might best conduce thereunto) and *Ears* for the *End* of *Hearing*, and the like. This being so plain, that nothing but *Sottish Stupidity*, or *Atheistick Incredulity* (masked perhaps under an Hypocritical Veil of *Humility*) can make any doubt thereof. And therefore *Aristotle* justly reprehended *Anaxagoras*, for that Absurd *Aphorism* of his, διὰ τὸ χεῖρας ἔχειν, φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων, τὸ ἄνθρωπον, *That Man was therefore the Wisest (or most Solert) of all Animals, because he Chanced to have hands.* He not doubting to affirm on the Contrary; εὔλογον διὰ τὸ φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων χεῖρας ἔχειν· ἡ γὰρ φύσις ἀεὶ διανέμει καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος φρόνιμος, τῷ δυναμένῳ χρῆσθαι ἕκαστον· προσήκει γὰρ τῷ ὄντι αὐλητῇ δοῦναι μᾶλλον αὐλὸς, ἢ τῷ αὐλὸς ἔχοντι προσθεῖναι αὐλητικήν· *That it was far more reasonable to think, that because Man was the Wisest* (or most Solert and Active) *of all Animals, therefore he had Hands given him. For Nature* (saith he) *distributeth as a Wise man doth, what is suitable to every one; and it is more Proper to give Pipes to one that hath Musical Skill, than upon him that hath Pipes, to bestow Musical Skill.*

Wherefore these *Mechanick Theists* would further, alledge, and that with some more Colour of Reason; That it is below the Dignity of God Almighty, to condescend to all those mean and *trivial Offices*, and to do the Things of *Nature* himself immediatly; as also that it would be but a Botch in *Nature*, if the *Defects* thereof were every where to be supplied by *Miracle*. But to this also the Reply is easie; That though the *Divine Wisdom* it self contrived the System of the whole World, for *Ends* and *Good*, yet *Nature*, as an *Inferiour Minister*,

ster, immediately Executes the same; I say, not a *Dead*, *Fortuitous*, and meerly *Mechanical*; but a *Vital*, *Orderly* and *Artificial Nature*. Which Nature, asserted by most of the Ancient Philosophers who were Theists, is thus described by *Proclus*, ἡ φύσις ἐχάτη μὲν ἔξι τῆς τὸ σωματοειδὲς τοῦτο ὑπὸ αἰῶνος δημιουργόντων αἰτίων, ὑπὸ τὸ πέρας τοῦ τῆς ἀσωμάτων οὐσιῶν πλάτους· πλήρης ὑπ' λόγων καὶ δυνάμεων δι' ὧν καθοδεύει τὰ εἰδώσμα· τοιαύτη ὑπ' ὅσα προελήλυθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ζωογόνου θεᾶς,

Steph. Poes. Philos.

Νώτοις δ' ἀμφὶ, θεᾶς φύσις ἄπλετος ἡώρηται,

ἀφ' ἧς πᾶσα ζωὴ πρόεισιν, ἥ τε νοερὰ καὶ ἡ ἀχώριστος τῆς διοικουμένων· ζωογονουμένη δ' ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἀπειρουμένη, φοιτᾷ διὰ πάντα ἀκωλύτως, καὶ πάντα ἐμπνεῖ, δι' ἣν τὰ ἀψύχωτα ψυχῆς μετέχει τινὸς, καὶ τὰ φθειρόμενα μένει διαιωνίως ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς εἰδῶν αἰτίαις συνεχόμενα·

Ἄρχει δ' αὖ φύσις ἀχαμάτη κόσμων τε καὶ ἔργων
φησὶ τὸ λόγιον,
Οὐρανὸς ὄφρα θέῃ δ' ἐρέμνὸν ἀΐδιον κατασύρων·
Καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

Nature, is the Last of all those Causes that Fabricate this Corporeal and Sensible world, and the utmost Bound of Incorporeal Substances. Which being full of Reasons and Powers, Orders, and Presides over all Mundane affairs. It proceeding (according to the Magick Oracles) from that Supreme Goddess, the Divine Wisdom, which is the Fountain of all Life, as well Intellectual, as that which is Concrete with Matter. Which Wisdom, this Nature always essentially depending upon, passes through all things unhinderably: by means whereof, even Inanimate things, partake of a kind of Life; and things Corruptible remain Eternal in their Species, they being contained by its Standing Forms or Ideas, as their Causes. And thus does the Oracle describe Nature, as presiding over the whole Corporeal Word, and perpetually turning round the Heavens. Here have we a Description of *One Universal Substantial Life*, *Soul*, or *Spirit of Nature*, Subordinate to the Deity; besides which the same *Proclus*, elsewhere supposeth other *Particular Natures*, or *Spermatick Reasons*, in those Words of his, μετὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν πρώτην, ψυχαὶ· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν, φύσεις· ***After the first Soul, are there particular Souls, and after the Universal Nature, Particular Natures.*** Where it may be observed by the way, that this *Proclus*, though he were a Superstitious Pagan, much addicted to the Multiplying of Gods (Subordinate to one Supreme) or a Bigotick Polytheist, who had a humour of Deifying almost every thing, and therefore would have this *Nature* forsooth to be called a *Goddess* too; yet does he declare it not to be properly such, but Abusively only (*viz.* because it was no Intellectual Thing) as he saith the Bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, supposed to be Animated, were called *Gods* too, they being the *Statues of the Gods*. This is the meaning of those Words, καὶ θεὸς μὲν τῆς ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ ὃν αὐτόθεν ἔχουσα τὸ εἶναι θεός· καὶ γὰρ τὰ θεῖα σώματα, θεῶν καλοῦμεν, ὡς ἀγάλματα τῆς θεῶν· ***Nature is a God or Goddess, not as having Godship properly belonging to it, but as the Divine Bodies are called Gods, because they are Statues of the Gods.***

Wherefore

Wherefore we cannot otherwiſe conclude concerning theſe our *Mechanick Theiſts*, who will thus needs derive all Corporeal things from a *Dead* and *Stupid Nature*, or from the *Neceſſary Motions* of *Senſleſs Matter*, without the *Direction* of any *Mind*, or *Intention* for *Ends* and *Good*; but that they are indeed *Couſin-Germans* to *Atheiſts*; or poſſeſſed in a Degree, with a kind of *Atheiſtick Enthuſiaſm*, or *Fanaticiſm*; they being ſo far forth, *Inſpired*, with a *Spirit of Infidelity*, which is the *Spirit of Atheiſm*.

But theſe *Mechanick Theiſts* are again counterballanced by another ſort of *Atheiſts*, not *Mechanical* nor *Fortuitous*; namely the *Hylozoiſts*; who are unqueſtionably convinced, that *Opera Naturæ ſunt Opera Intelligentiæ*, that *the Works of Nature are Works of Underſtanding*; and that the Original of theſe Corporeal things was not *Dead and Stupid Matter Fortuitouſly moved*; upon which account *Strato* derided, *Democritus* his *Rough and Smooth, Crooked and Hooky Atoms*, as *meer Dreams and Dotages*. But theſe notwithſtanding, becauſe they would not admit of any other *Subſtance* beſides *Matter*, ſuppoſe *Life* and *Perception*, Eſſentially to belong to all *Matter* as ſuch; whereby it hath a *Perfect Knowledge* of whatſoever it ſelf could Do or Suffer (though without *Animal-conſciouſneſs*) and can Form it ſelf to the Beſt advantage; ſometimes improving it ſelf by *Organization*, to Senſe in Brutes, and to Reaſon and Reflexive Underſtanding in Men. Wherefore according to the Principles of theſe *Hylozoiſts*, there is not any need of a God, at all; that is, of one *Perfect Mind* or *Underſtanding Being* preſiding over the whole world; they concluding accordingly, the Opinion of a God, to be only a Miſtaking, of the *Inadequate Conception* of *Matter* in General, its *Life and Energetick Nature* taken alone *Abſtractly*, for a Complete Subſtance by it ſelf. Nevertheleſs theſe *Hylozoick Atheiſts*, are no way able by this *Hypotheſis* of theirs neither, to ſalve that *Phænomenon* of the *Regularity* and *Harmony* of the whole Univerſe; becauſe every Part of *Matter*, being according to them, a *Diſtinct Percipient* by it ſelf, whoſe knowledge extendeth only to its own Concernment; and there being no one thing preſiding over all; the things of the whole World (ἐν ᾧ πάντα συντέτακται, *in which all things are Co-ordered together*) could never have fallen, into One ſuch *Agreeing* and *Conſpiring Harmony*.

And as for thoſe other *Coſmo-Plaſtick Atheiſts*, who ſuppoſe the whole World to be as it were but One *Huge Plant*, *Tree*, or *Vegetable*, or to have One *Spermatick*, *Plaſtick*, and *Artificial Nature* only, *Orderly* and *Methodically* diſpoſing the whole, but without *Senſe* and *Underſtanding*, theſe can no way do the buſineſs neither, that is, ſalve the forementioned *Phænomenon*, it being utterly Impoſſible, that there ſhould be any ſuch *Artificial* and *Regular Nature*, otherwiſe than as derived from, and depending upon, a *Perfect Mind* or *Wiſdom*.

And thus do we ſee plainly, that no Atheiſts whatſoever, can *Salve the Phænomena of Nature*, and this Particularly, of the *Regular*

gular Frame and *Harmony of the Universe*; and that true *Philosophy*, or the *Knowledge of Causes*, Necessarily leadeth to a *God*.

But besides these *Phænomena*, of *Cogitation* or *Soul* and *Mind* in Animals, *Local Motion* in Bodies, and the *Artificial Frame* of things for *Ends* and *Uses*, together with the *Conspiring Harmony* of the *Whole*; which can no way be *Salved* without a *Deity*; We might here further add, that the *Fortuitous*, that is, the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists*, who Universally asserted the *Novity* of this *Mundane System*, were not able to give any tolerable account neither, of the First *Beginning* of Men, and those Greater Animals, that are no otherwise begotten, than in the way of Generation, by the Commixture of Male and Female.

Aristotle in his Book of the *Generation of Animals*, writeth thus; *Lib. 3. c. ult.* Περὶ τ᾽ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τετραπόδων γενέσεως, ὑπολάβοι τις ἂν, εἴπερ ἐγέγονό ποτε γηγενεῖς, ὥσπερ φασί τινες, δύο τρόπων γίνεσθαι τ᾽ ἕτερον· ἢ γὰρ ὡς σκώληκ@ συνισαμένης τὸ πρῶτον, ἢ ἐξ ὠῶν· *If Men and Fourfooted Animals, were ever Generated out of the Earth, as some affirm, it may be probably conceived to have been, one of these Two ways; either that they were Produced as Worms out of Putrefaction, or else Formed in certain Eggs*; growing out of the Earth. And then after a while he concludes again, εἴπερ ὧν τις ἀρχὴ τ᾽ γενέσεως πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις, εὔλογον δυεῖν τούτων ἕναι τὼ ἑτέραν, *That if there were any Beginning of the Generation of all Animals, it is reasonable to think it, to have been one of these Two forementioned wayes.* It is well known that *Aristotle*, though a Theist, elsewhere asserteth the World's Eternity, according to which *Hypothesis* of his, there was never any *First Male* nor *Female*, in any kind of Animals, but one begat another *Infinitely* without any *Beginning*; a thing utterly repugnant to our Humane Faculties, that are never able to frame any Conception of such an *Infinity* of *Number* and *Time*, and of a *Successive Generation* from Eternity. But here *Aristotle* himself seems staggering or Sceptical about it; *If Men were ever Generated out of the Earth*; and, *If there were any Beginning of the Generation of Animals:* As he doth also, in his *Topicks*, propound it for an Instance of a thing *Disputable*, *Lib. 1. c. 9.* πότερον ὁ Κόσμ@ ἀΐδι@ ἢ οὔ, *Whether the World were Eternal or no?* he ranking it amongst those περὶ ὧν λόγον μὴ ἔχομεν ὄντων μεγάλων, *Those Great things for which we can give no certain Reason, one way nor other.* Now (saith he) If the *World had a Beginning*, and If Men were once γηγενεῖς or αὐτόχθονες, *Earth-Born*, then must they have been in all probability, either Generated as *Worms*, out of *Putrefaction*, or else out of *Eggs*; he supposing (it seems) those Eggs to have grown out of the Earth. But the *Generality of Atheists* in *Aristotle's* time, as well as *Theists*, denying this *Eternity* of the Mundane System, as not so agreeable with their *Hypothesis*, because so Constant and Invariable an Order in the World, from Eternity, hath not such an appearance or semblance of *Chance*, nor can be easily supposed to have been, without the *Providence* of a *Perfect Mind*, presiding over it, and *Senior* to it (as *Aristotle* conceived) in *Nature*, though not in *Time*; They therefore in all Probability concluded likewise, Men at First

First to have been *Generated* One of these *Two* ways, either out of *Putrefaction*, or from *Eggs*; and this by the *Fortuitous Motion* of Matter; without the Providence or Direction of any Deity. But after *Aristotle*, *Epicurus* Phancied those First Men and other Animals, to have heen Formed in certain *Wombs* or *Bags* growing out of the Earth,

Crescebant Uteri terræ radicibus apti;

And this no otherwise than by the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Atoms* also.

But if Men had been at First Formed after this manner, either in *Wombs* or *Eggs* (growing out of the Earth) or Generated out of *Putrefaction*, by *Chance*; then could there be no reason imaginable, why it should not sometimes so Happen now, the *Motions* of *Atoms* being as Brisk and Vigorous, as ever they were, and so to continue to all Eternity: so that there is not the least Ground at all, for that *Precarious Phancy* and *Pretence* of *Epicurus*, that the Earth as a *Child-bearing Woman*, growing old, became at length *Effete* and *Barren*. Moreover the Men thus at first excluded out of *Bags*, *Wombs* or *Egg-shells*, or Generated out of *Putrefaction*, were supposed by these *Atheists* themselves, to have been produced, not in a *Mature* and *Adult*, but an *Infant-like*, Weak and Tender State, just such as they are now born into the World; by means whereof they could neither be able to Feed and Nourish themselves, nor defend themselves from harms and Injuries. But when the same *Epicurus* would here pretend also, that the *Earth* which had been so *Fruitful a Mother*, became afterward by *Chance* too, as tender and indulgent a *Nurse*, of this her own Progeny, and sent forth Streams or Rivers of Milk after them, out of those Gaps of her Wounded Surface, which they had before burst out of, as *Critolaus* long since observed, he might as well have feigned, the *Earth* to have had *Breasts* and *Nipples* too, as *Wombs* and *Milk*; and then what should hinder, but that she might have Arms and Hands also, and Swaddling-bands to boot? Neither is that less *Precarious*, when the same *Atheistick Philosopher* adds, that in this Imaginary State of the *New-born* world, there was for a long time neither any Immoderate Heat nor Cold, nor any Rude and Churlish Blasts of Wind, the least to annoy or injure those tender *Earth-born Infants* and *Nurslings*. All which things being considered, *Anaximander* seems of the Two, to have concluded more wisely, that Men, because they require a longer time than other Animals to be hatched up in, were at first Generated in the *Bellies* of *Fishes*, and there nourished up for a good while, till they were at length able to defend, and shift for themselves, and then were Disgorged, and cast up upon dry land. Thus do we see, that there is nothing in the World so Monstrous, nor Prodigiously Absurd, which men *Atheistically* inclined, will not rather Imagine, and Swallow down; than entertain the *Notion of a God*.

In Philo. Quòd Mund. Incorr.

Wherefore here is *Dignus Vindice Nodus*, and this *Phænomenon* of the *First Beginning* of Mankind, and other Greater Animals, cannot

be

be *Salved* otherwiſe, than according to the *Moſaick Hiſtory*, by admitting of θεὸν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, *a God out of a Machin*, that is, an Extraordinary Manifeſtation of the Deity, in forming Man, and other Animals, Male and Female, once out of the Earth; and that not in a *Rude*, *Tender* and *Infant-like State*, but *Mature* and *Adult*, that ſo they might be able immediately, to ſhift for themſelves, Multiply and Propagate their kind by Generation; and this being once done, and now no longer any neceſſity, of ſuch an extraordinary way of proceeding; then putting a ſtop immediately thereunto, that ſo no more *Terriginæ* nor *Autochthones*, *Earth-born Men*, ſhould be any longer produced. For all theſe circumſtances being put together, it plainly appears, that this whole *Phænomenon*, ſurpaſſes, not only the *Mechanical*, but alſo the *Plaſtick Powers*; their being much of *Diſcretion* in it, which the latter of theſe, cannot arrive to neither; they always acting, *Fatally* and *Neceſſarily*. Nevertheleſs we ſhall not here determine, Whether God Almighty might not, make uſe of the Subſervient Miniſtry of Angels or Superiour Spirits, Created before Man, in this firſt extraordinary Efformation of the Bodies of Animals out of the Earth, in a *Mature* and *Adult State*: as *Plato* in his *Timæus*, introduceth the *Supreme God* (whom he ſuppoſeth to be the immediate Creator of all *Immortal Souls*) thus beſpeaking the Junior Gods, and ſetting them a work in the Fabrifaction of *Mortal Bodies*, τὸ δὴ λοιπὸν ὑμεῖς, ἀθανάτῳ θνητὸν προσυφαίνοντες, ἀπεργάζεσθε ζῷα καὶ γεννᾶτε, *It is your work now to Adaptate the Mortal to the Immortal, and to Generate or make Terreſtrial Animals*; He afterwards adding, μετὰ τὸ σπόρον, τοῖς νέοις παρέδωκε θεοῖς, σώματα πλάττειν θνητὰ, *That after the ſowing of Immortal Souls*, (the Supreme God) *committed to theſe Junior Gods, the task of forming Mortal Bodies*. Which of *Plato's*, ſome conceive to have been derived from that of *Moſes*, *Let us make Man after our own Image*.

Moreover, theſe Atheiſts are no more able to *Salve* that other Common and Ordinary *Phænomenon* neither, of the *Conſervation of the Species* of all Animals, by keeping up conſtantly in the world, *a due Numerical Proportion* between the *Sexes* of *Male* and *Female*. For did this depend only upon *Fortuitous Mechaniſm*, it cannot well be conceived, but that in ſome ages or other, there ſhould happen to be, either all *Males*, or all *Females*; and ſo the Species fail. Nay it cannot well be thought otherwiſe, but that there is in this a Providence alſo, Superiour to that of the *Plaſtick* or *Spermatick Nature*, which hath not ſo much of *Knowledge* and *Diſcretion* allowed to it, as whereby to be able alone, to govern this Affair.

Laſtly, there are yet other *Phænomena*, no leſs *Real*, though not *Phyſiological*, which *Atheiſts* can no way *Salve*; as that of *Natural Juſtice*, and *Honeſty*, Duty, and Obligation; the true Foundation both of *Ethicks* and *Politicks*; and the τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, *Liberty of Will*, properly ſo called, not that of *Fortuitous Determination*, when there is a *Perfect Equality* or *Indifferency* of *Eligibility* in Objects; but that whereby men deſerve *Commendation* and *Blame*, *Rewards* and *Puniſhments*, and ſo become fit Objects for *Remunerative Juſtice* to diſplay it ſelf upon,

upon, a *Main Hinge* upon which Religion Turneth; (though those Two be not commonly so well distinguish'd as they ought.) For when *Epicurus* (an *Absolute Atheist*) departing here from *Democritus*, pretended to Salve this, by his *Exiguum Clinamen Principiorum*, this attempt of his, was no other, than a plain *Delirancy*, or *Atheistick Phrenzy* in him.

And now have we already, *Preventively Confuted*, the *Third Atheistick Pretence* also, to *Salve* the *Phænomenon* of *Religion* and the *Belief* of a *God*, so generally entertained; namely from the *Fiction and Imposture of Politicians*; we having not only manifested, that there is a *Natural Prolepsis* and *Anticipation* of a God, in the Minds of men, as the Object of their *Fear*, Preventing *Reason*; but also that the *Belief* thereof, is sustained and upheld, by the strongest Reason; the *Phænomena of Nature* being no way *Salvable*, nor the *Causes of things* Assigneable, without a *Deity*; so that Religion being Founded, both upon the *Instincts of Nature*, and upon *Solid Reason*, cannot possibly be any *Fiction* or *Imposture* of *Politicians*. Nevertheless we shall speak something particularly to this also. The Atheists therefore conceive, that though those *Infirmities* of *Humane Nature*, mens *Fear* and *Ignorant Credulity*, do much dispose and incline them, to the *Belief of a God*, or else of a *Rank of Beings*, Superiour to men (whether Visible or Invisible) commonly called by the Pagans, *Gods*; yet would not this be so generally entertained, as it is; especially that of *One Supreme Deity*, the First *Original* of all things, and *Monarch* of the Universe, had it not been for the *Fraud* and *Fiction* of *Lawmakers* and *Civil Soveraigns*, who the better to keep men in *Peace* and Subjection under them, and in a kind of Religious and Superstitious Observation of their Laws, and *Devotion* to the same, devized this *Notion* of a *God*, and then possessed the Minds of men with a Belief of his Existence, and an *Awe* of him.

Now we deny not, but that *Politicians* may sometimes abuse *Religion*, and make it serve for the promoting of their own private Interests and Designs; which yet they could not so well do neither, were the thing it self, a meer *Cheat* and *Figment* of their own, and had no Reality at all in *Nature*, nor any thing *Solid* at the bottom of it. But since Religion obtains so universally every where, it is not conceivable, how *Civil Sovereigns* throughout the whole World, some of which are so distant, and have so little Correspondence with one another, should notwithstanding, all so well agree in this *One Cheating Mystery of Government*, or Piece of *State-Coozenage*; nor if they could, how they should be able so effectually to possess the Generality of mankind, (as well wise as unwise) with such a Constant *Fear*, *Awe*, and *Dread*, of a meer *Counterfeit thing*, and an *Invisible Nothing*; and which hath not only no manner of Foundation neither in Sense nor Reason, but also (as the Atheists suppose) tends to their own great Terrour and Disquietment; and so brings them at once under a miserable Vassallage both of Mind and Body. Especially since men are not generally, so apt to think, that how much the more any have of *Power* & *Dignity*, they have therefore so much the more of

Knowledge and Skill, in Philoſophy and the Things of Nature, above others. And is it not ſtrange, that the world ſhould not all this while, have ſuſpected or diſcovered this *Cheat* and *Juggle* of Politicians, and have *Smelt* out, a *Plot* upon themſelves, in the *Fiction* of *Religion*, to take away their Liberty and enthral them under Bondage: and that ſo many of theſe *Politicians* and *Civil Soveraigns* themſelves alſo, ſhould have been unacquainted herewith, and as ſimply awed, with the Fear of this *Inviſible Nothing*, as any others? All other Cheats and Juggles when they are once never ſo little detected, are preſently thereupon daſhed quite out of countenance, and have never any more the Confidence to obtrude themſelves upon the world. But though the Atheiſts have for theſe Two Thouſand years paſt, been continually buzzing into mens Ears, that Religion is nothing but a meer *State-Juggle* and *Political Impoſture*, yet hath not the Credit thereof been the leaſt impaired thereby, nor its Power and Dominion over the Minds of men abated; from whence it may be concluded, that it is no *Counterfeit and Fictitious thing*, but what is deeply rooted in the *Intellectual Nature* of man, a thing Solid at the bottom, and Supported by its own ſtrength. Which yet may more fully appear from *Chriſtianity*, a *Religion* founded in no *Humane Policy*, nor tending to promote any *Worldly Intereſt* or *Deſign*; which yet by its *own*, or the *Divine Force*, hath prevailed over the *Power* and *Policy*, the *Rage* and *Madneſs* of all *Civil States*, Jewiſh and Pagan, and hath Conquered ſo great a Part of the Perſecuting World under it; and that not by *Reſiſting*, or *Oppoſing Force*, but by ſuffering Deaths and Martyrdoms, in way of Adherence to that Principle, *That it is better to obey God than Men.* Which thing was thus Preſignified in the Prophetick Scripture; *Why do the Heathen Rage, and the People imagine a Vain thing? The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take Counſel together, againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt*, &c. *He that ſitteth in the Heavens ſhall laugh, the Lord ſhall have them in Deriſion. Then ſhall he ſpeak unto them in his Wrath*, &c. *Yet have I ſet my King upon my Holy Hill of Sion. I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the Uttermoſt Parts of the Earth for thy Poſſeſſion. Be wiſe now therefore, O ye Kings*, &c.

But that *Theiſm*, or *Religion*, is no *Gullery* or *Impoſture*, will be yet further made unqueſtionably Evident. That the generality of Mankind have agreed in the acknowledgment of one *Supreme Deity*, as a Being *Eternal* and *Neceſſarily Exiſtent*, *Abſolutely Perfect*, and *Omnipotent*, and the *Maker of the whole World*, hath been already largely proved in the foregoing Diſcourſe. To which purpoſe is this of *Sextus* the Philoſopher, Κοινὴ γὰρ περίληψιν ἔχουσι πάντες ἄνθρωποι περὶ θεοῦ, καθ' ἣν μακάριόν τι ἔστι ζῶον καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ τέλειον ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ ἀνεπίδεκτον. *All men have this common* Prolepſis, *concerning God, that he is a Living Being Incorruptible, Perfectly Happy, and Uncapable of all manner of Evil.* And the Notion of that God, which *Epicurus* oppoſed, was no other than this, *An Underſtanding Being, having all Happineſs, with Incorruptibility, that Framed the whole World.* Now, I ſay, that if there be no ſuch thing as

Adv. Math. 314.

as this Exiſting, and this *Idea of God*, be a meer *Fictitious Thing*, then was it altogether *Arbitrarious*. But it is unconceivable, how the Generality of Mankind, (a few Atheiſts only excepted) ſhould univerſally agree, in one and the ſame *Arbitrarious Figment*. This Argumentation hath been formerly uſed, by ſome Theiſts, as appeareth from the forementioned *Sextus*, τελέως δέ ἐστιν ἄλογον, τὸ τῇ τύχῃ πάντας τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάλλειν ἰδιώμασιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυσικῶς ὅτως ἐκκινεῖσθαι· *It is altogether Irrational to think, that all men ſhould by Chance, light upon the ſame Properties (in the Idea of God) without being Naturally mov'd thereunto.* Neither is that any ſufficient account which the Atheiſts would here give, that *Stateſmen* and *Politicians*, every where thus poſſeſſed the Minds of men with One and the ſame *Idea*; the Difficulty ſtill remaining, how Civil Soveraigns and Law-makers, in all the diſtant parts of the world, and ſuch as had no Communication nor Entercourſe with one another; ſhould univerſally Jump, in one and the ſame *Fictitious* and *Arbitrarious Idea*. *Adv. Math.* 314.

Moreover, were there no God, it is Not Conceivable, how that forementioned *Idea* ſhould ever have Entred into the Minds of men, or how it could have been Formed in them. And here the Atheiſts again, think it enough, to ſay that this *Notion* or *Idea* was *Put* into the Minds of the Generality of mankind, by *Law-makers* and *Politicians*, *Telling them*, of ſuch a Being, and perſwading them to believe his Exiſtence; or that it was from the firſt *Feigner* or *Inventor* of it, propagated all along and conveyed down, by *Oral Tradition*. But this argues their great Ignorance in Philoſophy to think that any *Notion* or *Idea*, is put into mens Minds from without, meerly by *Telling*, or by *Words*; we being Paſſive to nothing elſe from words, but their Sounds and the Phantaſms thereof; they only occaſioning the Soul to excite ſuch Notions, as it had before within it ſelf (whether *Innate* or *Adventitious*) which thoſe words by the Compact and Agreement of men were made to be Signs of; or elſe to reflect alſo further, upon thoſe *Ideas* of their own, Conſider them more Diſtinctly, and Compare them with one another. And thongh all Learning be not the *Remembrance* of what the *Soul* once before actually underſtood, in a *Pre-exiſtent State*, as *Plato* ſomewhere would have it, according to that of *Boetius*,

Quod ſi Platonis *Muſa perſonat Verum,*
Quod quiſque Diſcit, Immemor Recordatur;

Yet *is all Humane Teaching*, but *Maieutical*, or *Obſtetricious*; and not the *filling of* the Soul as a *Veſſel*, meerly by *Pouring* into it from *Without*, but the *Kindling* of it from Within; or helping it ſo to excite and awaken, compare, and compound its own *Notions*, as whereby to arrive at the Knowledge, of that which it was before Ignorant of; as the thing was better expreſſed by the forementioned Philoſophick Poet, in theſe words,

Hæret profecto Semen introrſum Veri,
Quod excitatur Ventilante Doctrina.

Wherefore the meer *Telling* of men, There is a *God*, could not infuse any *Idea* of him into their Minds; nor yet the further giving this Definition of him, that he is a *Being Absolutely Perfect*, *Eternal and Self-Existent*, make them understand any thing of his Nature, were they not able to Excite *Notions* or *Ideas* from within themselves, correspondent to those several words. However the Difficulty still remains. How those *Civil Soveraigns* and *Law-makers*, or how *Critias*, his very first Inventor of that Cheat of a God, could Form that Idea, within themselves, since upon supposition of his Non-Existence, it is the *Idea of Nothing*, or of a *Non-Entity*. And this was Judiciously Hinted also by the same *Sextus*; οἱ δὲ διαμφοδευκῶντες, φασὶν ὅτι νομοθέται τινες ἐνεποίησαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὴν περὶ θεοῦ δόξαν, μὴ εἰδότες ὅτι τὸ ἀρχῆθεν ἄτοπον αὐτοῖς περιμένει, ζητήσαντί τινα, πόθεν δὲ οἱ νομοθέται, μηδένα πρότερον παραδόντα, ἦλθον εἰς ἔννοιαν θεοῦ; *The Atheists affirming, that certain Law-makers first put this Notion of a God, into the minds of men, do not consider, that they still remain intangled in the Difficulty, if any one further demand of them, how those Law-makers themselves could first form that Idea?* From whence it is afterward concluded, ὃ τοίνυν κατὰ τινα νομοθεσίαν, παρεδέξαντο οἱ πάλαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι θεόν. *That therefore the Notion of a God, sprung not from the Arbitrarious Fiction, of Law-makers and Politicians.*

Adv. Math. 313, 314.

But some *Atheists* will yet further Reply, That there is a *Feigning Power* in the Humane Soul, whereby it can Frame *Ideas* or *Conceptions* of such things, as actually never were nor will be; as of a *Centaur*, or of a *Golden Mountain*; and that by such a *Feigning Power* as this, the *Idea* of God, though there be no such thing Existing, might be Framed. And here we deny not, but that the Humane Soul hath a Power of *Compounding* Ideas and Things, together, which Exist Severally, and Apart, in Nature, but never were, nor will be, in that Conjunction: and this indeed is all the *Feigning Power* that it hath. For the Mind cannot make any *New Cogitation*, which was not before, but only *Compound* that which *Is*. As the *Painter* cannot *Feign Colours*, but must use such as exist in *Nature*, only he can Variously Compound them together, and by his *Pencil*, draw the Figures and Lineaments of such things as no where are; as he can add to the Head and Face of a Man, the Neck, Shoulders, and Body of a Horse. In like manner that more Subtle *Painter* or *Limner*, the *Mind* and *Imagination* of man, can frame *Compounded Ideas* of things, which no where Exist, but yet His Simple Colours notwithstanding, must be Real; He cannot Feign any *Cogitation*, which was not in Nature, nor make a *Positive Conception* of that which is *Absolutely Nothing*; which were no less than to make, *Nothing* to be *Something*, or Create *Something out* of *Nothing*. And though the whole of these *Fictitious Ideas* (as of a *Golden Mountain*) does not any where actually Exist, yet for as much as it doth not Absolutely Imply a Contradiction, for it so to do, therefore hath it also a *Possible Entity* too, and otherwise it could not be Conceivable. As a *Triangular Square*, for example, being a *Contradictious* Thing, hath not so much as a *Possible Entity*, and therefore is not *Conceivable* as such; (though both a Triangle and a Square severally be Conceivable) it being meer Non-Sence, Nothing, and no

Idea

Idea at all. Nay we Conceive, that a Theist may presume with Reverence to say, that God Almighty himself, though he can Create More or Fewer Really Existent things, as he pleaseth, and could make a whole world out of *Nothing*, yet can he not make more *Cogitation* or Conception, then *Is*; or was before contained in his own *Infinite Mind* and *Eternal Wisdom*; nor have a *Positive Idea* of any thing, which hath neither Actual nor *Possible Entity*.

But the Idea of God, is not a *Compilement* or *Aggregation* of things, which Exist Scatteredly and Apart in the World; for then would it be a meer *Arbitrarious* thing; and it might be what every one pleased; one Adding more things together, and another Fewer; but each of them writing, the *Name* or *Title* of *God*, as bungling Painters did, under these there several *Figments*. Whereas we have already proved, that the *Idea of God*, is One most Simple *Idea*, of an *Absolutely Perfect Being*, though having several *Partial* and *Inadequate Conceptions*; so that nothing can be Added to it, nor Detracted from it, there being nothing included therein, but what is *Demonstrable* of a Perfect *Being*, and therefore nothing at all *Arbitrarious*.

Moreover, many of those *Partial Conceptions* contained in the entire Idea of God, are no where else to be found in the whole world, Existing Singly and Apart; and therefore, if there be no God, they must needs be *Absolute Non-Entities*; as *Immutability*, *Necessary Existence*, *Infinity*, and *Perfection*, *&c.* so that the *Painter* that makes this *Idea*, must here *Feign Colours* themselves, or Create *New Cogitation* and *Conception* out of *Nothing*, upon the *Atheistick Supposicion*.

Lastly, If there be no God now Existing, it is Impossible that ever there should be any, and so the Whole *Idea of God*, would be the Idea of that, which hath no *Possible Entity* neither; whereas those other *Fictitious Ideas*, made by the Mind of man, though they be of such things, as have no *Actual Existence*, yet have they all a *Possible Entity* as was said before.

But that we may Conceal nothing of the Atheists Strength, we must here acknowledge, that some of them have yet pretended further, that besides this *Power* of *Compounding* things together, the human Soul hath also another *Ampliating*, or *Increasing* and *Improving Power*, by both which together, though there be no God Existing, nor yet *Possible*; the *Idea* of him, may be *Fictitiously* made: those *Partial Ideas* which are no where else to be found, arising, as they say, from a μετάβασις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *a Transition and Gradual Procession from men; in way of Amplification, Augmentation and Improvement.* Thus do we read in *Sextus*, Τὸ ἀΐδιον εἶναι τὸ θεὸν, καὶ ἄφθαρτον, καὶ τέλειον ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, παρῆλθε καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μετάβασιν· ὡς γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐξήσαντες τῇ φαντασίᾳ, νόησιν ἔχομεν κύκλωπος, ὅτως ἄνθρωπον εὐδαίμονα νοήσαντες καὶ μακάριον καὶ συμπεπληρωμένον πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, εἶτα ταῦτα ὑπερέναντες, τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἄπειρον ἐνοήσαμεν θεόν· καὶ πάλιν πολυχρόνιον τινὰ φαντασιωθέντες ἄνθρωπον οἱ παλαιοὶ, ἐπηύξησαν τὸ χρόνον εἰς ἄπειρον, εἶτα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἀΐδιον παραγενόμενοι, *Adv. Math. P.* 317.

νοι, ἔφασαν ἢ ἀΐδιον εἶναι ἢ θεόν. *The Ideas, of the Eternity, Incorruptibility, and Perfect Happineſs of the Deity, were Fictitiouſly made, by way of Tranſition from men. For as by encreaſing a man of an ordinary Stature in our Imagination, we Fictitiouſly make the Phantaſm of a Cyclops; ſo when beholding a Happy Man that aboundeth with all good things, we Amplifie, Intend, and as it were Swell the ſame in our Minds higher and higher, we then arrive at length to the Idea of a Being Abſolutely Happy, that is, a God. So did the Ancients, taking notice of a very Longeve man, and encreaſing this length of Age, further and further Infinitely, by that means Frame the Notion or Idea of Eternity, and attribute the ſame to God.*

But to this we Reply; Firſt, that according to the Principles of the Atheiſts themſelves, there could not poſſibly be any ſuch *Amplifying* and *Feigning Power* of the Soul, as whereby it could *Make More than Is*; becauſe they ſuppoſe it to have no *Active Power* at all; but all our *Conceptions* to be nothing but meer *Paſſions*, from the *Objects* without; according to that of *Protagoras* in *Plato's Thæetetus*, ὅτε γὰρ τὰ μὴ ὄντα δυνατὸν δοξάζαι, ὅτε ἄλλα παρ' ἃ ἂν πάσχῃ, *It is neither poſſible; for a man to conceive that which is not; nor any more or otherwiſe, than he Suffers.* Again as *Sextus* the Philoſopher alſo intimates, the Atheiſts are here plainly guilty, of that *Fallacy* or *Errour* in Ratiocination, which is commonly called a *Circle*, or διὰ ἀλλήλων. For whereas they could not otherwiſe Judge, the greateſt Perfection and Happineſs which ever they had experience of in men, to be Imperfect, then by an *Anticipated Idea* of *Perfection*, and *Happineſs*, with which it was in their minds compared; (by vertue of which Idea alſo, it comes to paſs, that they are able to *Amplifie* thoſe leſſer *Perfections* of men further and further, and can take occaſion from *Imperfect* Things, to think of that which is *Abſolutely Perfect:*) that is, whereas theſe Atheiſts themſelves firſt make the *Idea of Imperfection*, from *Perfection*; they not attending to this, do again go about, to make up the *Notion* or *Idea*, of that which is Abſolutely *Perfect* (by way of *Amplification*) from that which is *Imperfect*. But that men have a *Notion* of *Abſolute Perfection* in them, by which as the *Rule or Meaſure*, they (comparing other things therewith) Judge them to be *Imperfect*; and which is therefore in Order of Nature *Firſt*; may appear from hence, becauſe all Theologers as well *Pagan* as *Chriſtian*, give this Direction, for the Conceiving of God, that it ſhould principally be done, *Per Viam Remotionis*, by *way of Remotion of all Imperfection from him.* Thus *Alcinous*, πρώτη μὲν αὐτῷ νόησις ἡ κατ' ἀφαίρεσιν, *The firſt way of Conceiving of God, is by Remotion or Abſtraction.* We add in the laſt place, That *Finite things* put together can never make up *Infinite*, as may appear from that Inſtance of Humane *Longevity* propoſed, for if one ſhould *Amplifie* that never ſo much, by adding of more and more *Paſt Time* or years to it; yet would he never thereby be able, to arrive at *Eternity without beginning.* God differs not from theſe Imperfect Created things, in *Degrees* only, but in the *Whole Kind.* And though *Infinite Space* may perhaps be here Objected, as a thing taken for granted, whichbeingnothing but *Extenſion* or *Magnitude*, muſt therefore conſiſt or be made up of *Finite Parts*, yet as was it before declared, we

P. 167. Serr.

have

have no certainty of any more than this; that the *Finite World* might have been made Bigger and Bigger *Infinitely* or *Without End*, which Infinity of Magnitude, is but like that of *Number, Potential*; from whence it may be inferred as well of the one, as the other, that it can never be *Actually Infinite*. Wherefore were there no *Infinitely Perfect* Being in Nature, the Idea thereof could never be made up by any *Amplifying Power* of the Soul, or by the Addition *of Finites*. Neither is that of any moment, which *Gassendus* so much objecteth here to the contrary, that though there were no God or *Infinite Being*, yet might the Idea of him as well be Feigned, by the Mind, as that of *Infinite Worlds*, or of *Infinite Matter*, was by some Philosophers. For *Infinite Worlds* and *Infinite Matter*, are but words *Ill Put-together*; *Infinity* being a Real thing in Nature, (and no *Fiction* of the Mind) as well as the *World* or *Matter*; but yet proper to the Deity only. But it is no wonder, if they who denied a God, yet retaining this Notion of Infinity, should misapply the same, as they did also other Properties of the Deity, to *Matter*.

To conclude this; Our humane Soul cannot Feign or Create any New *Cogitation* or Conception, that was not before, but only variously compound that which Is: nor can it ever make a *Positive Idea* of an *Absolute Non-Entity*, that is, such as hath neither *Actual nor Possible Existence*. Much less could our Imperfect Beings, Create the *Entity* of so *Vast a Thought*, as that of an *Infinitely Perfect Being*, out of *Nothing*; this being indeed more then for *God Almighty*, or a *Perfect Being*, to Create a Real *World* out of *Nothing*: because there is no Repugnancy at all in the *Latter*, as there is in the *Former*. We affirm therefore, that Were there no God, the *Idea* of an *Absolutely* or *Infinitely Perfect* Being, could never have been *Made or Feigned*, neither by Politicians, nor by *Poets*, nor *Philosophers*, nor any other. Which may be accounted another Argument for a Deity.

But that *Religion* is no *Figment of Politicians*, will further unquestionably appear, from that which now shall follow. As the *Religion* of an *Oath*, is a *Necessary Vinculum* of *Civil Society*; so *Obligation in Conscience*, respecting the Deity as its Original, and as the Punisher of the Violation thereof, is the very Foundation of all *Civil Sovereignty*. For *Pacts* and *Covenants* (into which some would resolve all *Civil Power*) without this *Obligation in Conscience*, are nothing but meer *Words* and *Breath*: and the *Laws* and *Commands* of *Civil Sovereigns*, do not make *Obligation*, but presuppose it, as a thing in Order of Nature *Before* them, and without which they would be *Invalid*. Which is a Truth so Evident, that the Writer *De Cive*, could not dissemble it, (though he did not rightly understand this *Natural Obligation*) but acknowledgeth it in these words, *Obligatio ad Obedientiam Civilem, cujus vi Leges Civiles Validæ sunt, Omni Lege Civili prior est.——Quòd si quis Princeps Summus, Legem Civilem in hanc Formulam conciperet, Non Rebellabis, nihil efficeret. Nam nisi prius Obligentur Cives ad Obediendum, hoc est, ad Non Rebellandum, Omnis Lex Invalida est; & si prius Obligentur est Superflua.* The *Obligation* to *Civil* *Imper. c. 14. Sect. 21.*

Civil Obedience, by the force of which all the Civil Laws become Valid, is before thoſe Civil Laws. And if any Prince ſhould make a Law to this purpoſe, That no man ſhould Rebel againſt him, this would ſignifie nothing, becauſe unleſs they to whom it is made, were before Obliged to Obey, or not to Rebel, the Law is Invalid; and if they were, then is it Superfluous. Now this *Previous Obligation* to *Civil Obedience*, cannot be derived (as the forementioned Writer *De Cive*, and of the Leviathan, ſuppoſes) from mens *Private Utility* only, becauſe every man being Judge of this for himſelf, it would then be Lawful for any Subject, to Rebel againſt his Sovereign Prince, and to Poyſon or Stab him, whenſoever he could reaſonably perſwade himſelf, that it would tend to his own Advantage; or that he ſhould thereby procure the Sovereignty. Were the *Obligation* to *Civil Obedience*, *Made* only by mens *Private Utility*, it would as eaſily be *Diſſolved* by the ſame. It remaineth therefore, that *Conſcience* and *Religious Obligation* to Duty, is the only *Baſis*, and *Eſſential Foundation* of a *Polity* or *Common-Wealth*; without which there could be no *Right* or *Authority* of *Commanding* in any Sovereign, nor *Validity* in any Laws. Wherefore *Religious Obligation* cannot be thought to be the *Fiction* or *Impoſture* of *Civil Sovereigns*, unleſs *Civil Sovereignty* it ſelf, be accounted a *Fiction* and *Impoſture*; or a thing which hath no *Foundation* in *Nature*, but is either wholly *Artificial*, or *Violent*.

Moreover had a *Religious Regard* to the Deity, been a meer *Figment* or *Invention* of *Politicians*, to promote their own Ends, and keep men in Obedience and Subjection under them, then would they doubtleſs, have ſo framed and contrived it, as that it ſhould have been every way *Flexible* and *Compliant*: namely by perſwading the world, that whatſoever was Commanded by themſelves, was agreeable to the *Divine Will*, and whatever was Forbidden by their Laws, was diſpleaſing to God Almighty, and would be Puniſhed by him: God ruling over the World, no otherwiſe, than by and in, theſe Civil Sovereigns, as his Vicegerents; and as the only *Prophets* and *Interpreters* of his will to men. So that the *Civil Law* of every *Country*, and the *Arbitrary will of Sovereigns*, ſhould be acknowledged to be the only *Meaſure* of *Juſt* and Unjuſt (there being nothing *Naturally* ſuch) the only *Rule of Conſcience and Religion.* For from Religion thus Modelled, *Civil Sovereigns* might think to have an *Abſolute Power*, or an *Infinite Right*, of Doing or Commanding whatſoever they pleaſed, without exception, *nothing* being *Unlawful* to them, and their Subjects being always *Obliged*, *in Conſcience*, without the leaſt Scruple, to Obey.

But this is but a meer *Larva* of *Religion*, and would be but a Mockery of God Almighty; and indeed this is the only Religion that can be called, a *Political Figment*. Neither could the generality of mankind, be ever yet thus perſwaded, that the *Arbitrary Will* of *Civil Sovereigns*, was the only *Rule* of Juſtice & *Conſcience*; and that *God Almighty* could Command nothing, nor Reveal his will concerning Religion, to mankind otherwiſe than by theſe, as his *Prophets* and *Interpreters*. True *Religion* & *Conſcience*, are no ſuch *Waxen things*, Servilely Addicted, to the

the Arbitrary Wills of men; but *Immorigerous*, *Stiff*, and *Inflexible*: they respecting the Deity only, his *Eternal* or *Everlasting* Laws; and his *Revealed Will*; with which whensoever Humane Laws clash (a thing not impossible) they conclude, that then *God ought to be Obeyed*, and *not Men*. For which Cause the *Prophane Politicians*, declare open war against this *Religion*, as a thing utterly *Inconsistent* with *Civil Sovereignty*; because it introduces a *Fear greater* than the *Fear of the Leviathan*; namely that of Him, who can inflict *Eternal Punishments* after Death; as also because it clashes with that monstrous, *Infinite and Unlimited Power* of theirs, which is such a Thing, as is not attributed by Genuine Theists, to God Almighty himself; a Power of making their meer Arbitrary *Will the Rule of Justice*, and not *Justice the Rule of their Will*. Thus does a Modern *Writer* of *Politicks*, condemn it, for *Seditious Doctrine*, tending to the Dissolution of a CommonWealth, *That Subjects may make a Judgment of Good and Evil, Just and Unjust*; or have any *other Conscience* besides the *Law of the Land*. As also this, *That Subjects may Sin in obeying the Commands of their Sovereign*. He likewise adds, *That it is Impossible, a Common Wealth should stand, where any other than the Sovereign, hath a Power of giving greater rewards than Life, and of inflicting greater punishments than Death. Now Eternal Life is a greater reward than the Life present, and Eternal torment than the Death of Nature*. Wherefore God Almighty being the Dispenser of *Eternal Rewards and Punishments*; this is all one as if he should have said, It is impossible a Common Wealth should stand, where the Belief of a God, who can Punish with Eternal Torments after this Life, is entertained. Thus does the same Writer declare, That if the *Superstitious Fear of Spirits* (whereof God is the Chief) *and things depending thereupon, were taken away, men would be much more fitted than they are, for Civil Obedience*: And that they who assert the Immortality of Souls, or their capability of receiving punishments after Death; *fright men from obeying the Laws of their Countrey, with Empty names, as men fright Birds from the Corn, with an Empty Dublet, a Hat, and a Crooked Stick*. And accordingly He concludes, that Civil Sovereigns do not only *make Justice*, but *Religion* also; and that no Scripture or Divine Revelation can *Oblige*, unless it be first *made Law*, or stamped with their Authority. Now since that which can make *Religion* and *Gods*, must it self needs be greater than all *Gods*, it follows according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, that the *Civil Sovereign* is in Reality, the *Supreme Numen*: Or else at least, that the *Leviathan* (*the King over all the Children of Pride*) is the *Highest Deity*, next to *Senseless Omnipotent Matter*; the One of these being the Atheists *Natural*, the Other their *Artificial God*. Nevertheless we shall here observe by the way, that whilst these *Atheistick Politicians*, thus endeavour, to Swell up the *Civil Sovereign*, and to bestow upon him, an *Infinite Right*, by removing to that end out of his way; *Natural Justice, Conscience, Religion*, and *God himself*; they do indeed thereby absolutely devest him of all *Right* and *Authority*; since the Subject is now no longer *Obliged* in *Conscience* to Obey him, and so in stead of *True Right and Authority*, they leave him nothing but meer *Bruitish Force*. Wherefore since *Theism* and *True Religion* are thus plainly disowned and

De Cive. c. 12. Sect. 2.

Lev. c 38. p. 238.

Lev. p. 8.

Pag. 373.

disclaimed by these Politicians, as altogether Inconsistent with their Designs, they cannot be supposed to have been the *Figments* of *Civil Sovereigns*, or the meer *Creatures* of *Political Art*. And thus have we abundantly confuted, those *three Atheistick Pretences*, to salve the *Phænomenon* of *Religion*; from *Fear*, and the *Ignorance of Causes*, and the *Fiction of Politicians*.

But since besides those *Ordinary Phænomena* before mentioned, which are no way *Salvable* by *Atheists*, there are certain other *Phænomena Extraordinary*, that either immediatly prove a *God* and *Providence*, or else that there is a Rank *of Understanding* Beings *Invisible*, Superiour to men, from whence a Deity may be afterwards inferred; namely these *Three* Especially, *Apparitions*, *Miracles*, and *Prophecies*: (Where the Atheists Obstinatly denying Matter *of Fact* and *History*, will needs impute these things, either to *Jugling Fraud* and *Knavery*; or else to mens own *Fear* and *Phancy*, and their *Ignorance* how to distinguish *Dreams*, and other strong *Imaginations* from *Vision* and Sense; or Lastly to certain *Religious Tales* or *Legends*, *allowed* by the *Publick Authority* of *Civil Sovereigns*, for Political Ends;) we shall here Suggest something briefly, to vindicate the *Historick Truth* of those *Phænomena*, against *Atheists*.

First therefore, as for *Apparitions*, Though there be much of *Fabulosity* in these Relations, yet can it not reasonably be concluded, that there is nothing at all of Truth in them: since something of this kind, hath been averred in all Ages, and many times attested by persons of Unquestionable Prudence, and Unsuspected Veracity. And whereas the Atheists impute the *Original* of these things, to mens Mistaking both their *Dreams*, and their *Waking Phancies*, for *Real Visions* and *Sensations*; they do hereby plainly contradict one Main Fundamental Principle of their own *Philosophy*, that *Sense* is the only *Ground of Certainty*, and the *Criterion* of all *Truth*: for if Prudent and Intelligent persons may be so frequently mistaken, in confounding their own *Dreams* and *Phancies* with *Sensations*, how can there be any Certainty of knowledge at all from Sense? However, they here derogate so much both from Sense, and from Humane Testimonies, as that if the like were done in other Cases, it would plainly overthrow all Humane Life.

Wherefore other Atheists, being apprehensive of this Inconvenience, of denying so many *Sensible Appearances*, and *Testimonies*, or *Relations of Fact*; have chose rather to acknowledge the *Reality* of *Apparitions*; nevertheless concluding them to be things Caused and *Created*, by the *Power* of *Imagination* only; as if the strength of *Imagination* were such, that it could not only *Create Phancies*, but also *Real Sensible Objects*, and that at a distance too from the Imaginers, such as whereby the Sense of others shall be for the time affected, though they quickly vanish away again. From which *Prodigious Paradox*, we may take notice of the *Fanaticism of some Atheists*, and that there is nothing so monstrously Absurd, which men infected with *Atheistick Incredulity*, will not rather entertain into their Belief,

Belief, than admit of any thing that ſhall the leaſt hazard or endanger, the *Exiſtence of a God.* For if there be once any *Inviſible Ghoſts* or *Spirits* acknowledged, as Things *Permanent*, it will not be eaſie for any to give a reaſon, why there might not be one *Supreme Ghoſt* alſo, preſiding over them all, and the whole world.

In the laſt place therefore, we ſhall obſerve, that *Democritus* was yet further convinced, by theſe Relations of *Apparitions*; ſo as to grant that there was a certain kind of *Permanent* Beings and Independent upon Imagination, *Superiour* to men, which could Appear in different Forms, and again diſappear at pleaſure, called by him *Idols* or *Images*; he ſuppoſing them to be of the ſame nature, with thoſe *Exuvious Effluxes*, that ſtream continually from the ſurface of Bodies: only he would not allow them to have any thing Immortal at all in them, but their *Concretions* to be at length all Diſſolvable, and their Perſonalities then to vaniſh into nothing. Thus *Sextus* the Philoſopher, Δημόκριτος εἰδώλά τινα φησὶν ἐκπελάζειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸ- *Adv. Math. p. 311.*
των τὰ μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθοποιὰ, τὰ δὲ κακοποιά· ἔνθεν καὶ εὔχεσθαι εὐλόγων τυχεῖν εἰδώλων· εἶναι δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ δύσφθαρτα μέν, οὐκ ἄφθαρτα δὲ, προσημαίνειν τε τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁρώμενα καὶ φωνὰς ἀφιέντα. *Democritus affirmeth, that there are certain Idols or Spectres, that do often approach to men, ſome of which are Beneficent and ſome Maleficent. Upon which account, he wiſheth, that it might be his good hap, to meet with fortunate Idols. And he addeth, that theſe are of a Vaſt bigneſs, and very Longeve, but not Incorruptible, and that they ſometimes do fore-ſignifie unto men future events, both Viſibly appearing to them and ſending forth audible voyces.* Now though *Democritus* were much blamed for this Conceſſion of his by his Fellow-Atheiſts, as giving thereby, too great an advantage to Theiſts; yet in his own opinion, did he ſufficiently ſecure himſelf againſt the Danger of a God from hence, by ſuppoſing all theſe *Idols* of his, to be Corruptible, they being indeed nothing but certain *Finer Concretions* of *Atoms*, a kind of *Aereal* and *Æthereal Animals*; that were all Body, and without any Immortal Soul, as he ſuppoſed men alſo to be: ſo that a God could be no more proved from them, than from the *Exiſtence* of men. For thus he adds in *Sextus*, ὅθεν τούτων αὐτῶν φαντασίαν λαβόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ, ὑπενόησαν εἶναι θεὸν, μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρὰ ταῦτα ὄντος θεοῦ, τοῦ ἀφθάρτου φύσιν ἔχοντος. *Men in ancient times, having a ſenſe of theſe Apparitions or Idols, fell from thence into the opinion of a God; although there be beſides theſe Idols, no other God, that hath an Incorruptible Nature.* However, though *Democritus* continued thus groſsly Atheiſtical, yet was he further convinced, than our Modern Atheiſts will be, that the Stories of *Apparitions* were not all *Fabulous*, and that there are not only *Terreſtrial*, but alſo *Aerial* and *Ætherial Animals*; nor this Earth of ours alone Peopled and Inhabited, whilſt all thoſe other vaſt Regions above, lie Deſert, Solitary, and Waſt. Where it may be obſerved again, that divers of the Ancient Fathers, though they agreed not ſo far with *Democritus*, as to make the *Angelical Beings*, to be altogether *Corporeal*, yet did they likewiſe ſuppoſe them to have their certain *Subtile Ætherial* or *Aerial Bodies.* In which reſpect St. *Auſtin* in his 115. Epiſtle, calleth Angels *Æthereos*, and De-

Pag. 29. vils, *Aereos Animantes.* Thus *Pſellus* in his Dialogue, ὡς ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων ; ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀσώματον, ὦ γενναῖε, τὸ δαιμόνιόν ἐϛι φῦλον, μετὰ σώματος δέγε, ἢ ἀμφὶ σώματος διατέτευφε· Καὶ τοῦτό ἐϛι μὲν ἢ παρ' αὐτῆς μαθεῖναι τῆς σεμνῶν πατέρων· Καὶ Βασιλέως ὃ ὁ θεῖος, ὃ δαίμοσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἢ τοῖς ἀχεϱδίνοις ἀγγέλοις, ἐνεῖναι σώματα διαϱεϊνεται, οἷά τινα πνεύματα λεπτὰ ἢ ἀεϱώδη ἢ ἄχεϱαντα, ἢ ἐξῆς. *But you are to know, that Demons or Devils, are not altogether Incorporeal, but that they are Joyned to Bodies, and ſo Converſe with Bodies, which may be learn'd alſo from the Fathers, the Divine* Baſil *contending, that there are Bodies, not only in Devils, but alſo in the pure Angels themſelves, as certain Subtile, Airy, Defecate Spirits.* Where afterwards he ſhows, how the σύμφυες ἀγγέλοις σῶμα, that *Body which is Connate with Angels,* differs from that which Devils are united to, in reſpect of the *Radiant Splendour* of the one, and the *Dark Fuliginous Obſcurity* of the other. Moreover that Devils are not without Bodies, he endeavours further to confirm, from the words of our Saviour, that they ſhall be *Puniſhed with Fire,* which (ſaith he) were a thing impoſſible, were they All of them Incorporeal. And ſome perhaps will attempt to prove the ſame concerning Angels too, from thoſe other words of our Saviour, where ſpeaking of the Reſurrection State, he affirmeth, that they who ſhall be accounted worthy thereof, ſhall neither *marry nor be given in marriage,* but be ἰσάγγελοι, *Equal to the Angels:* which Comparative Expreſſion of men, as to their Bodies, with Angels; would be thought not ſo proper, were the Angels abſolutely devoid of all Body. But of this we determine not.

To this *Phænomenon* of *Apparitions*, might be added thoſe Two others of *Magicians* or *Wizards*, *Demoniacks* or *Energumeni*; both of theſe proving alſo, the Real Exiſtence of Spirits, and that they are not meer *Phancies*, and Imaginary Inhabitants of mens Brains only, but Real Inhabitants of the World. As alſo, that among thoſe Spirits there are ſome Foul, Unclean, and Wicked Ones; (though not made ſuch by God, but by their own Apoſtacy) which is ſome confirmation of the *Truth* of *Chriſtianity*, the Scripture inſiſting ſo much upon theſe *Evil Demons* or *Devils*, and declaring it to be one deſign of our Saviour Chriſt's coming into the World, to oppoſe theſe *Confederate Powers* of the *Kingdom* of *Darkneſs*, and to reſcue mankind from the Thraldom and Bondage thereof. As for *Wizards* and *Magicians*, Perſons who aſſociate and confederate themſelves in a peculiar manner with theſe Evil Spirits, for the gratification of their own Revenge, Luſt, Ambition, and other Paſſions; beſides the Scriptures, there hath been ſo full an atteſtation given to them, by perſons unconcerned in all Ages, that thoſe our ſo confident Exploders of them, in this preſent Age, can hardly eſcape the ſuſpicion, of having ſome Hankring towards Atheiſm. But as for the *Demoniacks* and *Energumeni*; It hath been much wondred, that there ſhould be ſo many of them in our Saviour's time, and hardly any or none, in this preſent Age of ours. Certain it is from the Writings of *Joſephus*, in ſundry places, that the *Phariſaick Jews*, were then generally poſſeſſed with an Opinion of theſe δαιμονιζόμενοι, *Demoniacks*; men Poſſeſſed with *Devils*, or *Infeſted by them.* And that this was not a meer Phraſe or Form of Speech only amongſt them, for perſons very *Ill-*

affected

affected in their Bodies, may appear from hence, that *Josephus* declares it as his opinion, concerning the *Demons* or *Devils*, that they were πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδυόμενα, *the Spirits or Souls of wicked men deceased, getting into the Bodies of the Living.* From hence it was that the Jews in our Saviour's time were not at all Surprised with his casting out of Devils, it being usual for them also then to Exorcise the same, an Art which they pretended to have learn'd from *Solomon.* Of whom thus *Josephus*, παρέχε δ' ἀυτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ τοῦτῳ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην, εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐπῳδάς τε συνταξάμενος αἷς παραιγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα, καὶ τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς ἐνδούμενα, τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐκδιώκουσι. Καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει. *God also taught* Solomon, *an Art against Demons and Devils, for the benefit and Cure of men. Who composed certain Incantations, by which diseases are cured, and left forms of exorcisms, whereby Devils are expelled and driven away. Which Method of curing, prevails much amongst us, at this very day.* Notwithstanding which, we think it not at all probable, what a late *Atheistick Writer* hath asserted, that the heads of the Jews were then all of them so full of *Demons* and *Devils*, that they generally took all manner of Bodily Diseases, such as Feavers and Agues, and Dumbness and Deafness, for Devils. Though we grant that this very thing, was imputed by *Plotinus* afterward to the Gnosticks, that they supposed all *Diseases* to be *Devils*, and therefore not to be cured by Physick, but expelled by *Words* or *Charms.* Thus he, *En.* 2. *Lib.* 9. *c.* 14. νῦν ὑποσημαίνοντες τὰς νόσους δαιμόνια εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξαιρεῖν λόγῳ φάσκοντες δύνασθαι, καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, σεμνότεροι μὲν ἂν εἶναι δόξαιεν τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἱ τὰς τοῖς μάγοις δυνάμεις θαυμάζουσι, τοὺς μέντοι εὐφρονοῦντας οὐκ ἂν πείθοιεν, ὡς οὐκ αἱ νόσοι τὰς αἰτίας ἔχουσι, ἢ πλησμοναῖς, ἢ ἐνδείαις &c. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπεῖαι αὐτῶν, γαστρὸς μὲν κένωσις ἢ φαρμάκου δοθέντος, διαχώρησις κάτω τὸ νόσημα· καὶ αἵματος ἄφεσις καὶ ἐνδεία ἰᾶτο· ἢ πτύσαντος τοῦ δαιμονίου, καὶ τοῦ φαρμάκου ποιήσαντος τήκεσθαι. *Now when they affirm Diseases to be Demons or Devils, and pretend that they can expel them by words, undertaking to do the same; they hereby indeed render themselves considerable to the vulgar, who are wont not a little to admire the powers of Magicians. But they will not be able to perswade wise men, that Diseases have no natural Causes, as from Repletion, or Inanition, or Putrefaction, or the like: Which is a thing manifest from their cure, they being oftentimes removed by purgation, and bleeding, and abstinence. Unless perhaps these men will say, that the Devil is by this means Starved, and made to Pine away.* Nor can we think that the Jews in our Saviour's time, either supposed all Mad-men to be Demoniacks, or all Demoniacks Mad-men (though this latter seems to be asserted by an Eminent Writer of our own) we reading of Devils cast out from others besides Mad men; and of a woman which had a Spirit *of Infirmity only, and was bowed together, and could not lift up her self*, which is said by our Saviour Christ to have been *Bound by Satan.* Wherefore the sense of the Jews formerly seems to have been this, that when there was any unusual and extraordinary *Symptoms*, in any bodily Distemper, but especially that of *Madness*, this being look'd upon as something more than Natural, was imputed by them to the Possession or Infestation of

Ant. Jud. Lib. 8. *c.* 2.

of ſome *Devil.* Neither was this proper to the Jews only at that time, to ſuppoſe Evil Demons to be the Cauſes of ſuch bodily diſeaſes, as had extraordinary *Symptoms*, and eſpecially *Madneſs*; but the Greeks and other Gentiles alſo were embued with the ſame Perſwaſion; as appeareth from *Apollonius Tyanæus* his curing a *Laughing Demoniack* at *Athens*, he ejecting that Evil Spirit, by threats and menaces, who is ſaid at his departure, to have tumbled down a Royal Porch in the City with great noiſe. As alſo, from his freeing the City of *Epheſus* from the Plague, by ſtoning an old Ragged Beggar, ſaid by *Apollonius* to have been the *Plague*, which appeared to be a Demon, by his changing himſelf, into the form of a *Shagged Dog.*

But that there is ſome Truth in this Opinion, and that at this very day, *Evil Spirits* or *Demons*, do ſometimes really Act upon the Bodies of men, and either Inflict or Augment bodily Diſtempers and Diſeaſes, hath been the Judgment of two very experienced Phyſicians, *Sennertus* and *Fernelius.* The Former in his Book, *De Mania. Lib. 1. cap. 15.* writing thus, *Etſi ſine ulla Corporis Morboſa Diſpoſitione, Deo permittente, hominem Obſidere & Occupare Dæmon poſſit, tamen quandoque Morbis, & præcipuè Melancholicis, ſeſe immiſcet Dæmon; & forſan frequentius hoc accidit, quam ſæpè creditur. Although the Devil may, by Divine permiſſion, Poſſeſs men without any Morbid Diſpoſition, yet doth he uſually intermingle himſelf with Bodily Diſeaſes, and eſpecially thoſe of Melancholy; and perhaps this cometh to paſs oftner, than is commonly believed or ſuſpected.* The other in his, *De Abditis rerum Cauſis*, where having attributed real Effects upon the bodies of men, *to Witchcraft* and *Enchantment*, he addeth; *Neque ſolum morbos, verum etiam Dæmonas, ſcelerati homines in corpora immittunt. Hi quidem viſuntur Furoris quadam ſpecie diſtorti; hoc uno tamen à Simplici Furore diſtant, quod ſummè ardua obloquantur, præterita & occulta renuntient, aſſidentiúmque arcana referent. Neither do theſe wicked Magicians, only inflict Diſeaſes upon mens Bodies; but alſo ſend Devils into them; By means whereof they appear diſtorted with a kind of fury and madneſs, which yet differs from a Simple Madneſs* (or the Diſeaſe ſo called) *in this, that they ſpeak of very high and difficult matters, declare things paſt unknown, and diſcover the Secrets of thoſe that ſit by.* Of which he ſubjoyns two Notable Inſtances, of Perſons well known to himſelf, that were plainly *Demoniacal, Poſſeſſed*, or *Acted* by an *Evil Demon*; one whereof ſhall be afterwards mentioned. But when *Maniacal Perſons*, do not only diſcover *Secrets*, and declare things *Paſt*, but *Future* alſo, and beſides this, ſpeak in *Languages*, which they had never learnt, this puts it out of all doubt and queſtion, that they are not meer *Mad men* or *Maniaci*, but *Demoniacks* or *Energumeni.* And that ſince the time of our Saviour Chriſt, there have been often ſuch, may be made evident from the Records of credible Writers. *Pſellus* in his Book Περὶ Ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων, *De Operat. Dæm.* averrs it, of a certain *Maniacal* Woman, That though ſhe knew nothing but her own Mother tongue, yet when a Stranger who was an *Armenian* was brought into the Room to her, ſhe ſpake to him preſently in the *Armenian* Language, ἡμεῖς δὲ τεθηπότες ἦμεν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀρμενίων ἐφθέγγετο, γυνὴ μηδέποτε μηδ' ἐς ὄψιν ἀφιγμένη τούτοις, μηδὲ κεκτῆσθαι εἰδυῖα πλέον ὅδεν, *We all ſtood amazed,*

Pag. 69.

mazed, when we heard, a woman that had never ſeen an Armenian *before in all her life, nor had learnt any thing, but the uſe of her Diſtaff, to ſpeak the* Armenian Language *readily.* Where the Relater alſo affirmeth the ſame *Maniacal Perſon*, to have foretold certain Future Events, which happened ſhortly after to himſelf, Σὺ δ', ἔφη πρὸς ἐμὲ, μεγάλων ἐν χρῷ συμφορῶν ὑποκύσιον· χαλᾷ γάρ σοι δεινῶς τὰ δαιμόνια τῷ δηλοῦντι τὰς αὐτῷ λατρείας· ἀμελῆ τοι ἢ χαλεπὸς ἐπιβήσεται ἢ σαρεῖς κινδύνους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν διαφύξεσθαι δυνηθείης, εἰ μή τις δύναμις κρείττων, ἢ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξέλῃ. *Then looking upon me, ſhe* (or rather the Demon) *ſaid, thou ſhalt ſuffer wonderful pains and torments in thy Body, For the Demons are extremely angry with thee, for oppoſing their Services and Worſhip; and they will inflict great evils upon thee, out of which thou ſhalt not be able to eſcape, unleſs a Power greater than that of Demons, exempt thee from them. All which things* (ſaith he) *happened ſhortly after to me, and I was brought very low even near to Death by them; but was by my Saviour wonderfully delivered.* Whereupon *Pſellus* concludes, Τίς οὖν ἐνεῦθεν τὸ χρησμὸν ἐωρακὼς, ἐρεῖ τὰς μανίας πάσας, ὕλης πλημμελοῦς κινήσεις, ἀλλὰ πάθη τραγικὰ δαιμόνων, *Who is there therefore, that conſidering this Oracle or Prediction, will conclude* (as ſome *Phyſicians do*) *all kind of Madneſſes, to be nothing but the Exorbitant Motions of the Matter or Humours; and not the Tragick Paſſions of the Demons.* Pag. 63.

But becauſe this Inſtance is remoter from our preſent Times, we ſhall ſet down another remarkable one of a later Date, out of the forementioned *Fernelius*, who was an eye-witneſs thereof. A young man of a Noble Family, who was ſtrangly Convulſed in his Body, having ſometimes one member, and ſometimes another, violently agitated, inſomuch that four ſeveral perſons were ſcarcely able to hold them; and this at firſt without any diſtemper at all in his head, or crazedneſs in brain. To whom *Fernelius* with other skilful Phyſicians being called, applied all manner of remedies; Bliſters, Purgations, Cupping-Glaſſes, Fomentations, Unctions, Plaiſters, and Strengthening Medicines; but all in vain. The reaſon whereof is thus given by the the ſame *Fernelius*. *Quoniam omnes longe aberamus à cognitione veri. Nam Menſe Tertio, primum deprehenſus Dæmon quidam totius Mali Author: Voce, inſuetiſque verbis ac ſententiis tum Latinis tum Græcis, (quanquam ignarus Linguæ Græcæ Laborans eſſet) ſe prodens. Is multa aſſidentium maximáque medicorum Secreta detegebat, ridens quòd irritis Pharmacis corpus hoc penè jugulaſſent. Becauſe we were all far from the Knowledge of the truth. For in the Third Month it was firſt plainly diſcovered to us, that it was a certain Demon who was the Author of all this miſchief. He manifeſting himſelf by his Speech, and by unuſual Words and Sentences, both in Greek and Latin (though the Patient were altogether ignorant of the Greek Tongue) and by his revealing many of the Secrets of thoſe who ſtood by, eſpecially of the Phyſicians, whom alſo he derided for tormenting the Patient in that manner, with their fruſtraneous remedies.* Here therefore have we an unqueſtionable Inſtance, of a *Demoniack* in theſe Latter times of ours, and ſuch a one who at firſt for two Moneths together, had no manner of *Madneſs* or *Mania* at all upon him, though afterward the *Demon* poſſeſſing his Whole Body, uſed his tongue and ſpake therewith. *Fernelius* concludes his whole Diſcourſe, in this manner, *Theſe things do I produce, to make it manifeſt,*

feſt, that Evil Demons (or Devils) do ſometimes enter into the very Bodies of men, afflicting and tormenting them after an unheard of manner; but that at other times, though they do not enter into, and poſſeſs their whole body, yet partly by exagitating and diſturbing the profitable humours thereof, partly by traducing the noxious into the principal parts, or elſe by by obſtructing the Veins and other Paſſages with them, or diſordering the ſtructure of the Members, they cauſe innumerable Diſeaſes. There are many other Inſtances of this kind, recorded by Modern Writers unexceptionable, of Perſons either wholly *Demoniacal* and *Poſſeſſed* by Evil *Demons* (this appearing from their diſcovering Secrets, and ſpeaking Languages, which they had never learnt) or elſe otherwiſe ſo *Affected* and *Infeſted* by them, as to have certain *Unuſual* and *Supernatural Symptoms*; which for brevities ſake, we ſhall here omit. However we thought it neceſſary, thus much to inſiſt upon this Argument of *Demoniacks*, as well for the *Vindication* of *Chriſtianity*, as for the *Conviction* of *Atheiſts*; we finding ſome ſo ſtaggering in their Religion, that from this one thing alone of *Demoniacks* (they being ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed, that there neither is, nor ever was any ſuch) they are ready enough to ſuſpect, the whole Goſpel or New Teſtament it ſelf, of *Fabuloſity* and *Impoſture.*

We come now to the *Second Head* propoſed, of *Miracles* and *Effects Supernatural.* That there hath been ſome thing *Miraculous* or *Above Nature*, ſometimes done even among the *Pagans*, (whether by *Good* or *Evil Spirits*;) appears not only from their own *Records*, but alſo from the *Scripture* it ſelf. And it is well known, that they pretended (beſides *Oracles*) to *Miracles* alſo, even after the times of Chriſtianity; and that not only in *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and *Apuleius*, but alſo in the Roman Emperours themſelves; as *Veſpaſian* and *Adrian*; but eſpecially in the Temple of *Æſculapius*; thus much appearing from that Greek Table therein hung up at Rome, in which amongſt other things this is Recorded, *That a blind man being commanded by the Oracle, to kneel before the Altar, and then paſſing from the Right ſide thereof, to the Left, to lay five fingers upon the Altar, and afterwards lifting up his hand, to touch his eyes therewith; all this being done accordingly, he recovered his ſight, the people all applauding, that great Miracles were done, under the Emperour* Antoninus, *&c.* But we have in the Scripture an account of *Miracles* both greater in Number, and of a higher Nature; done eſpecially by *Moſes*, and our *Saviour Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles.*

Wherefore it ſeems, that there are Two Sorts of *Miracles* or *Effects Supernatural.* Firſt, ſuch as though they could not be done by any *Ordinary* and *Natural* Cauſes here amongſt us, and in that reſpect may be called *Supernatural*, yet might notwithſtanding be done, God Permitting only, by the *Ordinary and Natural Power* of other *Inviſible Created Spirits*, *Angels* or *Demons.* As for example, If a Stone or other Heavy body, ſhould firſt aſcend upwards, and then hang in the Air, without any Viſible either Mover or Supporter, this would be to us a *Miracle* or *Effect Supernatural*; and yet according to Vulgar Opinion, might this be done, by the *Natural Power* of *Created*

Created Inviſible Beings, *Angels or Demons*; God only permitting, without whoſe ſpecial Providence it is conceived, they cannot, thus intermeddle, with our humane affairs. Again, If a perfectly Illitterate Perſon, ſhould readily ſpeak *Greek*, or *Latine*, this alſo would be to us a *Miracle* or Effect *Supernatural*, for ſo is the Apoſtles ſpeaking with Tongues accounted; and yet in *Demoniacks*, is this ſometimes done, by *Evil Demons*, God only Permitting. Such alſo amongſt the *Pagans*, was that *Miraculum Cotis*, (as *Apuleius* calls it) that *Miracle of the Whetſtone*, done by *Accius Navius*, when at his command, it was divided into Two, with a *Razor*. But Secondly there is another ſort of *Miracles*, or Effects *Supernatural*, ſuch as are above the *Power* of all *Second Cauſes*, or any *Natural Created Being* whatſoever, and ſo can be attributed to none, but *God Almighty* himſelf, the *Author of Nature*, who therefore can Controul it at pleaſure.

As for that late *Theological Politician*, who writing againſt *Miracles*, denies as well thoſe of the Former, as of this Latter Kind, contending that a Miracle is nothing but a Name, which the Ignorant Vulgar gives, to *Opus Naturæ Inſolitum, any Unwonted work of Nature, or to what themſelves can aſſign no Cauſe off*; as alſo that if there were any ſuch thing done, Contrary to *Nature* or *Above* it, it would rather Weaken than Confirm, Our Belief of the Divine Exiſtence; We find his Diſcourſe every way ſo Weak, Groundleſs, and Inconſiderable; that we could not think it here to deſerve a Confutation.

But of the *Former Sort* of thoſe *Miracles*, is that to be underſtood, *Deuter.* the 13. *If there ariſe among you a Prophet or dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or a Wonder, and the Sign or Wonder come to paſs, whereof he ſpake unto thee ſaying; Let us go after other Gods, and ſerve them; thou ſhalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet or Dreamer of Dreams, for the Lord your God Proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your Soul.* For it cannot be Suppoſed, that God Almighty would himſelf, purpoſely Inſpire any man to exhort others to Idolatry, and immediatly aſſiſt ſuch a one, with his own *Supernatural Power*, of doing Miracles, in Confirmation of ſuch Doctrine. But the meaning is, that by the ſuggeſtion of Evil Spirits, ſome Falſe Prophets might be raiſed up, to tempt the Jews to Idolatry; or at leaſt, that by Aſſiſtance of them, ſuch *Miracles* might be wrought, in Confirmation thereof, as thoſe ſometimes done by the Egyptian *Sorcerers* or *Magicians*, God himſelf not interpoſing in this caſe, to hinder them, for this reaſon, that he might hereby, *Prove* and *Try* their Faithfulneſs towards him. For as much as both by the Pure Light of *Nature*, and God's Revealed Will, before confirmed by Miracles, *Idolatry*, or the Religious Worſhip of any but God Almighty, had been ſufficiently condemned. From whence it is evident, that *Miracles* alone, (at leaſt ſuch *Miracles* as theſe,) are no ſufficient Confirmation of a *True Prophet*, without conſideration had of the *Doctrine* taught by him. For though a man ſhould have done never ſo many true and real Miracles, amongſt the Jews, and yet ſhould perſwade to Idolatry, he was by them confidently to be condemned to death, for a falſe Prophet.

Accordingly in the New Teſtament, do we read, that our Saviour Chriſt forewarned his Diſciples, That *Falſe Prophets and Falſe Chriſts ſhould ariſe, and ſhow great Signs or Wonders; in ſo much that if it were poſſible, they ſhould ſeduce the very Elect.* And St. *Paul* foretelleth, concerning the *Man of Sin*, or *Anti-Chriſt*, *That his coming ſhould be after the working of Satan, with all Power, and Signs, and Wonders (or Miracles) of a Lye.* For we conceive that by τέρατα ψεύδους in this place, are not properly meant, *Feigned and Counterfeit Miracles*, that is, meer Cheating and Jugling tricks; but *True Wonders* and *Real Miracles* (*viz.* of the Former Sort mentioned) done for the *Confirmation of a Lye*, as the Doctrine of this *Man of Sin*, is there afterwards called; For otherwiſe how could his coming be ſaid to be, *According to the Working of Satan, with all Power?* In like manner alſo in St. *John*'s Apocalypſe, where the coming of the ſame Man of Sin and the Myſtery of Iniquity, is again deſcribed, we read Chapter 13. of a Two Horned Beaſt like a Lamb, *That he ſhall do great wonders and deceive thoſe that dwell on the Earth, by means of thoſe Miracles, which he hath power to do, in the ſight of the Beaſt.* And again Chapter 16. *Of certain unclean Spirits like Frogs, coming out of the mouth of the Dragon, and of the Beaſt, and of the Falſe Prophet; which are the Spirits of Devils working Miracles, that go forth to the Kings of the Earth.* And Laſtly Chapter 19. *Of the Falſe Prophet, that wrought Miracles before the Beaſt.* All which ſeem to be underſtood, not of Feigned and Counterfeit Miracles only, but of True and Real alſo, Effected by the *Working of Satan*, in Confirmation of a Lye, that is, of *Idolatry*, *Falſe Religion* and *Impoſture*; God Almighty permitting it, partly in way of *Probation* or *Tryal* of the faithfulneſs of his own ſervants; and partly in way of Juſt *Judgment* and *Puniſhment* upon thoſe, who *receive not the Love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved*; as the Apoſtle declareth. Wherefore thoſe *Miracles* pretended for divers Ages paſt, to have been done, before the *Relicks of Saints*, and *Images*, *&c.* were they all True, could by no means juſtifie or warrant, that *Religious Worſhip*, by many given to them; becauſe *True* and *Real Miracles*, done in order to the promoting of *Idolatry*, are ſo far from *Juſtifying* that *Idolatry*, that they are themſelves *Condemned* by it, to be τέρατα ψεύδους, *the Miracles of a Lye*, done by the *Working of Satan.*

But as for the Miracles of our Saviour Chriſt, had they been all of them only of the *Former Kind*, ſuch as might have been done, God permitting, by the *Natural Power* of *Created Spirits*, and their Aſſiſtance, yet for as much as he came in the *Name of the Lord*, teaching neither *Idolatry*, nor any thing contrary to the clear Light and Law of Nature, therefore ought he by reaſon of thoſe *Miracles*, to have been received by the Jews themſelves, and owned for a *True Prophet*, according to the Doctrine of *Moſes* himſelf. Who both in the 13. and 18. Chapter of *Deuter.* plainly ſuppoſeth, that God would in no other Caſe, permit any *Falſe Prophet*, to do *Miracles*, by the aſſiſtance of *Evil Spirits*, ſave only in that of *Idolatry*, and, (which is always underſtood, of what is plainly Diſcoverable by the Light of Nature

to

to be *False*, or *Evil*.) The reason whereof is manifest, because if he should, this would be an *Invincible Temptation*; which it is inconsistent with the *Divine Goodness*, to expose men unto. And our Saviour Christ, was unquestionably, that *One Eximious Prophet*, which God Almighty by *Moses* promised to send unto the Israelites, upon occasion of their own desire made to him at *Horeb Let me not hear again, the voyce of the Lord my God, nor let me see this great Fire any more, that I die not.* Whereupon the Lord said, *They have well spoken that which they have spoken, I will raise them up a Prophet from among their Brethren, like unto thee, and put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him; and whosoever will not hearken to the words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* Which is all one as if he should have said; I will no more speak to them with Thunder and Lightning, nor reveal my will with a Terrible Voyce out of Flaming Fire, but the next great Manifestation of my self, or further *Revelation* of *my Will*, shall be, by a *Prophet*, from amongst their own Brethren, I putting my words into his mouth, and speaking to them by him. Whose words they shall be as much obliged to hearken to, as if I had spoken them (as before) from the top of the Fiery Mount. And that they may have no Colour for their Disbelieving this great Prophet especially, or their disobeying of him, I plainly declare, that whosoever cometh in *my Name*, and does *True* and *Real Miracles*, shall be acknowledged undoubtedly for a *True Prophet* sent by me, and accordingly Believed and Obeyed; and none rejected under the Notion of *False Prophets*, but only such, as either, do not *Real Miracles*, or else if they do, come in the name of *Other Gods*, or Exhort to *Idolatry*. Nevertheless, our Saviour Christ, wrought other *Miracles* also, of a higher Nature, by the Immediate Power of *God Almighty* himself; as for example, when before himself, he raised *Lazarus*, who had been dead four days, to life; since it cannot be conceived, to be in the Power of *Created Spirits* (whether Bad or Good) when ever they please, to bring back the Souls of men deceased to their Bodies again, or change the Laws of *Nature* and *Fate*. However it must not be thought, that God will ever set this *Seal* of his to a Lye, or that which is plainly contrary to the *Light* and *Law of Nature*. Deut. 18.

The conclusion is, that though all *Miracles* promiscuously, do not immediatly prove the *Existence of a God*, nor Confirm *a Prophet*, or whatsoever *Doctrine*; yet do they all of them evince, that there is a Rank of *Invisible Understanding Beings*, Superiour *to men*, which the Atheists commonly deny. And we read of some such Miracles also, as could not be wrought, but by a Power *Perfectly Super-Natural*, or by God Almighty himself. But to deny and disbelieve all *Miracles*, is either to deny all Certainty *of Sense*, which would be indeed to make *Sensation* it self *Miraculous*; or else monstrously and unreasonably to derogate from *Humane Testimonies* and *History*. The Jews would never have so stifly and pertinaciously adhered to the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, had they not all along believed it, to have been unquestionably confirmed by Miracles; and that the Gentiles should at first have entertained the Faith of Christ without Miracles, would it self have been The *Greatest* of *Miracles*.

The Laſt *Extraordinary Phænomenon* propoſed, was that of *Divination, Oracles, Prophecies*, or *Predictions* of Future Events, otherwiſe Unforeknowable to men: which either Evince a God, or at leaſt that there are *Underſtanding Beings Superiour* to men. For if there be *Preſention* or *Foreknowledge* of ſuch Future Events, as are to Humane Underſtanding alone, altogether Unforeknowable, then is it certain, that there is ſome more *Perfect Underſtanding*, or *Knowledge*, in the World, than that of men. And thus is that Maxim of the Ancient *Pagan Theiſts*, in the Genuine and proper ſenſe thereof, unqueſtionably true, *Si Divinatio eſt Dii ſunt, If there be Divination, or Preſention of Future Events, (Undiſcoverable by men) then are there Gods:* which in their Language, was no more than to ſay; *Underſtanding Beings Superiour* to men.

Wherefore we muſt here diſtinguiſh of *Oracles* and *Predictions*, after the ſame manner as we did before of *Miracles*, that they may be of Two Kinds. Firſt, ſuch as might proceed, only from the *Natural Preſaging Power* of *Created* Spirits Superiour to men, whether called *Angels* or *Demons*. For theſe being ſuppoſed to have not only clearer underſtandings than men, and a greater inſight into Nature, but alſo by reaſon of their *Agility* and *Inviſibility*, opportunity of knowing things remotely diſtant, and of being privy to mens *Secret Machinations* and *Conſultations*; it is eaſily conceivable, that many *Future Events* nigh at hand, which cannot be foreknown by men, may be (probably at leaſt) foreſeen by them; and that without any *Miraculous Divine Revelation*, their Cauſes being already in Being. As men learned in Aſtronomy, can foretel Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, which to the Vulgar are altogether Unforeknowable. And as Princes or States-men, that are furniſhed with great Intelligence, Foreign and Domeſtick, can preſage more of War and Peace, either at home or abroad, and of the Events of Kingdoms, than Ignorant Plebeians. And ſuch were thoſe Predictions, which *Democritus*, though otherwiſe much addicted to *Atheiſm*, allowed of; *Cicero* Writing thus of him, *Plurimis Locis, gravis auctor* Democritus, *Præſenſionem rerum futurarum comprobat*; Democritus *a grave Writer, doth in many places approve of the Preſention of Future Events.* The reaſon whereof was, becauſe he ſuppoſed certain *Underſtanding Beings* Superiour to men, called by him *Idols*, which having a larger Comprehenſion of things, and other advantages of Knowledge, could therefore foretel many Future Events that men were ignorant of. And though perhaps it may be thought, that *Democritus* would not have entertained this Opinion, of the *Foreknowledge* of *Humane Events*, had he not aſſerted the *Neceſſity* of all humane Actions and Volitions, but held *Liberty of Will*, as *Epicurus* afterwards did; (as if this were Inconſiſtent with all manner of Preſage and Probable or Conjectural Foreknowledge;) yet is it certain, that there is not ſo much *Contingency* in all Humane Actions, by reaſon of this *Liberty of Will*, as heretofore was by *Epicurus*, and ſtill is by many ſuppoſed; it being plain, that men act according to an *Appearance of Good*, and that in many caſes and circumſtances, it may be Foreknown, without

De Div. L. 1.

any

any Divine Revelation, what such or such persons would do. As for example, that a voluptuous Person, having a strong Temptation to satisfie his Sensual Appetite, and that without incurring any inconvenience of shame or punishment, would readily close with the same. Besides which, such *Invisible Spirits*, as *Angels* or *Demons*, may sometimes Predict also, what themselves *Cause* and *Effect*.

Secondly, there is another Sort of *Predictions* of *Future Events*, which cannot be imputed to the *Natural Presaging* Faculty of any such *Created Spirits*, but only to the *Supernatural* Prescience of *God Almighty*, or a *Being Infinitely Perfect*. As when Events remotely distant in time, and of which there are yet no immediate Causes actually in Being; which also depend upon many circumstances and a long Series of things, any one of which being otherwise, would alter the case; as likewise upon much Uncertainty of Humane Volitions, which are not always necessarily linked and concatenated with what goes before, but often loose and free; and upon that Contingency, that arises from the *Indifferency* or *Equality* of Eligibility in Objects; Lastly, such things as do not at all depend upon External Circumstances neither, nor are caused by things *Natural* Anteceding, but by some *Supernatural* Power; I say, when such Future Events as these, are foretold, and accordingly come to pass, this can be ascribed to no other but such a Being, as Comprehends, Sways, and Governs all; and is by a peculiar Priviledge or Prerogative of its own Nature, *Omniscient*. *Epicurus*, though really, he therefore rejected *Divination*, and *Prediction* of Future Events, becausе he denied *Providence*; yet did he pretend this further reason also againſt it, becausе it was a thing Absolutely *Inconsistent* with Liberty *of Will*, and *Destructive* of the same; ἡ μαντικὴ ἀνύπαρκτος· εἰ δ' ἦν, ὑπαρκτική, οὐδὲν παρ' ἡμᾶς ἦν τὰ γινόμενα. *Divination is a thing which hath no Existence, nor possibility in nature: and if there were such a thing, it would take away all Liberty of Will, and leave nothing in mens own Power.* Thus also *Carneades* in *Cicero* maintained, *Ne Apollinem quidem futura posse dicere, nisi ea quorum Causas Natura ita contineret, ut ea fieri necesse esset. That* Apollo *himself, was not able to foretel, any future Events, other than such as had Necessary Causes in Nature antecedent.* And some Christian Theists of latter times, have in like manner, denied to God Almighty, all *Foreknowledge* of *Humane Actions*, upon the same pretence, as being both *Inconsistent* with mens *Liberty of Will*, and *Destructive* thereof. For say they, If mens Actions be *Free* then are they *Unforeknowable*, they having no *Necessary Causes*; and again, if there be any *Foreknowledge* of them, then can they not be *Free*, they being *ipso facto Necessitated* thereby. But as it is certain, that *Prescience* does not destroy the *Liberty of mans Will*, or impose any *Necessity* upon it; mens Actions being not therefore *Future*, becausе they are *Foreknown*; but therefore *Foreknown* becausе *Future*: and were a thing never so *Contingent*, yet upon supposition that it will be Done, it must needs have been *Future* from all *Eternity*: So is it extreme Arrogance for men, becausе themselves can Natnrally Foreknow nothing, but by some *Causes Antecedent*, as an *Eclipse* of the Sun or Moon; therefore to presume to measure the knowledge of God Almighty, according to

Diog. Laert. in V. Epic.

the

the ſame Scantling, and to deny him the *Preſcience* of Humane Actions; not conſidering that as his Nature is Incomprehenſible, ſo his *Knowledge* may well be looked upon, by us, as ſuch too; that which is *Paſt our finding out*, and *Too Wonderful for us*. However it muſt be acknowledged for an Undoubted Truth, that no Created Being, can Naturally and Of it ſelf, Foreknow any *Future Events*, otherwiſe, than in and by their Cauſes Anteceding. If therefore we ſhall find, that there have been *Predictions* of ſuch Future Events, as had no *Neceſſary Antecedent Cauſes*; as we cannot but grant, ſuch Things therefore to be *Foreknowable*; So muſt we needs from thence infer, the *Exiſtence of a God*, that is, a Being *Supernatural*, Infinitely *Perfect*, and *Omniſcient*; ſince ſuch Predictions as theſe could have proceeded from no other Cauſe.

That there is *Foreknowledge* of *Future Events*, to men Naturally Unforeknowable, hath been all along the Perſwaſion of the Generality of Mankind. Thus *Cicero*, *Vetus opinio eſt, jam uſque ab Heroicis ducta temporibus, eaque & Populi Romani, & omnium Gentium firmata conſenſu, Verſari quandam inter homines Divinationem, quam Græci* μαντικὴν *appellant, id eſt Præſenſionem & Scientiam rerum Futurarum. This is an Old opinion derived down all along from the Heroick times* (or the *Mythical Age*) *and not only entertained amongſt the Romans, but alſo confirmed by the conſent of all Nations, that there is ſuch a thing as Divination, and Preſenſion or Foreknowledge of Future Events.* And the ſame Writer elſewhere in the Perſon of *Balbus*; *Quamvis nihil tam irridet* Epicurus, *quàm Prædictionem rerum Futurarum, mihi videtur tamen vel maximè confirmare, Deorum Providentia conſuli rebus humanis. Eſt enim profectò Divinatio: quæ multis locis, rebus, temporibus apparet, cùm in privatis tùm maximè in publicis. Multa cernunt Aruſpices, multa Augures provident, multa Oraculis providentur, multa Vaticinationibus, multa Somniis, multa portentis. Although* Epicurus *deride nothing more, then the Prediction of Fature things; yet does this ſeem to me to be a great confirmation of the Providence of the Gods over humane affairs. Becauſe there is certainly Divination, it appearing in many Places, Things, and Times; and that not only Private but eſpecially Publick. Soothſayers foreſee many things, the Augurs many: many things are declared by Oracles, many by Prophecies, many by Dreams, and many by Portents.* And indeed that there were even amongſt the Pagans, *Predictions* of *Future Events*, not diſcoverable by any Humane Sagacity, which accordingly came to paſs, and therefore argue a *Knowledge* ſuperiour to that of men, or that there are certain *Inviſible underſtanding Beings* or *Spirits*; ſeems to be undenyable from Hiſtory. And that the Augurs themſelves were ſometimes not Unaſſiſted by theſe *Officious Genii*, is plain from that of *Attius Navius* before mentioned, as the circumſtances thereof are related by Hiſtorians; that *Tarquinius Priſcus* having a mind to try what there was in this skill of Augury, *Dixit ei ſe cogitare quiddam: id poſſetne fieri conſuluit. Ille augurio acto, poſſe reſpondet.* Tarquinius *autem dixit ſe cogitaſſe cotem novaculâ poſſe præcidi; tum Attium juſſiſſe experiri: ita Cotem in Comitium illatam, inſpectante & Rege & Populo, novaculâ eſſe diſciſſam;* Told Navius, *that he Thought of ſomething, and he would know*

De Div. L. 1.

De N. D. L. 2. P. 239. *Lamb.*

would know of him, Whether it could be done or no. Navius *having performed his Augurating Ceremonies, replied, that the thing might be done. Whereupon* Priſcus *declared, what his Thought was, namely, that a Whetſtone might be cut in two with a Razor.* Navius *willed them to make trial: wherefore a Whetſtone being brought immediatly into the Court; it was in the ſight of the King and all the People, divided with a Razor.* But the Predictions amongſt thoſe Pagans, were for the moſt part only of the Former Kind, ſuch as proceeded meerly from the *Natural Preſaging Faculty* of theſe *Demons*; this appearing from hence, becauſe their *Oracles* were often expreſſed *Ambiguouſly*, ſo as that they might be taken either way; thoſe Demons themſelves, it ſeems, being then not confident of the Event: as alſo becauſe they were ſometimes plainly miſtaken in the Events. And from hence it was, that they ſeldom Ventured to foretel, any Events remotely diſtant, but only what were nigh at hand, and ſhortly to come to paſs; and therefore might be Probably Conjectured of, from things then in being. Notwithſtanding which, we acknowledge, that there are ſome Few Inſtances of *Predictions* amongſt the Pagans, of the other Kind. Such as that intimated by *Cicero* in his Book of Divination, where he declareth the Doctrine of *Diodorus* concerning *Neceſſity* and *Contingency*; *non neceſſe fuiſſe* Cypſelum *regnare* Corinthi; *quanquam id Milleſimo antè anno,* Apollinis *Oraculo editum eſſet*, *that it was not Neceſſary*, Cypſelus *the Tyrant*, *ſhould reign at* Corinth, *though that were a thing Predicted by* Apollo's *Oracle, a thouſand years before.* As alſo this recorded by *Varro*, of *Vettius Valens*, an Augur in the Time of *Romulus*, who when *Rome* was a building, from the flying of *Twelve Vultures*, preſaged that the continuance of that City would be for *Twelve* Hundred years: which ſeems to have been accordingly fulfilled, in the year of our Lord Four hundred fifty and five, immediatly after the death of the Third *Valentinian* (whom ſome make to be the laſt Real Emperour of the Weſt or *Rome*) when *Genſericus* the *Vandal*, took the City the ſecond time, and fired it. But above all, that of the *Sibyls*; of whoſe Prophecies ſuch things are recorded by Pagan Writers, as makes it very ſuſpicious, that they did foretel the coming of our Saviour Chriſt, and the times of Chriſtianity; but were theſe and the like Pagan Prophecies, Real, then muſt they needs have had ſome higher Original, than the Natural *Preſaging Faculty* of their Demons, eſpecially thoſe of the *Sibyls*; who for ought we know, might be as well aſſiſted Super-Naturally, to predict our Saviour Chriſt, amongſt the Pagans in the Weſt; as *Balaam* was in the Eaſt.

But here the *Scripture* triumpheth over *Paganiſm*, and all its *Oracles* and *Divinations*; there being contained in it ſo many unqueſtionable *Predictions* of Events to follow a long time after, and ſuch as can be imputed to nothing but the *Supernatural Foreknowledge* and *Omniſcience* of God Almighty. As for example, thoſe concerning the *Meſſiah*, or our *Saviour Chriſt*, delivered by *Jacob*, *Moſes*, *David*, *Iſaias*, *Jeremy*, *Daniel*, and moſt of the Prophets; foretelling ſundry particular circumſtances of his coming, and that grand Event which followed after; of the *Gentiles* or *Pagans* ſo general *Reception* and *Entertainment*

Entertainment of *Chriſtianity*; that is, the *Belief of the Meſſiah*, promiſed to the Jews; together with the ſhaking off of their *Gods* and *Idols*. Amongſt which Scripture Prophecies, concerning our Saviour Chriſt, we muſt needs reckon for one, and none of the leaſt conſiderable neither, that of *Daniel's Weeks*, or of Four hundred and ninety years, to commence from the Going *forth of the Word*, or the Decree made by *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes*, in the ſeventh year of his Reign, for the return of the People of Iſrael, Prieſts and Levites to Jeruſalem; and to terminate in the Death of the *Meſſiah*, and the Preaching of the Goſpel to the Jews only: though we are not ignorant, how ſome learned men, both of former and latter times, have ſtretched their wits, they ſometimes uſing no ſmall violence, to divert this Prophecy another way. For that theſe *Prophecies* concerning our Saviour Chriſt, could have no other Original, than the immediate *Supernatural Revelation* of God Almighty, is Evident from the thing it ſelf; it being ſuch as depended on no Natural Cauſes, much leſs upon thoſe *Conſtellations*, of the *Aſtrological Atheiſts*, but only upon his own Secret Will, and Counſel.

But beſides theſe Prophecies concerning our Saviour Chriſt, there are others contained in the Scripture, concerning the *Fates* and *Succeſſions* of the chief Kingdoms, Empires, and Polities of the World; as of the Riſe of the *Perſian Monarchy*; of its *Fall* and *Conqueſt* by the *Macedonean Alexander*; of the *Quadripartite Diviſion* of this Greekiſh Empire after *Alexander's* death; of the *Succeſſion* of the *Seleucidæ* and *Lagidæ*, a Prophetick Hiſtory, ſo agreeable with the Events, that it was by *Porphyrius* pretended to have been written after them; and laſtly of the Riſe and Continuance of the *Roman Empire*. For notwithſtanding the endeavours of ſome, to pervert all thoſe ScripturePhophecies, that extend to the preſent times, it is clearly demonſtrable, that this was *Daniel's Fourth*, Ten horned Beaſt; or the Legs and Toes of *Nebuchadnezar's* Statue, that *Fourth Empire ſtrong as Iron*, which came at length to be broken or divided, into Ten or many Principalities, called in the Prophetick Language and according to the *Eichon*, *Hornes*; amongſt whom was to ſtart up, another *Horn with Eyes, ſpeaking great words againſt the moſt High, and making War with the Saints and prevailing againſt them, for a Time, Times, and Half a Time*. Which Prophecy of *Daniels*, is the *Groundwork* of St. *John's Apocalypſe*, it being there further inſiſted upon, filled up, and enlarged, with the addition of ſeveral particulars; ſo that both *Daniel* and *John*, have each of them from their reſpective ages, ſet down a *Prophetick Calendar* of Times, in a continued Series, (the former more *Compendiouſly* and *Generally*, the latter more *Copiouſly* and *Particularly*) to the very end of the World.

And thus do we ſee plainly, that the *Scripture-Prophecies* Evince a Deity; neither can theſe poſſibly be imputed by Atheiſts, as other things, to mens *Fear* and *Fancy*, nor yet to the *Fiction of Politicians*. Nor do they only Evince *a Deity*, but confirm Chriſtianity alſo; partly as predicted by them in its ſeveral circumſtances, a grand one whereof was the *Gentiles Reception* of it; and partly as it ſelf predicting

dicting Future Events, this *Spirit of Prophecy* being *the Testimony of Jesus*. Both which Scripture-Prophecies, *Of* Christ in the Old Testament; and *From* him in the New, are of equal, if not greater force to us in this present Age, for the Confirmation of our Faith, than the *Miracles* themselves recorded in the Scripture, we having now certain knowledge our selves, of many of those Events; and being no way able to suspect, but that the *Prophecies* were written long before.

To conclude, all these *Extraordinary Phænomena*, of *Apparitions*, *Witchcraft*, *Possessions*, *Miracles*, and *Prophecies*, do Evince that *Spirits*, *Angels or Demons*, though *Invisible* to us, are no *Phancies*, but *Real and Substantial* Inhabitants of the World; which favours not the *Atheistick Hypothesis*; but some of them, as the Higher kind of Miracles, and Predictions, do also immediatly enforce the acknowledgment of a *Deity*: a Being superiour to *Nature*, which therefore can check and controul it; and which comprehending the whole, foreknows the most *Remotely distant*, and *Contingent Events*.

And now have we not only fully Answered and Confuted, all the *Atheistick Pretences* against the *Idea of God*, tending to disprove his *Existence*; but also occasionally proposed, several *Solid* and *Substantial* Arguments for a *Deity*: as, That all *Successive things*, the *World*, *Motion*, and *Time*, are in their own Nature absolutely uncapable of an *Ante-Eternity*, and therefore there must of necessity, be something else of a *Permanent* Duration, that was Eternal without Beginning; That no Atheist according to his Principles, can possibly give any account of the Original of his own *Soul* or *Mind*; That the *Phænomenon* of *Motion* cannot be Salved without an Incorporeal Principle, presiding over the whole; That the τὸ εὖ ἢ καλῶς, *The Artificial, Regular, and Orderly Frame of things*, together with the *Harmony* of the whole, Demonstrate an *Understanding* and *Intending Cause* of the World, that Ordered things for *Ends* and *Good*. Besides, that there are several other *Phænomena*, both *Ordinary* and *Extraordinary*, which Atheists being no way able to Salve, are forced to deny.

True indeed, some of the ancient Theists, have themselves affirmed, that there could be no *Demonstration of a God*, which Assertion of theirs, hath been by others misunderstood into this sense, as if there were therefore no *Certainty* at all to be had of *God's Existence*, but only a *Conjectural Probability*; no Knowledge or *Science*, but only *Faith* and *Opinion*. Whereas the true meaning of those ancient *Theists*, who denied that there could be any *Demonstration* of *a God*, was only this, that the *Existence* of *a God* could not be Demonstrated *A Priore*, himself being the *First Cause* of all things. Thus doth *Alexander Aphrodisius*, in his *Physical Doubts and Solutions*, after he had propounded an Argument for a God, according to Aristotelick Principles, from Motion, declare himself; ἡ δὲ ἔξις κατὰ ἀνάλυσιν, ὃ γὰρ διόντε τὴν πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστέρων τε καὶ φανερῶν ἀρξαμένους, κατὰ τὸν πρὸς ταῦτα συμφωνίαν ἀναλύσαι χρωμένους συνέζαι τῷ ἐκείνου φύσιν. *That this Argument or Proof of his was in way of Analysis only: it being not Pos-* L. 1. c. 1.

sible that there should be a Demonstration of the First Principle of all. Wherefore (saith he) *we must here fetch our Beginning from things that are After it*[1]*, and manifest; and thence by way of Analysis, Ascend to the Proof of that First Nature which was Before them.* And to the same purpose *Clemens Alexandrinus*, having first affirmed, ὡς δυζμεταχειρίστως ὁ περὶ θεοῦ λόγος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ παντὸς πράγματος δυζεύρετος, πάντως που ἡ πρώτη καὶ πρεσβυτάτη ἀρχὴ δύζοδος, ἥτις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αἰτία τοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένοις εἶναι. *That God is the most difficult thing of all to be discoursed of. Because since the Principle of every thing is hard to find out, the First and most antient Principle of all, which was the Cause to all other things, of their being made, must needs be the hardest of all to be declared or manifested*; he afterwards subjoyns, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀποδείξεως λαμβάνεται τὴν ἀπόδειξιν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐκ προτέρων καὶ γνωριμωτέρων συνίσταται· τοῦ δὲ ἀγεννήτου οὐδὲν προϋπάρχει. *But neither can God be apprehended by any Demonstrative Science. For such Science is from things Before in order of Nature, and More Knowable; whereas nothing can exist Before that which is altogether Unmade.* And certain it is, that it implies a Contradiction, that God or a Perfect Being should be thus *Demonstrated*, by any thing before him as his Cause. Nevertheless it doth not therefore follow, that there can be no *Certainty* at all had of the *Existence* of a *God*, but only a *Conjectural Probability*; no *Knowledge*, but Faith and Opinion only. For we may have a *Certain Knowledge* of things, the διότι whereof cannot be *Demonstrated A Priore*, or from *Antecedent Necessary Causes*; As for example, That there was something *Eternal* of it Self, without Beginning; is not at all Demonstrable by any *Antecedent Cause*, it being Contradictious to such a thing to have a Cause. Nevertheless upon supposition only, that something doth Exist, which no man can possibly make any doubt of, we may not only have an *Opinion*, but also certain *Knowledge*, from the *Necessity* of *Irrefragable Reason*, *That there was never Nothing*, but something or other did Always Exist from *Eternity*, and without *Beginning*. In like manner, though the Existence of *a God* or *Perfect Being*, cannot be *Demonstrated A Priore*, yet may we notwithstanding, from Our very Selves (whose Existence we cannot doubt of) and from what is contained in our own Minds, or otherwise consequent from him; by undeniable *Principles of Reason*, *Necessarily* inferr His Existence. And whensoever any thing is thus necessarily inferred, from what is *undeniable* and *indubitable*, this is a *Demonstration*, though not of the διότι, yet of the ὅτι of it; *That* the thing is, though not *Why* it is. And many of the *Geometrical Demonstrations* are no other.

Strom. L. 5. p. 388.

It hath been asserted by a late Eminent Philosopher, that there is no possible *Certainty* to be had of any thing, before we be *Certain* of the Existence of a God *Essentially Good*: because we can never otherwise free our minds from the Importunity of that *Suspicion*, which with irresistable force may assault them; That our selves might possibly be so made, either by *Chance*, or *Fate*, or by the pleasure of some *Evil Demon*, or at least of an *Arbitrary Omnipotent Deity*, as that we should be Deceived in all our most *Clear* and *Evident Perceptions*; and therefore in *Geometrical Theorems* themselves, and even in our

Common

Common Notions. But when we are once assured of the Existence of such a God as is *Essentially Good*, who therefore neither will nor can Deceive; then and not before, will this *Suspicion* utterly vanish, and Our selves become *Certain*, that our *Faculties* of *Reason and Understanding* are not *False and Imposturous*, but *Rightly Made*. From which Hypothesis it plainly follows, that all those Theists who suppose, God to be a meer Arbitrary Being, whose Will is not determined by any *Nature of Goodness* or *Rule* of *Justice*, but it self is the first *Rule of* both, (they thinking this to be the Highest *Perfection*, *Liberty*, and *Power*) can never be reasonably Certain, of the Truth of any thing, not so much as that Two and Two are Four; because so long as they adhere to that perswasion; they can never be assured, but that such an *Arbitrary Omnipotent Deity*, might designedly make them such, as should be deceived in all their *Cleerest Perceptions*.

Now though there be a *Plausibility* of *Piety*, in this Doctrine, as making the knowledge of a *God Essentially Good*, so necessary a Precognitum to all other Science, that there can be no *Certainty* of Truth at all without it, yet does that very *Supposition*, that our *Understanding Faculties* might possibly be so made; as to deceive us in all our *Cleerest Perceptions*, (where soever it is admitted) render it utterly Impossible, ever to arrive to any Certainty concerning the *Existence of a God Essentially Good*; for as much as this cannot be any otherwise proved, then by the use of our *Faculties* of *Understanding*, *Reason*, and *Discourse*. For to say, that the *Truth* of our *Understanding Faculties*, is put out of all Doubt and Question, as soon as ever we are assured of the *Existence of a God Essentially Good*; who therefore cannot deceive; whilst this Existence of a God, is in the mean time it self no otherwise proved, than by by our *Understanding Faculties*; that is, at once to prove the Truth of God's *Existence* from our *Faculties of Reason and Understanding*, and again to prove the *Truth* of those *Faculties*, from the *Existence of* a God *Essentially Good*; this I say is plainly to move round in a *Circle*; and to prove nothing at all: a gross oversight, which the forementioned Philosopher seems plainly guilty of.

Wherefore according to this Hypothesis, we are of necessity condemned, to *Eternal Scepticism*, both concerning the *Existence* of a *God*, when after all our *Arguments* and *Demonstrations* for the same, we must at length gratifie the Atheists with this *Confession*, in the Conclusion; That it is *Possible* notwithstanding, there may be None; but also concerning all other things, the *Certainty* whereof is supposed to depend upon the *Certainty* of the *Existence of such* a God as cannot Deceive;

So that if we will pretend to any *Certainty* at all, concerning the *Existence* of *a God*, we must of necessity explode this *New Sceptical Hypothesis*, of the *Possibility* of our Understandings being so made, as to Deceive us in all our *Cleerest Perceptions*, by means whereof, we can be Certain of the Truth of nothing, and to use our utmost endeavour to remove the same. In the First place therefore we affirm, That no *Power* how great soever, and therefore not *Omnipotence* it

self, can make any thing to be indifferently either *True* or *False*, this being plainly to take away the *Nature* both of *Truth* and *Falshood*, or to make them nothing but *Words* without any Signification. Truth is not *Factitious*; it is a thing which cannot be Arbitrarily *Made*, but *Is*. The Divine *Will* and *Omnipotence* it self (now supposed by us) hath no Imperium upon the *Divine Understanding*, for if God understood only by *Will*, he would not understand at all. In the next place we add, that though the Truth of *Singular Contingent Propositions*, depends upon the *Things* themselves Existing without, as the *Measure* and *Archetype* thereof; yet as to the *Universal* and *Abstract Theorems of Science*, the Terms whereof are those *Reasons of Things*, which Exist no where but only in the Mind it Self (whose *Noemata* and *Ideas* they are) the Measure and Rule of *Truth* concerning them, can be no *Foreign* or *Extraneous* thing, Without the mind, but must be *Native* and *Domestick* to it, or contained Within the mind it Self; and therefore can be nothing but its *Clear and Distinct Perception*. In these Intelligible *Ideas* of the Mind, whatsoever is Clearly Perceived to *Be*, *Is*; or which is all one, is *True*. Every *Clear and Distinct Perception* is an *Entity*, or *Truth*; as that which is Repugnant to *Conception* is a *Non-Entity* or *Falshood*. Nay, The very *Essence* of Truth here, is this Clear *Perceptibility* or *Intelligibility*; and therefore can there not be any Clear or Distinct Perception of *Falshood*. Which must be acknowledged by all those who though granting *False Opinions*, yet agree in this, that there can be no *False Knowledge*. For the *Knowledge* of these *Universal Abstract Truths*, is nothing but the *Clear and Distinct Perception* of the several *Ideas* of the mind, and their Necessary Relations to one another; Wherefore to say that there can be no *False Knowledge*, is all one as to say that there can be no *Clear and Distinct Perceptions* of the *Ideas* of the mind, *False*. In *False Opinions*, the *Perception* of the *Understanding Power* it self, is not *False*, but only Obscure. It is not the *Understanding Power* or *Nature* in us that Erreth, but it is *We Our Selves* who Err, when we rashly and unwarily assent to things, not *Clearly Perceived* by it. The upshot of all is this, that since no *Power* how great soever, can make any thing indifferently to be True; and since the Essence of Truth in *Universal Abstract things*, is nothing but *Clear Perceptibility*; it follows, that *Omnipotence* cannot make any thing that is False to be clearly Perceived to Be; or Create such *Minds* and *Understanding Faculties*, as shall have as Clear Conceptions of *Falshoods*, that is, of *Non-Entities*, as they have of *Truths* or *Entities*. For example, no Rational Understanding Being that knows what a Part is, and what a Whole, What a Cause and what an Effect, could possibly be so made, as clearly to Conceive the *Part* to be greater than the *Whole*, or the *Effect* to be before the *Cause*, or the like. Wherefore we may presume with Reverence to Say, that there could not possibly be a world of *Rational Creatures* made by God, either in the Moon, or in some other Planet, or else where, that should *Clearly and Distinctly Conceive*, all things contrary to what are clearly Perceived by us; nor could our *Humane Faculties* have been so made, as that we should have as clear *Conceptions* of *Falshoods* as of *Truths*. *Mind* or *Understanding Faculties*, in *Creatures* may be made more or less,

leſs, Weak, Imperfect, and Obſcure, but they could not be made *Falſe*, or ſuch as ſhould have Clear and Diſtinct Conceptions of that which *Is Not*, becauſe every Clear Perception is an *Entity*, and though Omnipotence can make *Something* out of *Nothing*, yet can it not make Something to be Nothing, nor *Nothing Something*. All which is no more, than is generally acknowledged by Theologers, when they affirm that God Almighty himſelf, cannot do *things Contradictious*; there being no other reaſon for this aſſertion, but only this, becauſe *Contradictiouſneſs is Repugnant* to *Conception*. So that *Conception* and *Knowledge* are hereby made to be the *Meaſure* of all *Power*; even *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power* it Self being determined thereby; from whence it follows, that *Power* hath no *Dominion* over *Underſtanding*, *Truth*, and *Knowledge*, nor can *Infinite Power* make any thing whatſoever to be *Clearly Conceivable*. For could it make *Contradictious* things clearly *Conceivable*, then would it Self be able to Do them; becauſe whatſoever can be *Clearly Conceived* by any, may unqueſtionably be Done by *Infinite Power*.

It is true indeed, that Senſe conſidered alone by it ſelf, doth not reach to the *Abſoluteneſs* either of the Natures, or of the Exiſtence of things without us, it being as ſuch, nothing but *Seeming*, *Appearance*, and *Phancy*. And thus is that Saying of ſome antient Philoſophers to be underſtood, that πᾶσα φαντασία ἀληθὴς, *Every Phantaſie is True*; namely becauſe *Senſe* and *Phancy* reach not to the *Abſolute Truth* and *Falſhood* of things, but Contain themſelves only within *Seeming* and *Appearance*; and every *Appearance* muſt needs be a true *Appearance*. Notwithſtanding which, it is certain, that *Senſe* often repreſents to us Corporeal things, otherwiſe than indeed they are, which though it be not a *Formal*, yet is it a *Material Falſity*. Wherefore Senſe in the Nature of it, is not *Abſolute*, but πρός τι, or τινὶ, *Relative to the Sentients*. And by Senſe alone, without any mixture of Reaſon or Underſtanding, we can be certain of no more, concerning the things without us, but only this, that they *So Seem to us*. Hence was that of the ancient *Atomick Philoſophers*, in *Plato*, οὐ δυνήσεταί σε ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄλλο οὐδὲν φαίνεσθαι ἑκάστοις πρᾶγμα, τοιοῦτον ᾧ μὴ τοιοῦτον εἶναι ἑαυτῷ. *Neither you nor any man elſe can be certain, that every other man and Brute Animal hath all the very ſame Phantaſms of Colours, that himſelf hath.* Now were there no other Perception in us, but that of Senſe, (as the old *Atheiſtick Philoſophers* concluded *Knowledge* to be *Senſe*,) then would all our *Humane Perceptions* be meerly *Seeming*, *Phantaſtical* and *Relative*; and none of them reach to the *Abſolute Truth* of things. Every one in *Protagoras* his Language would then τὰ αὑτῷ μόνον δοξάζειν, *Think or Opine only his Own things*; all his *Truths* being *Private* and *Relative* to himſelf. And that *Protagorean Aphoriſm* were to be admitted alſo, in the Senſe of that Philoſopher, that, πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, *Every man is the Meaſure of all things to himſelf*; *and, That no one man's Opinion was righter than anothers*, but τὸ φαινόμενον ἑκάστῳ, *That Which Seemed to Every one, was to him True, to whom it Seemed*; all *Truth* and *Perception*, being but *Seeming*, and *Relative*. But here lies one main difference betwixt *Underſtanding* or *Knowledge*, and *Senſe*; that whereas the Latter is,

Theæt. p. 154.

Phantaſtical

Phantastical and *Relative* only; the Former reacheth beyond *Phancy* and *Appearance* to the *Absoluteness of Truth.* For as it hath been already declared, whatsoever is clearly and distinctly Perceived in things *Abstract* and *Universal*, by any one *Rational Being* in the whole world, is not a *Private* thing, and *True* to Himself only that perceived it, but it is, as some Stoicks have called it, ἀληθὲς καθολικόν, *a Publick, Catholick, and Universal Truth:* it obtains every where, and as *Empedocles* sang of *Natural Justice*;

——————————Διὰ τ' ἀερομέδοντο
Αἰθερος ἀπείρεσια τέταλαι, διὰ τ' ἀπλέτε αὐγῆς.

It is extended throughout the Vast Æther, and through Infinite Light or Space; and were there indeed *Infinite Worlds*, all thickly peopled with *Rational Animals*; it would be alike True, to every one of them. Nor is it Conceivable, that *Omnipotence* it self, could create any such Understanding Beings, as could have *Clear* and *Distinct Perceptions* of the contrary, to all that is Perceived by us, no more than it could Do things *Contradictious.* But in all Probability, because *Sense* is indeed, but *Seeming*, *Phantastical*, and *Relative*, this is the Reason that some have been so prone and inclinable, to suspect the like, of *Understanding*, and all *Mental Perception*, too, that this also is but *Seeming* and *Relative*; and that therefore mens *Minds* or *Understandings* might have been so made, by an *Arbitrary Omnipotent* Deity, as clearly and distinctly to Perceive, every thing that is *False.* But if notwithstanding all that hath been said, any will still sing over, the *Old Song* again; That all this, which hath been hitherto declared by us, is indeed *True*, *If our Humane Faculties* be *True*, or Rightly *Made*; but we can go no further than our *Faculties*; and whether these be True or no no man can ever be certain; We have no other Reply to make, but that this is an over Stiff and Heavy Adherence to a Prejudice of their own *Minds*; that not only *Sense*, but also *Reason* and *Understanding*, and all *Humane Perception*, is meerly *Seeming*, or *Phantastical*, and Relative to *Faculties* only, but not reaching to the *Absoluteness* of any *Truth*; and that the *Humane Mind*, hath no *Criterion* of *Truth* at all within it self.

Nevertheless it will probably be here further Objected; That this is too great an Arrogance, for Created Beings, to pretend to an *Absolute Certainty* of any thing, it being the Sole *Priviledge* and *Prerogative* of *God Almighty*, to be *Infallible*, who is therefore Styled in Scripture, ὁ μόνος σοφὸς, *The Only Wise*; To which we briefly answer; that the Deity is the first Original Fountain, of *Truth and Wisdom*, which is said to be, The Brightness of the Everlasting Light, the *Unspotted Mirrour* of the *Power of God*, and the *Image of his Goodness.* The *Divine Word*, is the *Archetypal Pattern* of all *Truth*; it is Ignorant of Nothing, and knoweth all things Infallibly. But Created Beings, have but a *Derivative Participation* hereof, their Understandings being Obscure, and they *Erring* in many things, and being *Ignorant of more.* And it seems to be no Derogation from Almighty God to suppose, that Created Minds by a Participation of the Divine Mind,

Mind, ſhould be able to know Certainly; that Two and Two make Four; that Equals added to Equals will make Equals; that a Whole is greater than the Part; and the Cauſe before the Effect; and that nothing can be Made without a Cauſe; and ſuch like other *Common Notions*, which are the *Principles* from whence all their knowledge is derived. And indeed were Rational Creatures, never able to be *Certain* of any ſuch thing as this at all; what would their Life be but a meer *Dream* or *Shaddow?* and themſelves but a *Ridiculous* and *Pompous Piece* of Phantaſtick *Vanity?* Beſides it is no way Congruous to think, that God Almighty ſhould make *Rational Creatures* ſo as to be in an utter *Impoſſibility*, of ever attaining to any *Certainty* of his *own Exiſtence*; or of having more than an *Hypothetical Aſſurance* thereof, *If our Faculties be True* (which poſſibly may be otherwiſe,) then is there a God. We ſhall conclude this Diſcourſe against the *Carteſian Scepticiſm*, with that of *Origens*, Μόνον πρᾶγμα βέβαιον ὑπάρχειν, *Knowledge is the only thing in the World, which Creatures have, that is in its own Nature firm*; they having here ſomething of *Certainty*, but no where elſe.

Wherefore we having now, that which *Archimedes* required, Some Firm Ground and Footing to ſtand upon, ſuch a *Certainty of Truth* in our *Common Notions*, as that they cannot *Poſſibly* be Falſe; without which nothing at all could be proved by *Reaſon*; we ſhall in the next place endeavour, not to ſhake or diſſettle any thing thereby; (which was the Undertaking of that Geometrician) but to Confirm and Eſtabliſh the *Truth* of God's *Exiſtence*, and that from the very *Idea* of him; hitherto made good and defended, againſt all the Aſſaults of Atheiſts.

It is well known, that *Carteſius* hath lately made a Pretence to do this, with *Mathematical Evidence* and *Certainty*, and he diſpatches the buſineſs briefly after this manner; *God* or a *Perfect Being*, includeth *Neceſſary Exiſtence* in his very *Idea*; and therefore he Is. But though the *Inventor* of this Argument, or rather the *Reviver* of that which had been before uſed by ſome Scholaſticks, affirmeth it to be as Good a *Demonſtration*, for the *Exiſtence* of a *God*, from His *Idea*, as that in *Geometry*, for a Triangles having Three Angles equal to Two right, is from the *Idea of a Triangle*; yet nevertheleſs it is certain, that by one means or other, this Argument hath not hitherto proved ſo Fortunate and Succeſsful, there being many who cannot be made ſenſible of any Efficacy therein, and not a few who Condemn it for a meer *Sophiſm*. As for our ſelves, we neither have any mind, to quarrel with other mens Arguments *Pro Deo*, nor yet would we be thought, to lay ſtreſs in this Cauſe, upon any thing which is not every way Solid and Subſtantial. Wherefore we ſhall here endeavour, to ſet down the Utmoſt that Poſſibly we can, both *Againſt* this Argument, and *For it*, Impartially and Candidly; and then when we have done, leave the Intelligent Readers, to make their own Judgement concerning the Same.

Againſt it in this manner; Firſt: Becauſe we can Frame an *Idea* in

in our own minds, of an *Abſolutely Perfect Being*, including Neceſſary Exiſtence in it, it will not at all follow from thence, that therefore there is ſuch a *Perfect Being* Really Exiſting without our minds; we being able to frame in our minds the *Ideas* of many other things, that never were, nor will be. All that can be certainly inferred from the *Idea* of a *Perfect Being* ſeems to be this, that if it contain nothing which is *Contradictious* to it, then it is *Not Impoſſible* but that there might be ſuch a Being actually Exiſting. But the ſtrength of this Argument, not lying meerly in this, that becauſe we have an *Idea of a Perfect Being*, therefore it is; but becauſe we have ſuch an *Idea* of it, as includeth *Neceſſary Exiſtence* in it, which the *Idea* of Nothing elſe beſides doth; therefore may it be here further Objected in this manner. That though it be very true, that a *Perfect Being* doth include *Neceſſary Exiſtence* in it, becauſe that cannot be every way *Perfect*, whoſe *Exiſtence* is not *Neceſſary* but *Contingent*; yet will it not follow from hence, that therefore there is ſuch a *Perfect Being Actually Exiſting*; but all that can be deduced from it, will be no more than this, That whatſoever hath no *Neceſſary* and *Eternal Exiſtence*, is no *Abſolutely Perfect* Being; and again, That If there be any *Abſolutely Perfect* Being, then was its *Exiſtence* always *Neceſſary* and will be always ſuch; that is, it did both Exiſt Of *it ſelf*, from all Eternity without Beginning, and muſt needs Exiſt to Eternity *Incorruptibly*; it being never able to ceaſe to be. It ſeems indeed no more to follow, That becauſe a Perfect Being includes neceſſary Exiſtence in its *Idea*, therefore there is ſuch a Perfect Being Actually Exiſting; than becauſe a Perfect Being includes *Neceſſary Omniſcience* and *Omnipotence in it*, that therefore there is ſuch a Perfect Omniſcient and Omnipotent Being: all that follows in both caſes, being only this; that If there be any Being *Abſolutely Perfect*, then it is both Omniſcient and Omipotent, and it did *Exiſt* of It *Self* neceſſarily, and can never Ceaſe to be. Wherefore here lies a Fallacy in this *Argumentation*, when from the *Neceſſity* of *Exiſtence* affirmed only *Hypothetically* or upon a *Suppoſition* of a Perfect Being, the Concluſion is made concerning it *Abſolutely*. As ſome would prove the Neceſſity of all humane Events, as for example of *Adam's Sinning*, in this manner, that it always was True before, that either *Adam* would eat the forbidden fruit, or not eat it, and If he would eat it, he would Certainly eat it, and not Contingently; and again, If he would not eat it, then would he Certainly and Neceſſarily not Eat it; wherefore whether he will eat it or not eat it, he will do either, Neceſſarily and not Contingently. Where it is plain, that an *Abſolute Neceſſity*, is wrongly inferred in the *Concluſion*, from an *Hypothetical* one in the *Premiſſes*. In like manner, when upon ſuppoſition of an *Abſolutely Perfect* Being, it is affirmed of it, that its *Exiſtence* muſt not be *Contingent* but *Neceſſary*, and from thence the Concluſion is made *Abſolutely*, that there Is ſuch a *Perfect Being*, this ſeems to be the very ſame Fallacy. From the *Idea of a Perfect Being*, including *Neceſſary Exiſtence* in it, it follows undeniably, that If there be any Thing Abſolutely Perfect, it *Muſt Exiſt* Neceſſarily, and not Contingently, but it doth not follow, that there *Muſt of Neceſſity Be ſuch* a Perfect Being Exiſting; theſe two Propoſitions carrying a very different ſenſe from

one

one another. And the Latter of them, that there must of Necessity be a *God* or *Perfect Being Existing* seems to be a thing altogether *Indemonstrable*, it implying that the *Existence of God* or a *Perfect Being* may be proved *A Priori*, or from some *Antecedent Necessary Cause*; which was before declared to be a thing *Contradictious* and *Impossible*.

And now in *Justice* are we *obliged*, to plead the best we can also on the Defensive side. Thus therefore; the Idea of *God* or an *Absolutely Perfect* Being including in it, not an *Impossible*, nor a *Contingent*, but a *Necessary Schesis* or *Relation to Existence*, it follows from thence, *Absolutely* and without any *Ifs* and *Ands*, that he doth Exist. For as of things Contradictious, having therefore in the Idea of them, an *Impossible Schesis* to Existence, we can confidently conclude that they never were nor will be; And as of other things *not Contradictious* or *Impossible*, but *Imperfect* only, which therefore have a *Contingent Schesis* to Existence, we can Pronounce also that Possibly they Might be or might not be: in like manner, a *Perfect Being* including in the *Idea* of it a *Necessary Schesis* to *Existence* or an *Impossible* one to *Non-Existence*, or containing *Existence* in its very *Essence*; we may by Parity of reason conclude concerning it, that it is neither Impossible to Be; nor yet *Contingent* to Be or not to Be; but that it *Certainly Is*, and *Cannot but Be*; or that it is *Impossible* it should Not Be. And indeed when we say of Imperfect Beings, Implying no Contradiction in them, that they may *Possibly* either Be or not Be, we herein tacitly suppose the *Existence of a Perfect Being*, because nothing which is Not, could be *Possible to be*, were there not something actually in Being, that hath sufficient Power to Cause or Produce it. True indeed, we have the *Ideas* of many things in our minds, that never were, nor will be; but these are only such as include no *Necessary* but *Contingent Existence* in their Nature; and it does not therefore follow, that a *Perfect Being* which includes *Necessity of Existence* in its *Idea*, may notwithstanding *Not Be*. Wherefore this *Necessity of Existence* or *Impossibility* of *Non-Existence* contained in the *Idea of a Perfect Being*, must not be taken *Hypothetically* only or *Consequentially*, after this manner, that *If there* be any Thing *Absolutely Perfect*, then its *Existence* both was and will be Necessary; but *Absolutely*; that though Contradictious things cannot *Possibly Be*, and things Imperfect may Possibly either Be or Not Be, yet a *Perfect Being* cannot But Be; or it is Impossible that it should *Not Be*. For otherwise were the force of the Argumentation meerly *Hypothetical*, in this manner, *If there be* a Perfect *Being*, then its Existence both was and will be Necessary; this would plainly imply that a *Perfect Being*, notwithstanding that *Necessity of Existence* included in its Nature, might either Be or Not Be; or were *Contingent to Existence*, which is a manifest *Contradiction*, that the same thing should Exist both *Contingently* and *Necessarily*. And this *Hypothetical Absurdity*, will more plainly appear, if the Argument be expressed in other words, as that *Necessity of Existence*, and *Impossibility of Non-Existence*, and *Actual Existence*, belong to the *very Essence* of a *Perfect Being*, since it would be then ridiculous to go about, to evade in this manner, That If *there be a Perfect Being*, *then it Is*, and cannot But Be. Which *Identical Proposition*, is true of every thing, else,

but Abſurd. Wherefore there is ſomething more to be Inferred from the *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* included in the Idea of A Perfect Being than ſo, which can be nothing elſe but this, that it *Abſolutely* and *Actually Is*. Moreover no Theiſts can be able to prove that *God* or a *Perfect Being* (ſuppoſed by them to Exiſt) might not Happen by Chance only to Be; if from the *Neceſſity* of *Exiſtence* included in the *Idea of God*; it cannot be inferred that he could not *But Be*. Notwithſtanding which, here is no endeavour, (as is pretended) to prove the Exiſtence of a *God* or *Perfect Being*, *A Priori* neither, or from any *Neceſſary Cauſe Antecedent*; but only from that *Neceſſity* which is included within it ſelf, or is *Concomitant* and *Concurrent* with it; the *Neceſſity* of its own *Perfect Nature*. And now we ſhall leave the Intelligent and Impartial Reader, to make his own Judgment concerning the forementioned Carteſian Argument for a Deity, drawn from its *Idea*, as including *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* in it, that *therefore It Is*; Whether it be meerly *Sophiſtical*, or hath ſomething of *Solidity and Reality* in it. However it is not very Probable, that many *Atheiſts*, will be convinced thereby, but that they will rather be ready to ſay, that this is no *Probation* at all of a Deity, but only an *Affirmation* of the thing in Diſpute, and a meer *Begging* of the *Queſtion*; that therefore God *Is*, becauſe he *Is*, or *Cannot But be*.

Wherefore we ſhall endeavour, to make out an *Argument, or Demonſtration*, for the *Exiſtence of a God*, from his *Idea*, as including *Neceſſary Exiſtence* in it, ſome other ways. And Firſt, we ſhall make an Offer towards it in this manner. Though it will not follow from hence, becauſe we can *Frame an Idea* of any thing in our minds, that therefore ſuch a thing Really Exiſteth; yet nevertheleſs, whatſoever we can *Frame an Idea* of, *Implying* no manner of *Contradiction* in its Conception, we may certainly conclude thus much of it, that ſuch a thing was not *Impoſſible to be*; there being nothing to us *Impoſſible*, but what is *Contradictious* and *Repugnant* to Conception. Now the Idea *of God* or a *Perfect Being*, can Imply no manner of *Contradiction* in it, becauſe it is only the *Idea* of ſuch a thing as hath all *Poſſible* and *Conceivable* Perfections in it; that is, all *Perfections* which are neither *Contradictious* in themſelves, nor to one another. And they who will not allow of this Conſequence, from the *Idea of a Perfect Being*, including *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* in it, that it doth therefore *Actually Exiſt*, yet cannot deny, but that this at leaſt will follow, from its implying no manner of *Contradiction* in it, that it is therefore a thing *Poſſible*, or not *Impoſſible* to be. For thus much being true of all other *Contingent things*, whoſe Idea implieth no *Contradiction*, that they are therefore *Poſſible*; it muſt needs be granted of that, whoſe very *Idea* and *Eſſence* containeth a *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* in it, as the *Eſſence* of nothing elſe but a *Perfect Being* doth. And this is the Firſt Step, that we now make in way of Argumentation, from the *Idea* of *God* or a *Perfect Being*, having nothing *Contradictious* in it, That therefore *God* is at leaſt *Poſſible*, or no way *Impoſſible* to have been. In the next place as this particular *Idea* of that which is *Poſſible*, includeth *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* in it; from theſe *Two things* put together at leaſt, the *Poſſibility* of ſuch a Being, and its *Neceſſary Exiſtence*

istence (if not from the Latter alone) will it according to Reason follow, that *He Actually Is.* If *God* or a *Perfect Being*, in whose *Essence* is contained *Necessary Existence*, be *Possible*, or no way *Impossible* to have been; then *He is*; because upon supposition of his *Non-Existence*, it would be *Absolutely Impossible*, that he should ever have been. It does not thus follow, concerning *Imperfect Beings*, that are *Contingently Possible*, that if they *be Not*, it was therefore *Impossible* for them ever to have been; for that which is *Contingent*, though it be Not, yet might it for all that, *Possibly Have been.* But a *Perfect Necessarily Existent Being*, upon the bare supposition of its *Non-Existence*, could no more *Possibly Have been*, than it could Possibly *Hereafter* be: because if it might Have been, though it be not, then would it not be a *Necessary Existent Being.* The sum of all is this, A *Necessary Existent Being*; if it be *Possible*, it *Is*; because upon supposition of its *Non-Existence*, it would be *Impossible* for it ever to have been. Wherefore *God* is either *Impossible* to have been, or else *He Is.* For if God were *Possible*, and yet be *Not*, then is he not a *Necessary*, but *Contingent Being*, which is contrary to the *Hypothesis.*

But because this *Argumentation* may perhaps run the same Fate also with the former, and by reason of its Subtlety, do but little Execution neither, if not be accounted Sophistical too; men being generally prone to Distrust, the *Firmness* and *Solidity*, of such *Thin* and *Subtle Cobwebs*, (as these and the like may seem to be) or their Ability to Support the Weight of so Great a Truth; and to suspect themselves to be *Illaqueated* and *Circumvented* in them; therefore shall we lay no stress upon this neither, but proceed to something which is yet more *Plain* and *Downright*, after this manner. Whatsoever we can frame an *Idea* of in our minds, implying no manner of *Contradiction*, this either *Actually Is*, or else If *it be Not*, it is *Possible* for it *to Be.* But If *God be Not*, He Is *not Possible* hereafter to Be, therefore He Is. The Reason and Necessity of the *Minor* is evident, because if *God be not*, and yet *Possible* hereafter to be, then would he not be an *Eternal and Necessarily Existent Being*, which is *Contradictious* to his *Idea.* And the Ground of the *Major*, upon which all the weight lies, hath been already declared, where we proved before, That If there were no *God* or *Perfect Being*, we could never have had any *Conception* or *Idea* of him in our Minds, because there can be no *Positive Conception* of an *Absolute Nothing*, that which hath neither *Actual* nor *Possible Existence.* Here the Posture of the Argument is only inverted; Because we have an Idea *of God*, or a *Perfect Being*, implying no manner of Contradiction in it, therefore must it needs have some kind of *Entity* or other, either an *Actual* or *Possible* One; but God if he *be Not*, is not *Possible* to *Be*, therefore He doth *Actually Exist.*

But perhaps this Argumentation also how firm and solid soever, may prove less Convictive of the *Existence* of a God to the Generality: because whatever is *Received*, is *Received* according to the *Capacity* of the *Recipient:* and though a Demonstration be never so good in it self, yet is it more or less such to Particular Persons, according to their ability to comprehend it; Therefore shall we in the next place Form

yet a *Plainer Demonſtration*, for a God from the *Idea* of him, including *Neceſſary Exiſtence* in it. It being Firſt Premiſed, That *unqueſtionably Something or other*, *did Exiſt from all Eternity without beginning*. For it is certain that Every thing could not be *Made*, becauſe *Nothing* could come from *Nothing*, or be Made by It ſelf, and therefore if once there had been *Nothing*, there could never have been *Any thing*. Whence it is undeniable, that there was always *Something*, and conſequently that there was *Something Unmade*, which Exiſted of *It ſelf* from all Eternity. Now all the Queſtion is, and indeed this is the only Queſtion betwixt *Theiſts* and *Atheiſts*; ſince Something did certainly Exiſt of It ſelf from all Eternity, What that thing is, whether it be a *Perfect* or an *Imperfect* Being? We ſay therefore, that whatſoever Exiſted of *It ſelf*, from *Eternity*, and without Beginning; did ſo Exiſt *Naturally* and *Neceſſarily*, or by the *Neceſſity* of its *own Nature*. Now nothing could Exiſt of *It ſelf* from *Eternity*, *Naturally* and *Neceſſarily*, but that which containeth *Neceſſary* and *Eternal Self Exiſtence*, in its own *Nature*. But there is nothing which containeth *Neceſſary Eternal Exiſtence*, in its own *Nature* or *Eſſence*, but only an *Abſolutely Perfect* Being; all other *Imperfect* things, being in their *Nature*, *Contingently Poſſible*, either to *Be* or *Not be*. Wherefore ſince ſomething or other, muſt and doth Exiſt of it ſelf *Naturally* and *Neceſſarily* from *Eternity Unmade*, and nothing could do this but what included *Neceſſary Self Exiſtence* in its *Nature* or *Eſſence*, it is certain that it was a *Perfect Being*, or *God*, who did Exiſt of Himſelf from *Eternity*, and nothing elſe, all other Imperfect things which have no Neceſſary *Self-Exiſtence* in their Nature, deriving their Being from Him. Here therefore are the Atheiſts Infinitely *Abſurd* and *Unreaſonable*, when they will not acknowledge, that which containeth *Independent Self-Exiſtence*, or *Neceſſity* of *Exiſtence* (which indeed is the ſame with an *Impoſſibility* of *Non-Exiſtence*) in its Nature and Eſſence, that is, a *Perfect Being*, ſo much as to Exiſt at all; and yet in the mean time *aſſert*, that which hath no *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* in its *Nature*, the moſt *Imperfect* of all *Beings*, *Inanimate Body* and *Matter*, to have Exiſted of *It ſelf Neceſſarily* from all *Eternity*.

We might here add, as a farther Confirmation of this *Argument*, what hath been already proved, that no *Temporary Succeſſive Being* (whoſe *Duration* is in a Continual *Flux*, as if it were every moment *Generated* a new) and therefore neither our *Own Souls*, nor the *World*, nor *Matter Moving*, could poſſibly have Exiſted from *Eternity*, and Independently upon any other thing, but muſt have had a *Beginning*, and been Cauſed by ſomething elſe, namely by an *Abſolutely Perfect Being*, whoſe *Duration* therefore is *Permanent*, and without any *Succeſſive Generation*, *or Flux*.

But beſides all theſe Arguments, we may otherwiſe from the *Idea of God* (already declared) be able both exactly to ſtate the *Controverſie* betwixt *Theiſts* and *Atheiſts*, and ſatisfactorily to decide the ſame. In order whereunto, there is yet ſomething again to be Premiſed; namely this, that as it is certain *Every thing was not Made*, but Something Exiſted of it Self from Eternity *Unmade*; ſo is it

it likewiſe certain, That Every thing was not *Unmade* neither, nor Exiſted of *It ſelf* from *Eternity*, but ſomething was *Made*, and had a *Beginning*. Where there is a full Agreement betwixt *Theiſts* and *Atheiſts*, as to this one Point, no Atheiſt aſſerting every thing to have been *Unmade*, but they all acknowledging themſelves to have been Generated, and to have had a Beginning; that is, their own *Souls* and *Perſonalities*, as likewiſe the *Lives and Souls* of all other Men and Animals. Wherefore ſince *Something* certainly Exiſted of *It ſelf* from *Eternity*, but other things were Made, and had a Beginning, (which therefore muſt needs derive their being from that which Exiſted *of It ſelf Unmade*,) here is the *State* of the *Controverſie* betwixt *Theiſts* and *Atheiſts*, Whether that which Exiſted of *It ſelf* from all *Eternity*, and was the *Cauſe* of all other things, were a *Perfect Being* and *God*, or the moſt *Imperfect* of all things whatſoever, *Inanimate and Senſleſs matter*. The Former is the Doctrine of Theiſts, as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth of thoſe Ancients, who did not write Fabulouſly Concerning the First Principles, οἷον Φερεκύδης, καὶ ἕτεροί τινες, τὸ γεννῆσαν πρῶτον τὸ ἄριστον ὑπέλαβον, καὶ οἱ Μάγοι· καὶ πρὸ ὑστέρων ὁ σοφῶν, οἷον Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, *As namely*, Pherecydes, *and the Magi*, *and* Empedocles *and* Anaxagoras, *and many others*; *that they agreed in this*, *That the firſt Original of all things was the Beſt*, *and Moſt Perfect*. Where by the way we may obſerve alſo, that according to *Ariſtotle*, the *Ancient Magi* did not acknowledge a *Subſtantial Evil Principle*, they making that which is the Beſt and *Moſt Perfect* Being, alone by it ſelf, to be the Firſt Begetter of all. This I ſay is the *Hypotheſis* of *Theiſts*, that there is *One Abſolutely Perfect Being*, Exiſting of *It ſelf* from all Eternity, from whence all other leſſer *Perfections*, or *Imperfect Beings* did gradually *Deſcend*, till at laſt they end in *Senſleſs Matter* or *Inanimate Body*. But the *Atheiſtick Hypotheſis* on the contrary, makes *Senſleſs Matter* the moſt *Imperfect* thing, to be the *Firſt Principle* or the only *Self-Exiſtent* Being, and the *Cauſe* of all other things, and Conſequently all *Higher Degrees* of *Perfections*, that are in the world, to have *Clombe up*, or *Emerged* by way of *Aſcent* from thence; as *Life*, *Senſe*, *Underſtanding*, and *Reaſon*, from that which is altogether *Dead* and *Senſleſs*. Nay, as it was before obſerved, there hath been amongſt the ancient Pagans, a certain kind of *Religious Atheiſts*, ſuch as acknowledging Verbally a *God*, or *Soul of the world*, preſiding over the whole, ſuppoſed this notwithſtanding to have firſt Emerged alſo, out of *Senſleſs Matter*, *Night* and *Chaos*; and therefore doubtleſs to be likewiſe Diſſolvable again into the ſame. And of theſe is that place in *Ariſtotle* to be underſtood, βασιλεύειν οὐ τὰς πρώτας οἷον Νύκτα, οὐδ' Οὐρανὸν, οὐ Χάος, οὐδ' Ὠκεανὸν, ἀλλὰ Δία. *They ſuppoſe*, *not the Firſt things*, *as Night*, *and the Heaven*, *and Chaos*, *and the Ocean*, *but* Jupiter (*or God*) *to Rule and Govern all*. Where it is intimated, that the Heaven, *Night*, *Chaos*, and the *Ocean*, according to theſe, were *Seniors* to *Jupiter*, or in *Order of Nature* before him; they apprehending, that things did *Aſcend* upward, from that which was moſt *Imperfect*, as *Night and Chaos*, to the more *Perfect*, and at length to *Jupiter* himſelf; the *Mundane Soul*, who governeth the whole world, as our Soul doth our Body. Which ſame Opinion is afterwards again taken notice of and reprehended by *Ariſtotle* in theſe words, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δ' ὑπολαμβάνει οὐδ' εἴπερ παρέχεται τοὺς τῶν ὅλων

Met. L. 12. c. 5.

Met. l. 12. c. 4.

Met. L. 12. c. 5. Du Val.

ὅλως ἀρχὰς, ἢ τὴν τῶν ζώων ἢ φυτῶν· ὅτι δὲ ἀορίστων ὁ ἀεὶ τὰ τελειότερα· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ, ἡ δὲ ἔσι σπέρμα πρῶτον. *Nor would he think rightly, who ſhould reſemble the Principles of the Univerſe, to that of Animals and Plants: whereſrom Indeterminate and Imperfect things (as Seeds) do always ariſe the more* Perfect. *For even here alſo is the caſe otherwiſe, then they ſuppoſe; For it is a man, that generates a man; nor is the Seed the Firſt.*

The *Controverſie* being thus clearly Stated betwixt *Theiſts* and *Atheiſts*, it may now with great eaſe, and to the full Conviction of all Minds Unprejudiced, and Unprepoſſeſſed with falſe Principles; be determined. It being on the one hand, undenyably evident, that *Leſſer* Perfections may Naturally *Deſcend* from *Greater*, or at leaſt from that which is *Abſolutely* Perfect, and which Vertually containeth all: but on the other hand utterly Impoſſible, that *Greater Perfections* and *Higher Degrees* of Being, ſhould Riſe and Aſcend out of Leſſer and Lower, ſo as that which is the moſt *Abſolutely Imperfect* of all things, ſhould be the Firſt Fountain and Original of All. Since no Effect can poſſibly tranſcend the Power of its Cauſe. Wherefore it is certain that in the Univerſe, things did not thus *Aſcend* and *Mount*, or Climb up from *Lower Perfection* to *Higher*, but on the contrary, *Deſcend* and *Slide* down from *Higher* to *Lower*, ſo that the firſt Original of all things, was not the moſt *Imperfect*, but the moſt *Perfect Being*. But to ſpeak more particularly, it is certain, notwithſtanding all the vain pretences of *Lucretius* and other *Atheiſts*, or *Semi-Atheiſts*, to the contrary; that *Life and Senſe* could never poſſibly ſpring, out of *Dead and Senſleſs Matter*, as its only Original, either in the way of *Atoms*, (no Compoſition of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites* and *Motions*, being ever able to produce *Cogitation*) or in the way of Qualities, ſince *Life* and *Perception* can no more reſult from any Mixture of *Elements*, or *Combinations* of *Qualities* of Heat and Cold, Moiſt and Dry, *&c.* than from Unqualified Atoms. This being undeniably Demonſtrable, from that very Principle of Reaſon, which the *Atheiſts* are ſo fond of, but, miſunderſtanding abuſe, (as ſhall be manifeſted afterward) that *Nothing can come from Nothing*. Much leſs could *Underſtanding* and *Reaſon* in men, ever have Emerged out of *Stupid Matter*, devoid of all manner of *Life*. Wherefore we muſt needs here freely declare, againſt the *Darkneſs* of that *Philoſophy*, which hath been Sometimes unwarily entertained by ſuch as were no Atheiſts, That *Senſe may* Riſe from a certain *Modification*, *Mixture*, or *Organization*, of Dead and Senſleſs Matter; as alſo that *Underſtanding and Reaſon*, may reſult from *Senſe*: the plain conſequence of both which is, that *Senſleſs Matter* may prove the *Original* of all things, and the only *Numen*. Which Doctrine therefore is doubtleſs, a main piece of the *Philoſophy* of the Kingdom of *Darkneſs*. But this *Darkneſs* hath been of late in great meaſure diſpelled, by the Light of the *Atomick Philoſophy* reſtored, as it was in its firſt Genuine and Virgin State, Undeflowred as yet by Atheiſts, this clearly Showing how far *Body* and *Mechaniſm* can go, and that Life and Cogitation can never Emerge out from thence; it being built upon that *Fundamental Principle*, as we have made it evident in the firſt Chapter, that *Nothing can come from Nothing*. And *Strato*

and

and the Hylozoick Atheists, were so well aware and so sensible of this, that all Life and *Understanding* could not possibly be *Generated* or *Made*, but that there must be some *Fundamental* and *Substantial* or *Eternal Unmade Life* and *Knowledge*; that they therefore have thought necessary, to attribute *Life*, and *Perception*, (or *Understanding*,) with Appetite, and Self-moving Power, to all Matter as such, that so it might be thereby fitly Qualified to be the Original of all things. Than which Opinion as nothing can be more Monstrous; so shall we else where Evince the *Impossibility thereof*. In the mean time, we doubt not to averr, that the *Argument* proposed, is a *Sufficient Demonstration* of the *Impossibility of Atheism*; which will be further manifested in our Answer to the Second *Atheistick Objection* against a *Divine Creation*, because *Nothing can come from Nothing*.

But this *Controversie* betwixt Theists and Atheists, may be yet more Particularly Stated, from the *Idea* of God, as including *Mind* or *Understanding* in it *Essentially*, *Viz.* Whether *Mind* be *Eternal* and *Unmade*, as being the *Maker* of all; or else Whether all *Mind* were it self *Made* or *Generated*, and that out of Senseless Matter? For according to the Doctrine of the Pagan *Theists*, Mind, was πρεσγενέστατον, καὶ κύριον τῆς φύσεως, *The Oldest of all things, Senior to the World and Elements; and by Nature hath a Princely and Lordly Dominion over all.* But according to those *Atheists*, who make *Matter* or *Body* devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*, to be the First *Principle*, Mind must be ὑστερογενὴς, *A Post-Nate thing*, Younger than the world; a Weak, Umbratil, and Evanid Image, and next to Nothing.

And the *Controversie* as thus Stated, may be also Clearly and Satisfactorily decided. *For First*, we say, That as it is certainly True, That If there had been once Nothing at all, there could never have been Any thing; So is it true likewise, that If once there had been no *Life*, in the whole Universe, but all had been *Dead*, then could there never have been any *Life* or *Motion* in it; and If once there had been no *Mind*, *Understanding* or *Knowledge*, then could there never have been any *Mind* or *Understanding* produced. Because, to suppose *Life* and *Understanding*, to rise and spring up, out of that which is altogether *Dead* & *Senseless*, as its only Original, is plainly to Suppose, *Something* to come *out of Nothing*. It cannot be said so of other things, as of the Corporeal World and Matter, that *If* once they had not been, they could never Possibly have been; because though there had been no World nor Matter, yet might these have been produced, from a *Perfect Omnipotent Incorporeal Being*, which in it self *Eminently* containeth all things. *Dead* and *Senseless Matter* could never have *Created* or *Generated Mind* and *Understanding*, but a *Perfect Omnipotent Mind*, could *Create Matter*. Wherefore because there is *Mind*, we are certain, that there was some *Mind* or other from *Eternity* without Beginning; though not because there is *Body*, that therefore there was *Body* or *Matter* from *Eternity Unmade*. Now these Imperfect Minds of ours, were by no means Themselves Eternal or without Beginning, but from an *Antecedent Non-Existence* brought forth into Being; but since no Mind could spring out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, and all *Minds* could

could not Poſſibly be *Made*, nor one produced from another Infinitely; there muſt of neceſſity be an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, from whence thoſe *Imperfect Minds* of ours were derived. Which *Perfect Omnipotent Mind*, was as well the *Cauſe* of all other things, as of humane *Souls*.

But before we proceed to any further Argumentation, we muſt needs take notice here, that the Atheiſts ſuppoſe no ſmall part of their ſtrength, to lie in this very thing, namely their diſproving a God, from the *Nature of Underſtanding and Knowledge*; nor do they indeed ſwagger in any thing more than this. We have already ſet it for the *Eleventh Atheiſtick Argument*, That *Knowledge being the Information of the Things themſelves Known, and all Conception the Action of that which is Conceived, and the Paſſion of the Conceiver; the World and all Senſible things, muſt needs be before there could be any Knowledge or Conception of them, and no Knowledge or Conception before the World as its Cauſe.* Or more briefly thus, The world could not be made by *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, becauſe there could be no *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding* of the world, or of any thing in it, before it was made. For according to theſe Atheiſts, *Things* made *Knowledge*, and not *Knowledge Things*; they meaning by *Things* here, ſuch only as are *Senſible* and *Corporeal*. So that *Mind* and *Underſtanding*, could not be the *Creator* of the world and theſe *Senſible things*, it ſelf being the meer *Creature* of them; a *Secondary*, *Derivative*, Reſult from them, or a *Phantaſtick Image* of them: the *Youngeſt* and moſt *Creaturely* thing in the whole world. Whence it follows, that to Suppoſe *Mind* and *Underſtanding*, to be the *Maker* of all things, would be no better Senſe, than if one ſhould ſuppoſe, the *Images* in *Ponds* and *Rivers*, to be the *Makers* of the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, and other things repreſented in them. And upon ſuch a Ground as this, does a Modern Writer preſume to determine, that *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, are not to be attributed to *God Almighty*, becauſe they Imply *Imperfection*, and *Dependence* upon Corporeal things without;

De Cive Rel. c. 15. Sect. 14. *Quoniam Scientia & Intellectus in nobis nihil aliud ſunt, quàm ſuſcitatus à Rebus Externis Organa prementibus Animi Tumultus, non eſt putandum aliquid tale accidere Deo. Signum enim eſt Potentiæ ab alio dependentis.* Which is again Engliſhed thus; *Knowledge and Underſtanding, being in us nothing elſe but a Tumult in the Mind, raiſed by External things, that preſs the Organical parts of mans Body; there is no ſuch thing in God, nor can they be attributed to him, they being things which depend upon Natural Cauſes.* Where this Writer thus denying *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* to God, upon pretence that it ſpeaks *Imperfection* and *Dependence* upon External Corporeal things, (it being nothing but a *Tumult* raiſed by the *Motions* and *Preſſures* of them) he muſt needs Abſolutely deny the *Firſt Principle* of all things, to be any *Knowing Underſtanding Nature*; unleſs he had aſſerted ſome other kind of *Knowledge*, diſtinct from that of men, and clearly attributed the Same to God Almighty. Hitherto the ſenſe of Atheiſts.

Lev. cap. 31.

Now we ſhall for the preſent, only ſo far forth concern our ſelves in Confuting this *Atheiſtick Doctrine*, as to lay a Foundation thereby, for

for the *Demonſtration* of the Contrary, Namely the *Exiſtence of a God*, or a *Mind Before the World*, from the *Nature* of *Knowledge and Underſtanding*. Firſt, therefore it is a Sottiſh Conceit of theſe *Atheiſts*, proceeding from their not attending to their own Cogitations; that not only *Senſe* but alſo *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* in Men, is but a *Tumult*, raiſed from Corporeal things without, preſſing upon the Organs of their Body; or elſe as they declare themſelves more diſtinctly, nothing but the *Activity* of *Senſible Objects* upon them, and their Paſſion from them. For if this were true, then would every thing that *Suffered* and *Reacted* Motion, eſpecially Polite Bodies, as Looking-Glaſſes, have ſomething both of *Senſe* and of *Underſtanding* in them. It is plain that there comes nothing to us, from Bodies without us, but only Local *Motion* and *Preſſure*. Neither is *Senſe* it ſelf, the meer *Paſſion* of thoſe *Motions*, but the *Perception* of their *Paſſions*, in a way of *Phancy*. But *Senſible* things themſelves (as for example, *Light* and *Colours*) are not *Known* or *Underſtood* either by the *Paſſion*, or the *Phancy of Senſe*, not by any thing meerly *Forreign* and *Adventitious*, but by *Intelligible Ideas* Exerted from the Mind it ſelf, that is, by ſomething *Native* and *Domeſtick* to it: nothing being more true, than this of *Boetius*, that, *Omne quod Scitur, non ex Sua, ſed ex Comprehendentium Naturâ, Vi, & Facultate Cognoſcitur, Whatſoever is Known, is Known not by its own Force and Power, but by the Force and Power, the Vigour and Activity of that thing it ſelf which Knows or Comprehends it.* Wherefore beſides the *Phantaſms* of *Singular Bodies*, or of *Senſible things* Exiſting without us, (which are not meer *Paſſions* neither) it is plain that our *Humane Mind* hath other *Cogitations* or *Conceptions* in it, namely the *Ideas* of the *Intelligible Natures* and *Eſſences* of things, which are *Univerſal*, and by and under which it underſtands *Singulars*. It is a Ridiculous Conceit of a Modern *Atheiſtick Writer*, that *Univerſals* are nothing elſe but *Names*, attributed to many *Singular* Bodies, becauſe whatſoever *Is* is *Singular*. For though whatſoever Exiſt without the Mind, be Singular, yet is it plain, that there are *Conceptions* in our *Minds*, *Objectively Univerſal*. Which Univerſal Objects of our Mind, though they Exiſt not as ſuch any where without it, yet are they not therefore *Nothing*, but have an *Intelligible Entity* for this very reaſon, becauſe they are *Conceivable*, for ſince Non-Entity is not Conceivable, whatſoever is *Conceivable*, and an Object of the *Mind* is therefore *Something*. And as for *Axiomatical Truths*, in which ſomething is affirmed or denied, as theſe are not all *Paſſions* from Bodies without us, (for what Local Motions could Impreſs this *Common Notion*, upon our Minds, That *Things which agree in one Third, agree amongſt themſelves*, or any other?) ſo neither are theſe things only gathered by *Induction* from repeated and reiterated Senſations, we clearly apprehending at once, that it is Impoſſible they ſhould be otherwiſe. Thus *Ariſtotle* Ingeniouſly; ὁδὲ ὁπίσασθαι δι αἰσθήσεως ἔςιν, ὅτι ἢ εἰ ἦν αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅτι τὸ τρίγωνον δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς ἔχει τὰς γωνίας, ἐζητοῦμεν ἂν ἀπόδειξιν, ἢ ὄχ ὡς φασὶ τινὲς ὁπισόμεθα· αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκη καθ' ἕκασον, ἡ δ' ὁπισήμη τῶν καθόλα γνωρίζειν ἔςι. *It is evident that there is no knowledge (of the Univerſal Theorems of Geometry) by Senſe. For if we could perceive by Senſe, that the Three Angles of a Triangle, were equal to Two Right; yet*

ſhould we not reſt ſatisfied in this, as having therefore a ſufficient Knowledge hereof; but would ſeek further after a Demonſtration of it: Senſe reaching only to Singulars, but Knowledge to Univerſals. When from the *Univerſal Idea* of a *Triangle*, which is neither here, nor there, nor any where, without our *Mind*, but yet hath an *Intelligible Entity*; we ſee a plain neceſſity that its *Three Angles* muſt be Equal to two Right, then do we *know* the Truth of this *Univerſal Theorem*, and not before: as alſo we Underſtand, that every Singular Triangle, (ſo far as it is true) hath this Property in it. Wherefore the *Knowledge* of this and the like Truths, is not derived from *Singulars*, nor do we arrive to them in way of *Aſcent*, from *Singulars to Univerſals*, but on the contrary having firſt found them in the *Univerſals*, we afterwards Deſcending apply them to *Singulars*: ſo that our Knowledge here is not *After Singular Bodies*, and Secundarily or Derivatively *From* them; but in order of Nature, *Before* them, and *Proleptical* to them.

Now theſe *Univerſal Conceptions*, ſome of which are alſo *Abſtract* (as Life, Senſe, Reaſon, Knowledge, and the like) many of them are of ſuch things, whoſe Singulars do not at all fall under *Senſe*, which therefore could never poſſibly be Impreſſed upon us, from *Singular Bodies* by *Local Motion*: and again ſome ſuch, as though they belong to *Corporeal* and *Senſible things*; yet, as their Accuracy cannot be reached to by *Senſe*, ſo neither did they ever Exiſt in that Matter of this lower world which here encompaſſeth us, and therefore could not be ſtamped upon us from without; as for example the Ideas of a *Perfect Strait Line*, and a *Plain Superficies*, or of an exact *Triangle*, Circle, Sphere, or *Cube*; no Material thing here amongſt us being terminated in ſo Strait Lines, but that even by Microſcopes there may be diſcovered much Irregularity and Deformity in them; and very probable it is, that there are no Perfectly *Strait Lines*, no ſuch *Triangles*, *Circles*, *Spheres*, or *Cubes*, as anſwer to the Exactneſs of our Conceptions, in any part of the whole Material Univerſe, nor never will be. Notwithſtanding which, they are not *Abſolute Non-Entities*, ſince we can Demonſtrate things concerning them, and though they never were nor will be, yet are they *Poſſible* to Exiſt, ſince nothing can be *Conceived*, but it either *Is*, or elſe is *Poſſible* to be. The Humane Mind therfore hath a *Power* of framing *Ideas* and *Conceptions*, not only of what Actually Is, but alſo of things which never were, nor perhaps will be, they being only *Poſſible* to be. But when from our *Conceptions*, we conclude of ſome things, that though they are Not, yet they are Poſſible to be; ſince nothing that Is not, can be *Poſſible* to be, unleſs there be ſomething Actually in Being, which hath ſufficient Power to produce it; we do Implicitely ſuppoſe, the *Exiſtence* of a *God* or *Omnipotent Being* thereby, which can make whatſoever is *Conceivable*, though it yet be not, to Exiſt; and therefore Material Triangles, Circles, Spheres, Cubes, *Mathematically Exact*.

The Reſult of what we have hitherto ſaid is this, that Since Singular Bodies, are not the only *Objects* of our *Mind* and *Cogitation*, it having alſo *Univerſal* and *Abſtract Ideas*, of the *Intelligible Natures* or *Eſſences* of things; (ſome of which are ſuch, whoſe *Singulars* do not

at

at all fall under Senſe; others though they belong to Bodies, yet *Senſe* can never reach to them, nor were they ever in Matter) moreover ſince our Mind can conceive, of things which no where *Actually Exiſt*, but are only *Poſſible*; and can have ſuch a *Demonſtrative Science* of *Univerſal Truths*, as Senſe can never aſcend to: That therefore Humane *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* it ſelf, is not the meer *Image* and *Creature* of *Singular Bodies* only; and ſo *Derivative*, or *Ectypal* from them, and in order of Nature *Junior to them*; but that as it were hovering aloft over all the *Corporeal Univerſe*, it is a thing *Independent upon Singular Bodies*, or *Proleptical* to them, and in Order of Nature, Before them.

But what Account can we then Poſſibly give, of *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, their Nature and Original? Since there muſt be Νοητὸν, *That which is Intelligible*, in order of Nature, before Νόησις, or *Intellection?* Certainly no other than this, that the *Firſt Original Knowledge*, is that of a Perfect *Being*, Infinitely *Good* and *Powerful*, Comprehending it ſelf; and the utmoſt Extent of its own *Fecundity* and *Power*, that is, the *Poſſibilities* of all things; their *Ideas*, with their ſeveral Relations to one another; all *Neceſſary and Immutable Truths*. Here therefore is there a *Knowledge before the world*, and all *Senſible things*, that was *Archetypal* and *Paradigmatical* to the ſame. Of which one *Perfect Mind* and Knowledge, all other Imperfect Minds (being Derived from it) have a certain *Participation*; whereby they are enabled to Frame *Intelligible Ideas*, not only of Whatſoever doth actually Exiſt, but alſo of ſuch things, as never Were, nor Will be, but are Only *Poſſible*; or Objects of *Divine Power*.

Wherefore ſince it is certain, that even *Humane Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* it ſelf, is not a meer *Paſſion* from *Senſible Things* and *Singular Bodies* Exiſting without (which is the only Foundation of that fore-mentioned *Atheiſtick Argument*, that *Things Made Knowledge*, and *not Knowledge Things*) and conſequently it muſt needs have ſome other *Original:* moreover ſince *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, apprehend things *Proleptically* to their Exiſtence, (*Mind* being able to frame *Conceptions* of all *Poſſible Entities*, and *Modifications*) and therefore in their Nature, do plainly Suppoſe the *Actual Exiſtence* of a *Perfect Being*, which is *Infinitely Fecund* and *Powerful*, and could produce all things *Poſſible* or *Conceivable*; the *Firſt Original Knowledge or Mind*, from whence all other *Knowledges* and *Minds* are derived, being that of an *Abſolutely Perfect* and *Omnipotent Being*, Comprehending It Self, and the *Extent* of its own *Power*, or of its *Communicability*, that is, the *Ideas* of all *Poſſibilities* of things, that may be Produced by it, together with their *Relations* to one another, and their *Neceſſary Immutable Truths*; accordingly as Wiſdom and Underſtanding are deſcribed to be, ἄτμις γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης, ἔσοπτρον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ, *The Breath* (or Vapour) *of the Power of God, and an Efflux* (or Emanation) *from the Glory of the Almighty, a clear Mirrour* (or Looking Glaſs) *of his Active Energy or Vertue, and the Image of his Goodneſs:* I ſay, the Reſult of all is this, that the *Nature of Knowledge* *Wiſd. c. 7.*

and Underſtanding, is ſo far from being a Ground of diſproving a Deity (as the Atheiſts ignorantly pretend) that it affordeth a Firm *Demonſtration* to us on the contrary, of the Exiſtence of a God, a Perfect *Omnipotent Being* Comprehending It ſelf, and the *Extent* of its own *Power*, or all *Poſſibilities* of Things: a *Mind Before the world*, and *Senior to All Things*, no *Ectypal*, but *Archetypal* thing, which comprehended in it, as a kind of Intellectual World, the *Paradigm* or *Platform*, according to which this *Senſible World* was made.

And this may be Further confirmed, from what is generally acknowledged, and indeed cannot reaſonably be denied by any, *viz. That there are Eternal Verities*, ſuch as were never *Made*, and had no *Beginning*, nor can ever be *Deſtroyed* or *Ceaſe* to be: as for Example, ſuch *Common Notions* as theſe, *That Equals added to Equals, make Equals*; That the *Cauſe* is in *order of Nature before the Effect*, *&c.* together with all *Geometrical Theorems*; as *Ariſtotle* himſelf declareth, he writing in his Ethicks after this manner, περὶ ἀϊδίων ὀυδεὶς βουλεύεται, οἷον περὶ τ διαμέτρου ἢ τ πλευρᾶς ὅτι ἀσύμμετρος. *Concerning Eternal (and Immutable) Things, no man does conſult; as for Example, concerning the Diameter or Diagonial of a Square, whether it ſhould be Incommenſurable to the Sides or no.* Where he plainly affirmeth, this *Geometrical Theorem*, that the *Diameter* or *Diagonial* of a Square, is *Incommenſurable* to the Sides, to be an *Eternal Truth*. Neither are there ſuch Eternal Truths as theſe only in *Mathematicks*, and concerning Quantity, but alſo in *Ethicks* concerning *Morality*; there being here αἰώνια δίκαια, as *Juſtin Martyr* calls them, *Things Eternally Juſt*, which were not *Made* ſuch at ſome certain times, by *Law* and *Arbitrary Command*, but being ſuch in their own *Nature Immutably*, were from *Everlaſting* to *Everlaſting*, and (as it is ſaid of that *Eternal Word* which comprehends all Truth) *the Same Yeſterday, to Day, and For ever*. For of theſe is that famous Paſſage of *Sophocles* in his *Antigona*,

Οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ποτε
Ζῇ ταῦτα, κουδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη.

Theſe are not things of to Day, or Yeſterday, but they ever Live, and no man knows their Date, or from whence they came. No man can declare the time when all *Common Notions*, and *Geometrical Truths* were firſt Made and Generated out of *Nothing*, or brought out of antecedent *Non-Exiſtence* into *Being*. Certain it is, that ſuch Truths as theſe, that the *Diameter and Sides of a Square are Incommenſurable, or that the Power of the Hypotenuſe in a Rectangular Triangle is Equal to the Powers of both the Sides*, were not made by any *Man's Thinking*, or by thoſe firſt Geometricians who Diſcovered or Demonſtrated the ſame, they Diſcovering and Demonſtrating only, that which *Was*. Wherefore theſe *Truths* were before there was any man to Think of them, and they would continue ſtill to be, though all the men in the World ſhould be Annihilated: Nay, though there were no *Material Squares* and *Triangles* any where in the whole world neither, no nor any Matter at all: for they were, ever without beginning before the world, and would of neceſſity be ever after it, ſhould it ceaſe to be.

Now

Now if there be *Eternal Truths*, which were never Made, and could not *But Be*, then muſt the *Rationes Rerum*, the *Simple Reaſons* of things alſo, Or their *Intelligible Natures* and *Eſſences*, out of which thoſe Truths are compounded, be of Neceſſity *Eternal* likewiſe. For how can this be an *Eternal Truth*, that the *Diameter of a Square is Incommenſurable* with the Sides, if the *Rationes*, the *Reaſons of a Square, Diameter*, and *Sides*, or their *Intelligible Eſſences*, were not themſelves *Eternal?* Theſe are therefore called by *Plato* (a man of much Meditation, and no Contemptible Philoſopher) not only, ἀεὶ ταὐτὰ ἢ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα, *Things which are always the ſame, and Unchangeable*, but alſo, τὰ μὴ γινόμενα, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ὄντα, *Things which were never Made, but always Are*, and ſometimes μήτε γινόμενα, μήτε ἀπολλύμενα, *Things that were neither Made nor can be Deſtroyed*, ſometimes τὰ ἀγένητα ἢ ἀνώλεθρα, *Things Ingenerable and Incorruptible.* Of which *Cicero* thus, *Hæc* Plato *negat Gigni, ſed Semper* Eſſe, *& Ratione & Intelligentiâ Contineri. Theſe things* Plato *affirmeth to have been never Made, but always to Be, and to be contained in Reaſon and Underſtanding.* And though perhaps it may ſeem ſtrange, even *Ariſtotle* himſelf alſo, notwithſtanding his ſo often claſhing with *Plato's* Ideas, here Really agreeth in the main, that the *Forms* and *Species*, or the Univerſal *Intelligible Eſſences* of Things, which are the proper and immediate *Objects of Science*, were *Eternal* and never *Made.* Thus in his Metaphyſicks, τὸ εἶδος οὐδεὶς ποιεῖ οὐδὲ γεννᾶται, *No man makes the Form, or Species of a thing, nor was it ever Generated*; and again, τῆς σφαίρας εἶναι οὐκ ἔστι γένεσις, *There is no Generation of the Eſſence of a Sphere*; and, ἄνευ γενέσεως ἢ φθορᾶς τὰ εἴδη, *The Forms or Species of things are without any Generation or Corruption.* And he ſometimes calleth theſe Objects of *Science*, ἀκίνητον οὐσίαν or φύσιν, *An Immutable Eſſence or Nature.* Laſtly, where he writeth againſt the *Heracliticks*, and thoſe other *Scepticks*, who denied all *Certainty* of *Science*; he firſt diſcovers the Ground of their Errour herein to have been this, that they ſuppoſed *Singular Bodies*, or *Senſibles* exiſting Without, to be the Only *Things* or *Objects of the Mind*, or *Knowledge*, ἄτοπον δ' δόξης τοῖς, ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐζήτουν, τὰ δ' ὄντα ὑπέλαβον εἶναι τὰ αἰσθητὰ μόνον, ἐν οἷς τοῖς πολλὴ ἡ τοῦ ἀορίστου φύσις ἐνυπάρχει —— ἔτι δὲ πᾶσαν ὁρῶντες ταύτην κινουμένην τὴν φύσιν, καὶ ἀγὼν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος οὐδὲν ἀληθεύομενον, ὥσθ' ὅτι τὸ παντὸς πάντα μεταβάλλον, οὐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι ἀληθεύειν. *The Original of theſe mens miſtake was this, becauſe Truth is to be look'd for in Things, and they conceiv'd the only things to be Senſibles, in which it is certain there is much of the Indeterminate Nature. Wherefore they perceiving all the Nature of Senſibles, to be Moveable, or in perpetual Flux and Mutation, ſince nothing can poſſibly be verified or conſtantly affirmed concerning that which is not the ſame but Changeable, concluded that there could be no Truth at all nor Certainty of Science; thoſe Things which are the only Objects of it, never continuing the ſame.* And then he ſubjoyns in way of Oppoſition to this *Sceptical Doctrine* of theirs, and the forementioned Ground thereof, ἀξιώσομεν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἢ ἄλλην οὐσίαν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ οὐκ ἔστι κίνησις ὑπάρχει οὐκ ἔστι φθορὰ οὐκ ἔστι γένεσις τὸ παράπαν. *We would have theſe men therefore to know, that there is another kind of Eſſence of Things, beſides that of Senſibles, to which belongeth neither* Met. L. 4. c.

neither Motion, nor Corruption, nor any Generation at all. By which *Essences* of things, that have no *Generation* nor *Corruption*, he could understand nothing else, but those *Intelligible Natures*, *Species*, and *Ideas* which are the *Standing* and Immutable *Objects of Science.* And certain it is, that there could be no constant and Immutable *Science* at all, were there no other Objects of the Mind, but Singulars and Sensibles, because these are all *Mutable.* Wherefore the *Proper* and Immediate Objects of the *Geometrical Science*, are no *Singular* and *Material Triangles*, *Squares*, *Spheres* and *Cubes*, *&c.* not only because none of these are found *Mathematically* Exact, and because Geometricians in all the Several distant ages and places of the world, could not have the same *Singular Bodies* before them, but also because they do none of them continue *Immutably the Same:* all Corporeal things, being more or less in perpetual *Motion* and *Mutation*; Whereas that of which any *Geometrical Theorem* is Verified and Demonstrated, must be *Immutably* and *Unalterably the Same.* The *Triangles* and *Circles*, *Spheres* and *Cubes* of *Euclid*, *Archimedes*, *Pappus*, *Appollonius*, and all other Ancient and Modern Geometricians, in all the distant places and Times of the World, were both *Indivisibly One and the Same*, and also perfectly *Immutable* and *Incorruptible*, the Science of Geometry being such. For which Cause it is affirmed also, of these *Mathematical Things*, by the forementioned *Aristotle*, that they are *No Where* as in a *Place*; as all *Singular Bodies* are, ἄτοπον ἢ μὴ ἔστι τόπον ἅμα τοῖς σφαιροῖς τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς ποιῆσαι, ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον ἰδίως· διὸ χωρισταὶ τόπῳ· τὰ δὲ μαθηματικὰ, οὐ πού. *It is absurd to make Mathematical Things to be in a Place, as Solid Bodies are, for Place belongeth only to Singulars, which are therefore separable from one another by Place: but Mathematical things are not Any where.* Because they being Universal and Abstract, are only in *Minds:* nevertheless for the same Reason are they also *Every Where*, they being in every *Mind* that apprehends them. Lastly, these *Intelligible Essences* and *Ideas* of Things, are called also by *Philo*, ἀναγκαιόταται οὐσίαι, *The Most Necessary Essences*, as being not only *Eternal*, but having likewise *Necessary Existence* belonging to them: for though there be no Absolute Necessity that there should be Matter or Body, yet is there an *Absolute Necessity* that there should be *Truth.*

Met. L. 12. c. 5.

If therefore there be *Eternal Intelligibles* or Ideas, and *Eternal Truths*; and *Necessary Existence* do belong to them; then must there be an *Eternal Mind Necessarily Existing*, since these *Truths* and *Intelligible Essences* of Things cannot possibly be any where but in a *Mind.* For by the *Essences* of things, when they are said to be *Eternal*, must not be meant their very *Substances*, as if every thing were in it self Eternal and Uncreated; or that God in Creation, did only as a Modern Writer abusively Expresseth it, *Sartoris instar, vestire Essentias rerum novâ Existentiâ, Cloth the antecedent Essences of things, with a new Garment of Existence*; but only their *Esse Cognitum*, their *Possible and Intelligible Natures*, as they were Objects of *Infinite Power*, and *Understanding*, before they were Made. There must be a *Mind Senior to the world*, and all *Sensible* Things, and such as at once Comprehends in it, the *Ideas of all Intelligibles*, their *Necessary Scheses* and *Relations* to one another,

ther, and all their *Immutable Truths:* a Mind, which doth not ὁτὲ μὲν νοεῖν, ὁτὲ δὲ μὴ νοεῖν, (as *Ariſtotle* writeth of it) *ſometimes Underſtand and ſometimes not Underſtand*, as if it were ſometimes *Awake* and ſometimes *Aſleep*, or like an Eye ſometimes Open and ſometimes Shut, but ἀεὶ ἐνέργεια, Such a Mind as is *Eſſentially* Act and Energy; and hath no Defect in it. And this as we have already declared, can be no other than the *Mind* of an *Omnipotent*, and Infinitely *Perfect Being*, *Comprehending It Self* and the *Extent* of its own *Power*, or how far it ſelf is *Communicable*, that is, all the Poſſibilities of things, that may be made by it, and their reſpective *Truths*; *Mind* and *Knowledge* in the very Nature of it, ſuppoſing the *Actual Exiſtence* of an *Omnipotent* or *Infinitely Powerful Being*, as its ΝΟΗΤΟΝ or *Intelligible*; It being nothing but the *Comprehenſion* of the Extent of Infinite or Divine Power, and the *Meaſure* of the ſame.

And from hence it is Evident alſo, that there can be but *One only Original Mind*, or no more than *One Underſtanding Being Self* Exiſtent; all other *Minds* whatſoever *Partaking* of one Original Mind; and being as it were Stamped with the Impreſſion or Signature of one and the ſame Seal. From whence it cometh to paſs, that all Minds in the ſeveral Places and Ages of the World, have *Ideas* or *Notions* of Things Exactly Alike, and *Truths Indiviſibly the Same.* Truths are not multiplied, by the Diverſity of *Minds* that apprehend them; becauſe they are all but *Ectypal Participations* of one and the ſame *Original* or *Archetypal Mind*, and *Truth.* As the ſame Face may be Reflected in ſeveral Glaſſes; and the Image of the ſame Sun may be in a thouſand Eyes at once beholding it; and One and the ſame Voyce may be in a thouſand Eares liſtning to it; ſo when Innumerable *Created Minds*, have the ſame *Ideas* of Things, and Underſtand the Same *Truths*; it is but One and the ſame *Eternal Light*, that is *Reflected* in them all; (*that Light which enlighteneth Every man, that cometh into the World*;) or the ſame *Voyce* of that *One Everlaſting Word*, that is never Silent, *Reechoed* by them. Thus was it concluded by *Themiſtius*, that one man by Teaching, could not Poſſibly beget in the Mind of another, the very ſame *Notions*, *Conceptions* and *Knowledges*, which himſelf had in his own Mind, εἰ μὴ ταυτὸν ἦν τὸ νόημα τοῦ διδάσκοντος καὶ τοῦ μανθάνοντος, *Were not the Minds both of the Teacher and of the Learner as it were Printed and Stamped alike.* As alſo that men could not Poſſibly ſo confer together as they do, preſently apprehending one anothers meaning, and raiſing up the very Same ſenſes in their Minds, and that meerly by Occaſion of Words and Sounds, εἰ μήτις ἦν ΕΙΣ ΝΟΥΣ ὃν πάντες ἐκοινωνοῦμεν, *Were there not ſome One Mind which all men did Partake of.* As for that *Anti-Monarchical Opinion*, of *Many Underſtanding Beings*, or *Minds*, *Self Originated*, and *Independent*, (none of which therefore could be *Omnipotent*) it is neither Conceivable, how ſuch ſhould all agree in the ſame *Truths*, there being no *Common Meaſure* of *Truth* betwixt them, no more than any Common Rule of their *Wills*; nor indeed how they ſhould have any *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding* at all, properly ſo called, that being the *Comprehenſion* of the *Poſſibilities* of things, or of the *Extent of Infinite Power*, whereas according to this *Hypotheſis*, there is no *Infinite Power* at all, the Power of each of thoſe Many ſuppoſed Principles

ples or Deities, being Limited and Finite, and therefore indeed not Creative of any thing neither, ſince that which could Create one thing, could Create all, and conſequently would have all depending upon it. We conclude therefore, That from the Nature of *Mind* and *Knowledge*, it is *Demonſtrable*, That there can be but *One Original* and *Self-Exiſtent Mind*, or *Underſtanding Being*, from which all other *Minds* were derived. And now have we, more Copiouſly than we deſigned, Confuted the Firſt *Atheiſtick Argument*, we having not only aſſerted the *Idea of God*, and fully Anſwered and refelled all the *Atheiſtick Pretences* againſt the ſame; but alſo from this very *Idea of God*, or a *Perfect Being*, Demonſtrated his *Exiſtence*. We ſhall diſpatch the following *Atheiſtick Objections* with more brevity.

WE come in the next place, to the *Achilles* of the *Atheiſts*; their *Invincible Argument*, againſt a Divine *Creation* and *Omnipotence*; becauſe *Nothing could come from Nothing*. It being concluded from hence, that whatſoever *Subſtantially* or *Really Is*, was from all Eternity Of It Self, Unmade or *Uncreated by any Deity*. Or elſe thus; By God is alwayes Underſtood, a *Creator* of ſome *Real Entity* or other out of Nothing; but it is an *Undoubted Principle* of Reaſon and Philoſophy, an Undenyable *Common Notion*, That *Nothing can be made out of Nothing*, and therefore there can be no ſuch *Creative Power* as this. And here we ſhall perform theſe *Three Things*; Firſt, we ſhall ſhow That in ſome Senſes, this is indeed an *Unqueſtionable Truth*, and *Common Notion*, That *Nothing can come from Nothing*, and what thoſe Senſes are. Secondly, We ſhall make it evident, that in the Senſe of this *Atheiſtick Objection*, it is *Abſolutely Falſe*, That *Nothing can come from Nothing*, or be made *out of Nothing*; and that a Divine *Creation* and *Omnipotence*, can be no way Impugned from the forementioned Principle rightly Underſtood. Thirdly and Laſtly, We ſhall prove, That as from this *Principle* or *Common Notion*, *Nothing out of Nothing*, there can be no Execution at all done againſt *Theiſm*, or a *Divine Creation*; ſo from the very Same rightly Underſtood, the Impoſſibility of all Atheiſm may be *Demonſtratively* Proved, it bringing Something out of Nothing in an *Impoſſible Senſe*; as alſo the *Exiſtence* of a God Evinced.

We grant therefore in the Firſt place, that this is in ſome Senſe an *Undoubted Principle of Reaſon*, or an *Undeniable Common Notion*, that *Nothing can come from Nothing*. For Firſt, it is Unqueſtionably True, That *Nothing which once was not, could ever Of It ſelf come into Being*; or That *Nothing could bring it Self out of Non-Exiſtence into Being*; That *Nothing can take Beginning of Exiſtence from it Self*; or That *Nothing can be Made or Produced without an Efficient Cauſe*. And from hence, as hath been already Intimated, is it Demonſtratively Certain, that every thing was not Made, but that there is ſomething Neceſſarily Self Exiſtent, and which could not But Be. For had every thing

been

been Made, then muſt ſomething of Neceſſity, have been Made out of Nothing by It Self; which is Impoſſible.

Again, As Nothing which was Not, could ever Of It ſelf come into Being, or be Made, without an *Efficient Cauſe*, ſo is it certain likewiſe, that Nothing can be *Efficiently Cauſed* or Produced, by that which hath not in it at leaſt *Equal*, (if not Greater) *Perfection*, as alſo *Sufficient Power* to *Produce* the ſame. We ſay Nothing *which was not*, could *ever be brought into Being*, by that which hath not Formally, Equal *Perfection* in it; becauſe Nothing can Give what it hath not, and therefore ſo much of the *Perfection* or *Entity* of the Effect, as is greater than that of the ſuppoſed Cauſe; ſo much thereof muſt needs come from Nothing, or be made without a *Cauſe*. Moreover whatſoever hath *Equal Perfection* to another thing, could not therefore *Cauſe* or *Produce* that other thing; becauſe it might either have no *Active Power* at all, as Matter hath not, it being meerly *Paſſive*, or elſe no *Sufficient Active* and *Productive Power*. As for Example, though it be not Impoſſible, That *Motion* which once was not, ſhould be Produced; yet is it *Impoſſible*, that it ſhould be ever Produced, without a *Sufficient Cauſe*. Wherefore if there were once no *Motion* at all in the whole world, nor no Life or Self Active Power in any thing, but all were Dead; then is it certain, that there could never poſſibly ariſe, any *Motion* or *Mutation* in it to all Eternity. There being no *Sufficient Cauſe*, to Produce the Same; ſince nothing can produce *Motion*, but that which hath *Life* or Self-*Activity* in it; and if *Motion* or any thing elſe, ſhould begin to be, without a *Sufficient Cauſe*, then muſt it needs be *Cauſed by It Self*, or *Of It* Self come into Being; which is a thing Impoſſible. Now no Imperfect Being whatſoever, hath a *Sufficient Emanative Power* to Create any other Subſtance, or Produce it out of Nothing; the utmoſt that can be done by Imperfect Beings, is only to Produce new *Accidents* and *Modifications*: as Humane Souls can Produce new *Cogitations* in themſelves, and new *Local Motion* in Bodies. No Imperfect Being is Subſtantially *Emanative*, or can Produce another *Subſtance* out of *Non-Exiſtence*. Therefore for any Subſtance, to be brought into Being, by an *Imperfect Subſtance*, which hath not *Sufficient Emanative* or *Creative Power*, is a thing plainly Impoſſible; it being all one as to ſay, That a Subſtance might Of It ſelf, come out of *Nothing into Being*. And thus is it granted, that no Subſtance could be *Created*, or brought out of Non-Exiſtence, into Being, but by the ſole *Efficiency* of an *Abſolutely Perfect* Being, which hath both Greater *Perfection*, (it Eminently Containing all things in it) and alſo a *Sufficient Emanative* or *Creative Power*.

And now have we given an Account, of Two Senſes, wherein it is Impoſſible, For *Any thing to come from Nothing*; One, For a thing which was not, to bring it Self into Being, or to be Made without an *Efficient Cauſe*: *Another*, For a thing to be *Efficiently* Cauſed, by that which hath not at leaſt *Equal Perfection* in it, or a *Sufficient Emanative* or *Productive Power*. Both which Senſes of this Axiom reſpect the *Efficient Cauſe*, and thus was it frequent-

ly understood by divers of the Ancients, and particularly by *Cicero*. We shall now propound a Third Sense, wherein this Axiom is also Verified, *That Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*, respecting chiefly the *Material Cause*. For since no *Imperfect*, *Natural* Being, hath any *Creative Power*, or can Efficiently produce any *New Substance* or *Real Entity*, which was not before, into Being, but only act upon *Preexisting Matter*, by *Motion*, and *Modifie* the same; and since *Matter*, as such, being meerly *Passive*, cannot Cause any thing, that was not before, or will not result from the *Composition* or *Modification* of it; it follows undeniably, that in all *Natural Generations* and *Productions* out of *Preexistent Matter*, (without a *Divine Creation*) there can never be any *New Substance* or *Real Entity* brought out of Non-Existence into Being. And this was that very thing, and no other, which the Ancient *Physiologers* meant, when (as *Aristotle* tells us) they so much insisted upon this Principle, Τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον, *That it was Impossible that any Real Entity, should be* (Naturally) *Made or Generated out of Nothing*; Or, as it is also otherwise expressed, Οὐδὲν ὁδὲ γίνεσθαι ὁδὲ φθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, *That no Real Entity was either Generated or Corrupted.* That is, That in *Natural Generations*, *Corruptions*, and *Alterations*, (where God is supposed not *Miraculously* to interpose) there is no *Creation* of any New *Substance* or *Real Entity out of Nothing*, nor *Annihilation*, or *Destruction* of any into *Nothing*.

We are not ignorant, that the Generality of *Modern Writers*, have interpreted this Doctrine, of the Old *Physiologers* in *Aristotle*, into quite different Sense; as designing therein to take away all *Divine Creation* out of *Nothing*; (or Non-*Existence*) they making all things to have sprung out of *Matter* (existing Of it self from Eternity) either *Without a God*; or else rather (because *Parmenides* and *Empedocles*, and other Asserters of this Doctrine, were undoubted Theists) *With Him*. So that God could not *Create* any *New Entity* out of *Nothing*, but only make things out of *Preexisting Unmade Matter*, as a Carpenter doth a House, or a Weaver a Piece of Cloth. And thus is it Commonly taken for granted, that no Pagan Philosopher ever went so far, as to acknowledge a *Divine Creation* of any thing out of *Nothing*, in the Sense of *Christian Theologers*. And here we grant indeed that besides the *Stoicks*, there have been some other *Philosophick Theists* amongst the Pagans, of this Perswasion; That *Nothing* was nor could be made by *God*, otherwise, *then out of Something Præ-Existing:* as *Plutarchus Chæronensis* for one, who in a place already Cited positively affirmeth, Τὸ μὲν κόσμον ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγονέναι, τῷ ὃ δύναται μὴ ὕλῃ ἐξ ἧς γέγονεν, ὃ γενομένῳ, ἀλλὰ ὑποκειμένῃ ἀεὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ. *That though the world were indeed made by God, yet the Substance or Matter, out of which it was Made, was not Made.* And then he subjoyns this very Reason for it, ὃ γὰρ ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γένεσις, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦ μὴ καλῶς, μηδ' ἱκανῶς ἔχοντος, ὡς οἰκίας ἢ ἱματίου ἢ ἀνδριάντος. *Because there can be no Making of any thing out of Nothing, but only out of Something Præ-Existing, not rightly Ordered or Sufficiently disposed; as in a House, Garment, or Statue.* From which conceit of *Plutarch*'s, though he were otherwise Ingenious, it may well be supposed, that

the

the *Dull Bœotick Air* had too much Effect upon him. However neither *Plutarch* nor the *Stoicks*, as we conceive, are for this to be accounted *Absolute* and *Downright Atheists*, but only *Imperfect*, *Mungrel*, and *Spurious Theists*. And therefore were Atheists never so much able to prove, that there could be no *Creation* out of Nothing Præ-Existing, which they cannot at all do, yet would not this overthrow *Theism* in general, there being a *Latitude* therein. Nevertheless it will undeniably appear, from what shall follow, that those Ancient *Italicks and Pythagoricks*, were so far from intending here any such thing, to deduce all things out of Matter, either Without, or With a God; as that they plainly designed the very Contrary; namely to prove that no *New Real Entity* could be Made out of *Matter*, and particularly that *Souls* could not be *Generated* out of the same; which therefore of necessity, must, according to them, have another *Divine Original*, and be *Made by God*, not out of *Matter*, but out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*: since it could not be supposed by any, that all Souls Existed *Of Themselves* from *Eternity Unmade*. And indeed all those *Pagan Philosophers* who asserted the *Incorporiety* of *Souls*, must of necessity in like manner, suppose them not to have been *Made*, out of *Præ-Existing Matter*, but by *God out of Nothing*. *Plutarch* being only here to be excepted, by reason of a certain odd *Hypothesis* which he had, that was peculiarly his own; of a Third *Principle*, besides *God* and *Matter*, a *Disorderly Soul*, *or Evil Demon Self Existent*, who therefore seems to have supposed all Particular Humane Souls, to have been made, neither out of *Nothing*, nor yet out of *Matter* or *Body Præ-Existing*, but out of a certain strange *Commixture*, of the *Substance* of that *Evil Soul*, and God, blended together: upon which account, does he affirm *Souls* to be, not so much ἔργον as μέρος θεοῦ, not so much, *the work of God*, as *a Part of him*. And now let any one Judge, whether upon *Plutarch*'s account, there be not yet further reason, to complain of this *Bœotick Air*. Wherefore we conclude, that those old *Physiologers* in *Aristotle*, who insisted so much upon that Principle, That no *Real Entity* could be *Made* or *Generated* out of *Nothing*, acted only as *Physiologers* therein, and not as *Theologers* or *Metaphysicians*, they not opposing a *Divine Creation* out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*, but only contending that no *New Entity* could be made out of *Matter*, and that in *Natural Generations* and *Corruptions* there was no *Creation* or *Annihilation* of any thing.

But what the true scope and meaning of these *Physiologers* indeed was, will more plainly appear, from that Use or Improvement, which themselves made of this *Philosophick* Principle, and this was *Twofold*. For *First*, It is certain that upon this Foundation, they all of them Endeavoured to Establish, a Peculiar kind of *Physiology*, and some *Atomology* or other, either an *Homœomery*, or an *Anomœomery*, a *Similar or Dissimilar Atomology*. For *Anaxagoras* looking upon this *Maxim* of the *Italick Philosophers*, That Nothing could be *Physically* made out of *Nothing*, or no *Real Entity Generated* or *Corrupted*, as an Undoubted *Principle of Reason*, and being also not able to Conceive otherwise, of the *Forms* and *Qualities* of Bodies than that they were *Real Entities*, distinct from the *Substance of Matter*, or *its Modifica-*

tions; concluded that therefore in *Generations*, *Corruptions* and *Alterations*, these were not created out of *Nothing*, and *Annihilated* into Nothing, but that every thing was Naturally made, ἐκ προϋπαρχόντων καὶ ἐνυπαρχόντων, *out of Præ-Existent and In Existent Things*, and consequently that there were in all things, *Dissimilar Atoms* and *Particles* of every Kind, though by reason of their *Parvitude Insensible* to us, and every thing seemed to be, only that, which was most *Predominant* and *Conspicuous* in it. To wit, That *Bone* was made out of *Bony* Atoms, and *Flesh* out of *Fleshy*, *Hot* things out of *Hot Atoms*, and *Cold things* out of *Cold*, Black out of Black, and White out of White, *&c.* and *Nothing* out of *Nothing*, but every thing out of *Præ-Existing* Similar *Atoms*. Thus was the sense of *Anaxagoras* plainly declared by *Aristotle*, That *because Contraries were made out of one another, they were therefore before In-Existent. For since every thing must of necessity be made, either out of Something, or out of Nothing, and all* Physiologers *agree, That it is Impossible, for any thing to be made out of Nothing; it follows unavoidably, that whatsoever is Generated must be Generated out of things Præ-Existing and In-Existing, though by reason of their Parvitude Insensible to us; That is, out of Similar or Homogenial Atoms, of which there are some of all kinds in* Every *thing; every thing being mingled in every thing.* Here therefore have we, the *Anaxagorean Homœomery*, or *Similar Atomology*, built upon this *Principle of Reason*, as its Foundation, *That Nothing can Naturally be* Made *or Generated out of Nothing.*

But the *Italicks* or *Pythagoricks*, as well before *Anaxagoras* as after him, (with whom also hitherto concurred, *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*, those *Atheizers* of the *Italick Physiology*) did with much better Reason, from the same Fundamental Principle conclude, that since these *Forms* and *Qualities* of Bodies, were unquestionably *Generated* and *Corrupted*, they were therefore no *Entities Really Distinct* from the *Substance* of *Matter*, or its *Modifications*, but only different *Dispositions* or *Modifications* of the *Insensible Parts* thereof, Causing in us Different *Phantasms:* and this was the First Original of the *Dissimilar Atomology.* In Matter or Body, therefore as such, there was nothing else to these Philosophers conceivable, but only *Magnitude of Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*, or *Rest:* and these were those few *Elements*, out of which *In-Existing*, and variously *Combined* together, they supposed all those *Forms* and *Qualities* of Bodies, (commonly so called) in Generations to result, without the Production of any *New Real Entity* out of *Nothing.* For as out of a few Letters in the *Alphabet* of every *Language*, Differently placed and Combined, do Result innumerable *Syllables*, *Words*, and *Sounds*, signifying all the several things, in Heaven and Earth; and sometimes from all the very same Letters, neither more nor fewer, but only Transposed, are begotten very Different *Phantasms of Sounds in us*; but without the Production of any *New Real Entity* out of Nothing: in the very same manner, from those *Fewer Letters* in the *Alphabet* of the *Corporeal Nature*, Variously combined, or from the different *Modifications* of *Matter*, in respect of *Magnitude of Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, & *Motion*, are Made up and *Spelled* out, all those *Syllables* of Things that are in the whole World,

World, without the Production of any New *Real Entity*. Many times the very ſame Numerical Matter, neither more nor leſs, only differently *Modified*, Cauſing very different *Phantaſms* in us, which are therefore vulgarly ſuppoſed to be *Forms* and *Qualities* in the Things; as when the ſame water, is ſucceſſively changed and transformed into Vapour, Snow, Hail, and Ice. And to this very purpoſe is the forementioned Similitude elegantly purſued by the *Epicurean* Poet, in theſe following Verſes,

Quin etiam refert noſtris in Verſibus ipſis,
Cum quibus & quali ſint Ordine quæque locata.
Namque eadem Cœlum, Mare, Terras, Flumina, Solem,
Significant, eadem Fruges, Arbuſta, Animantes.
Sic ipſis in rebus item jam Materiai
Concurſus, Motus, Ordo, Poſitura, Figuræ,
Cum permutantur, mutari Res quoque debent.

L. 2. p. 191. Lamb.

For were thoſe ſuppoſed *Forms* and *Qualities*, produced in *Generations* and *Alterations*, *Entities Really diſtinct* from the *Subſtance* of *Matter*, or its different *Modifications*, in reſpect of the *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, aud *Motion* of Parts; (there being no ſuch things before *In-Exiſting* as *Anaxagoras* ſuppoſed,) then would they *Materially* proceed from *Nothing*, which is a thing Impoſſible. And this *Diſſimilar Atomology* of the ancient *Italicks*, ſo far as to theſe *Material Forms and Qualities*, Seems to be Undoubtedly the only true *Phyſiology*, it being built upon this ſure Principle of Reaſon, That becauſe Nothing *can give what it hath not*, therefore no *New Subſtance* or *Real Entity*, can be *Materially* produced, in the *Generations* and *Alterations* of *Nature*, as ſuch; but only *Modifications*. As when an *Architect* builds a Houſe, or a Weaver makes a piece of Cloth, there is only a different *Modification* of the *Præ-Exiſtent* Matter.

This is the *Firſt Improvement*, which the Ancient *Italick Philoſophers* made, of this *Principle*, That *Nothing can be* (*Phyſically* and *Materially*) *Generated out of Nothing*; or that *no Real Entity is Naturally Generated or Corrupted*; That therefore the *Forms* and *Qualities* of Bodies, were no *Real Entities*, but only Different *Modifications*. But beſides this, there was alſo another thing, which theſe Philoſophers principally Aimed at herein, as a *Corollary* deducible from the ſame *Principle*, concerning *Souls*; that ſince the *Souls of Animals*, Eſpecially *Humane*, are unqueſtionably *Entities* Really diſtinct from *Matter*, and all its *Modifications*; (no *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites* and *Motions*, being ever able to beget *Cogitation* or *Conſciouſneſs*, much leſs a Power of *Underſtanding Eternal Verities*) that therefore theſe could not be Generated out of *Matter*, nor Corrupted into the ſame. Becauſe *Forms* and *Qualities* are Continually *Generated* and *Corrupted*, made out of *Nothing*, and *Reduced* to *Nothing* again; therefore are they no *Entities* Really diſtinct from *Matter*, and its different *Modifications*: but becauſe *Souls*, at leaſt *Humane*, are unqueſtionably *Entities Really* diſtinct from *Matter*, and all its *Modifications*; therefore can they not poſſibly be *Generated* out of Mat-

ter,

ter, nor *Corrupted* into the ſame. For if *Humane Souls* were *Generated* out of *Matter*, then muſt ſome *Real Entity* be *Materially produced* out of *Nothing*, there being *Nothing* of *Life* and *Cogitation* in *Matter*; which is a Thing Abſolutely Impoſſible. Wherefore theſe Philoſophers concluded concerning *Souls*, that being not *Generated out of Matter*, they were *Inſinuated* or *Introduced* into Bodies, in *Generations*. And this was always a Great Controverſie, betwixt *Theiſts* and *Atheiſts*, concerning the Humane Soul, as *Lucretius* expreſſeth it;

Nata ſit, an contrà Naſcentibus Inſinuetur,

Whether it were Made or *Generated* out of *Matter*, (that is indeed *out of Nothing*) or elſe *were* θύραθεν, *From Without*, Inſinuated into Bodies in Generations? Which latter Opinion of theirs, ſuppoſes *Souls* as well to have *Exiſted Before* the *Generations* of all Animals, as to Exiſt *After* their *Deaths* and *Corruptions*; there being properly Nothing of them *Generated* but only their Union with thoſe particular Bodies. So that the *Generations*, and *Corruptions* or *Deaths* of Animals, according to this *Hypotheſis*, are nothing but an *Anagrammatical Tranſpoſition* of Things in the Univerſe, *Præ- and Poſt-Exiſtent Souls*, being ſometimes united to one Body, and ſometimes to another. But it doth not therefore follow, becauſe theſe Ancient Philoſophers held *Souls* to be thus *Ingenerable*, and to have *Pre-Exiſted* before the Generation of Animals; that therefore they ſuppoſed all *Souls* to have *Exiſted Of Themſelves* from *Eternity Unmade*: this being a Thing which was never aſſerted, any more by Theiſt than Atheiſt; ſince even thoſe *Philoſophick Theiſts*, who maintained *Æternitatem Animorum*, *The Eternity of Humane Minds and Souls*, together with the *Worlds*, did notwithſtanding, aſſert their Eſſential Dependence upon the *Deity*, like that of the *Lights* upon the Sun; as if they were a kind of *Eternal Effulgency*, Emanation or Eradiation from an *Eternal Sun*. Even *Proclus* himſelf, that Great Champion for the *Eternity* of the *World* and *Souls*, in this very Caſe, when he writes againſt *Plutarch's Self-Exiſtent Evil Soul*, expreſly declaring, that πᾶσα ψυχὴ γέγνημά ἐϛι τοῦ Θεοῦ, *There is no Self Exiſtent Soul*; but every *Soul whatſoever is the Work, Effect and Production of God*. Wherefore when they affirmed *Souls* to be *Ingenerable*, their meaning was no more than this, that they were not meer *Accidental Things* as *Forms* and *Qualities* are, nor any more Generated out of *Matter*, than *Matter* it ſelf is *Generated* out of *Something* elſe; upon which account, as *Ariſtotle* informs us, *Souls* were called alſo by them, ἀρχαὶ, *Principles*, as well as *Matter*, they being both of them *Subſtances* in the Univerſe alike *Original*; that is neither of them Made out of the other. But they did not ſuppoſe them to be ἀγενήτους, *Ingenerate* or *Unmade* in the other Senſe, as if they had been *Self-Originated*, and *Independent*, as *Plutarch's Second* and *Third Principles*; his Evil Soul, and *Matter* were by him Imagined to be: but ſo doubtleſs as that if the World had had any beginning, they ſhould then have been all *Created together* with it, out of *Nothing* Præ-Exiſting. But as for the perpetual *Creation* of *new Souls*, in the Succeſſive Generations of *Animals*, this indeed is a thing

thing which those Philosophers were extremely abhorrent from, as thinking it Incongruous, that *Souls* which are in *Order of Nature*, *Senior to Bodies*, should be in *Order of Time*, *Juniors* to them; as also not Reasonable, that *Divine Creation*, (as it were Prostituted) should without end, perpetually attend and wait upon *Natural Generations*, and be Intermingled with them.

But as for this *Præ-Existence* of *Souls*, we have already declared our own sense concerning it, in the First Chapter. Though we cannot deny, but that besides *Origen*, several others of the Ancient Fathers, before the Fifth Council, seem either to have Espoused it, or at least to have had a favour and kindness for it; insomuch that St. *Austine* himself, is sometimes Staggering in this Point, and thinks it to be a *Great Secret*, whether mens Souls Existed before their Generations or no; and some where concludes it to be a matter of *Indifferency*, wherein every one may have, his Liberty of opining, either way, without offence. Wherefore all that can be certainly affirmed in this Case, is, that Humane Souls could not possibly be *Generated* out of *Matter*, but were some time or other *Created* by God Almighty, out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*, either In *Generations* or Before them. Lastly, as for Brute Animals, we must confess, that If they be not meer *Machines* or *Automata*, as some seem inclinable to believe, but *Conscious* and *Thinking Beings*, then from the same Principle of Reason, it will likewise follow, that they cannot be *Generated* out of *Matter* neither, and therefore must be Derived from the *Fountain of all Life*, and *Created out of Nothing* by him: who since he can, as easily *Annihilate*, as *Create*; and does all for the Best; no man need at all to trouble himself, about their *Permanency*, or *Immortality*.

And now have we given, a Full and Particular Account, of all the *Several Senses*, wherein this *Axiom* must be acknowledged to be Undeniably True, That *Nothing can possibly be Made out of Nothing*, or *Come from Nothing*; namely these *Three*. First, That *Nothing which was Not, could ever bring it self into Being*, or *Efficiently Produce it self*. Or, That *Nothing can possibly be* Made, *without an Efficient Cause*. Secondly, that *Nothing which was Not*, could be Produced or *brought into Being, by any other Efficient Cause, then such, as hath at least, Equal Perfection in it, and a Sufficient Active or Productive Power*. For if any thing were made by that, which hath not *Equal Perfection*, then must so much of the Effect as Transcendeth the Cause, be indeed Made *without a Cause*, (since, *Nothing can Give what it hath not*) or be *Caused* by it *self*, or by Nothing. Again, to suppose a thing to be *Produced* by that which hath no *Sufficient Productive Power*, is Really to suppose it also, to be *Produced* from *It self* without a *Cause*, or *From Nothing*. Where it is acknowledged by us, That no *Natural*, *Imperfect*, *Created Being*, can *Create*, or *Emanatively Produce*, a New *Substance* which was not Before, and give it, its *Whole Being*. Hitherto, is the Axiom Verified in Respect of the *Efficient Cause*. But in the *Third Place*, it is also True, in respect of the *Material* likewise. Not, That *Nothing could Possibly be ever Made*, by any Power whatsoever, but only out of *Pre-Existent* Matter; and Consequently, that Mat-

ter

ter it ſelf could be never *Made*, but was *Self-Exiſtent*. For the falſity of this, is ſufficiently evident, from what hath been already declared, concerning *Humane Souls*, their being undoubtedly *Subſtances Incorporeal*, which therefore could never be *Generated* out of *Matter*; and it will be further manifeſted afterwards. But the Third and Laſt *Senſe is this*; That *Nothing which is Materially Made out of things Præ-Exiſting*, (as ſome are) *can have any other Real Entity*, then what *was either before contained* in, or reſulteth from the Things themſelves ſo Modified. Or, That there can be no New *Entities* or *Subſtances*, Naturally *Generated* out of *Matter*; and therefore that all *Natural Generations*, are really Nothing elſe, but *Mixtures* or *New Modifications of Things Præ-Exiſting*.

Theſe, I ſay, are all the *Senſes*, wherein it is *Impoſſible*, That any thing ſhould *be Made out of Nothing*, or *Come from Nothing*; and they may be all reduced to this *One General Senſe*, That *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing, Cauſally*; Or, That, *Nothing cannot Cauſe Any thing, either Efficiently or Materially*. Which as it is undeniably True; So is it ſo far from making any thing, againſt a *Divine Creation*, or the *Exiſtence of a God*, that the ſame may be *Demonſtratively* Proved, and Evinced from it, as ſhall be ſhewed afterward.

But there is another Senſe, wherein things may be ſaid to be Made ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, Or, *Out of Nothing*, when thoſe words are not taken *Cauſally*, but only ſo as to ſignifie the *Terminus A quo*, or *Term from which*, they are Made, to wit, an Antecedent Non-Exiſtence. And then the Meaning of this *Propoſition*, That *Nothing can poſſibly be Made out of Nothing*, will be this, That *Nothing which once was Not*, could by any *Power whatſoever*, be afterwards brought into Being. And this is the Senſe inſiſted on, in this Second *Atheiſtick Argumentation*, framed according to the Principles, of the *Democritick* or *Epicurean Atheiſm*. That no *Real Entity* which once was not, could by any Power whatſoever, be *Made*, or brought out of *Non-Exiſtence* into *Being*; and conſequently, that no *Creative Power* out of *Nothing*, can poſſibly belong to any thing, though ſuppoſed never ſo Perfect.

In Anſwer whereunto; we ſhall perform theſe *Two Things*. Firſt, we ſhall make it appear, that *Nothing out of Nothing*, taken in this Senſe declared, is ſo far from being a *Common Notion*, that it is not at all *True*. And Secondly, we ſhall prove, that If it were True, yet would it of the Two, make more againſt *Atheiſm*, then it doth againſt *Theiſm*, and therefore ought by no means to be uſed by *Atheiſts*, as an *Argument* againſt a *Deity*. *Firſt* therefore, it is unqueſtionably certain, That this cannot be Univerſally True, That *Nothing which once was not*, could poſſibly be *Made*, or brought out of *Non-Exiſtence* into Being, becauſe If it were, then could there be no ſuch thing as *Making* or *Cauſing* at all; no *Action* nor *Motion*, and conſequently no *Generation* nor *Mutation* in the Corporeal Univerſe, but the whole world would be like a *Stiff Immoveable* Adamantine Rock: and this would doubtleſs be a better Argument againſt *Motion*, then any of *Zeno's* was. But we have all experience within our ſelves, of a Power of Producing *New Cogitations*,

Cogitations, in our own Minds, new *Intellectual* and *Moral Habits*, as also *New Local Motion* in our Bodies, or at least *New Determinations* thereof, and of *Causing* thereby *New Modifications* in Bodies without us. And therefore are the *Atheists* forced to Restrain the Sense of this Proposition to *Substantial* Things only, that though there may be *New Accidents*, and *Modifications*, Produced out of *Nothing*, yet there can be no *New Substances Made*; however they be not able in the mean time to give any Reason why One of those should be in it self more Impossible than the other, or why no Substance should be *Makeable*. But that some are so stagger'd with the Seeming Plausibility of this Argument, is chiefly upon these following Accounts. First, by reason of the *Confusion* of their own *Conceptions*; for because it is certain, That *Nothing can possibly be made out of Nothing*, in one Sense, to wit *Causally*; they not distinguishing Senses, nor being aware of the *Equivocation* that is in this ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, inadvertently give their assent, to those Words in a Wrong Sense; that no Substance (as *Matter*) could possibly be brought out of *Non-Existence into Being*. Secondly, by reason of their Unskilful Arguing from *Artificial* Things; When because Nothing can be *Artificially Made but out of Pre-Existing Matter*, as a *House* or *Garment*, and the like, (there being nothing done in the Production of these Things, but only a *New Modification*, of what before *Substantially* was) they over hastily conclude, that no Power whatsoever could produce any thing otherwise, then out of *Pre-Existing Matter*, and that Matter it self therefore could not possibly be Made. In which Conceit they are again further confirmed from hence, because the Old Physiologers maintained the same thing concerning *Natural Generations* likewise, That nothing was in them *produced* ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, neither; or that there was no *New Substance* or *Entity Made* in them, really distinct from the *Pre-Existing Matter* and its *Modifications*; they Unwarily Extending this, beyond the Bounds of *Physicks* into *Metaphysicks*; and unduly measuring or limiting *Infinite* Power accordingly. Lastly, because it is undeniably certain, concerning Our Selves and all *Imperfect Created Beings*, that none of these can *Create* any New *Substance*, which was not before; men are therefore apt to measure all things by their own scantling, and to suppose it Universally Impossible, according to *Humane Reason*, for any Power whatsoever, thus to *Create*; whence it follows that *Theology* must in this be acknowledged to be Contradictious to the *Principles* of *Natural Light* and *Understanding*. But since it is certain, that Imperfect Created Beings can themselves Produce *Some Things* out of *Nothing Pre-Existing*, as *New Cogitations*, and *New Local Motion*, *New Modifications* and *Transformations* of things Corporeal, it is very reasonable to think, that an Absolutely Perfect Being could do something more; that is, Create *New Substances* out of *Nothing*, or give them their Whole Being. And it may well be thought to be as Easie, for God, or an Omnipotent Being, to Make a Whole World, Matter and all, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, as it is for us to Create *a Thought*, or to Move *a Finger*, or for the Sun to send *out Rayes*, or a *Candle Light*, or lastly, for any Opake Body, to produce the Image of it self in Glasses or Water, or to project a Shadow; all these *Imperfect Things* being but the

Energies, *Rays*, *Images*, or *Shadows*, of the Deity. For a Substance which once was not, to be Made by God, or a Being *Infinitely Perfect*; this is not for it to be Made *Out of Nothing*, in the Impossible Sense, it coming from him who is *All*. Nor can it be said to be Impossible, for any thing whatsoever, to be *Made* by that, which hath not only *Infinitely Greater Perfection*, but also a *Sufficient Active Power* to produce the same, it being *Substantially Emanative*. It is true indeed, that *Infinite Power* it self, cannot do things in their own *Nature Impossible*; and this is therefore the only thing, which the Atheists have to prove, That it is in it self *Absolutely Impossible*, for a Substance, (though not for an *Accident* or *Modification*) to be produced out of *Non-Existence* into *Being*. Whereas nothing is in it self *Absolutely Impossible*, but what implies a *Contradiction*: and though it be *Contradictious*, for a Thing to Be and Not Be, at the same time; yet is there no manner of *Contradiction* at all in this, for any *Imperfect Contingent Being* which before was not, afterwards to be. Wherefore this being in it self no way *Impossible*, it must be acknowledged to be a *Due Object* of *Infinite Power*, or that which may be done by a *Perfect Omnipotent Being* existing.

If Nothing could be Made ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, in this Latter Sense, that is, *Nothing which Before was Not*, Afterwards brought into Being; then must the Reason hereof be, because no *Substance* or *Real Entity*, can be *Caused* by any other *Substance*, so as to Receive and Derive its *Whole Being* from it; and Consequently whatsoever *Substance* or *Real Entity*, is in the Whole World, was not only from *Eternity* without *Beginning*, but also Existed *Of It self Necessarily*, and *Independently* upon any thing else. But First, it hath been already declared, that it is repugnant to the Humane Faculties, that any *Temporary Successive Being* whatsoever, or that *Time* it self should be *Eternal* without beginning, because upon that *Hypothesis*, there would always have been an *Infinity* of *Time Past*; and if so, then would there of necessity have been, *Time Past*, *which was never Present*. But, to make every *Substantial Thing*, not only to have Existed *from Eternity* without *Beginning* (which yet hath been done by some *Mistaken Theists*) but also to have Existed, *Independently* upon any thing else, as its *Cause*, or *Original*, and therefore *Of it self Necessarily*, this, I say, is it self, to Make *Something to come from Nothing in the Impossible Sense*, to wit, Causally. For as when some *Atheists* affirm, That *Nothing could Ever Move It self*, and yet suppose notwithstanding, that there hath been *Motion* from all *Eternity*, they plainly make this *Motion*, (however supposed to be *Eternal*) to *Come from Nothing* in the Impossible Sense: so in like manner, they who suppose *Things* to have Existed *Of themselves Necessarily*, which have no *Self-Existence*, and *Necessary Existence* contained in their Nature, (as Nothing but a Perfect Being hath) do make this *Necessary Existence* of such things, to have *Come from Nothing*. Wherefore though it be certain, that something did Exist *Of It self Necessarily* from all Eternity, namely a Perfect Being (whose *Necessary Existence* is therefore not from *Nothing*, because Essentially included in its own Nature) yet is it certain likewise, that there can be but *One* Such Thing; *Necessity of Existence* being *Natural*

See Enchir. Met. c.10.

and

and *Eſſential* to no more. But as for all other things, which are in their own Nature, *Contingently Poſſible* to Be or Not to be, Reaſon pronounces of them, that they could not Exiſt *Of themſelves Neceſſarily*, but were *Cauſed* by Something elſe; and derived their Original, from that One *Abſolutely* Perfect, and *Neceſſarily Exiſtent Being*. So that *Plato*'s Diſtinction muſt needs be here allowed of, betwixt *Two Kinds* of Beings, τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ ὄν, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον, *That which always Is, and was never Made, nor had Beginning*; and τὸ γινόμενον μὲν ὄν δ οὐδέποτε, *That which was Made, or had Beginning, but never Truly Is*. It having not a *Permanent* but *Succeſſive* or *Flowing Duration*. Accordingly whereunto, *Ariſtotle* alſo affirmeth; *That there is no neceſſity, all things ſhould be Unmade or Self-Originated; but Somethings might be Made from others Unmade*.

Laſtly, we ſhall diſprove the Truth of this Aſſertion, That *whatſoever Subſtantially* and *Really* Is, did Exiſt of it ſelf *from all Eternity Unmade*, after this manner. Becauſe it would follow from thence that not only *Matter*, and Unqualified Atoms, (as the *Democritick Atheiſts* ſuppoſe) but alſo *Souls*, eſpecially *Humane*, muſt needs have Exiſted *of themſelves* too, from *Eternity Unmade*. For as no man can be ſo ſottiſh, as to conceive Himſelf, or That which Thinketh in him, his Own Soul or Mind, and Perſonality, to be no Real Entity; Whilſt every Clod of Earth is ſuch; ſo is it certain that *Mind* can never be Generated out of Dead and ſenſleſs *Matter* or *Body*, nor Reſult as a *Modification* thereof, out of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, and therefore muſt needs be a Thing *Really Diſtinct* from it, or *Subſtance Incorporeal*: the Democritick Atheiſts being here groſly deceived, in thinking, that becauſe *Forms* and *Qualities* of Bodies, may be reſolved into thoſe forementioned Elements of *Matter*, and conſequently concluded to be no *Entities Really Diſtinct* from the *Subſtance* thereof, but only different Modifications of the ſame, that therefore the like may be ſaid of *Souls* too, the *Rational* not excepted. Wherefore if no *Subſtance* or *Real Entity* could ever be brought out of *Non-Exiſtence* into *Being*, or be *Cauſed* by any thing elſe, then muſt all Humane *Souls* and *Perſonalities*, as well as *Matter* and *Atoms*, have exiſted not only from *Eternity*, without beginning, but alſo Of themſelves *Independently* upon any other thing. But the Atheiſts are ſo abhorrent from this *Eternity* of Humane Souls, that they will by no means admit of their *Poſt-Exiſtence* or *Immortality*; they apprehending, that if any *Living Underſtanding Being*, ſhould prove Immortal, they could not ſufficiently ſecure themſelves againſt the *Poſſibility* and *Danger* of *a God*. Some Theiſts indeed have aſſerted *Æternitatem Animorum*, not only the *Pre-Exiſtence*, but alſo the *Eternity of all Humane Minds*, together with the *World*, as *Cicero* more than once doth; who alſo in his Book of Divination thus further declares himſelf concerning it; *Animus quià vixit ab omni Æternitate, Verſatuſque eſt cum innumerabilibus Animis, omnia quæ in naturâ rerum ſunt videt*; *Our Mind, becauſe it hath exiſted from all Eternity, and Converſed with innumerable Minds, ſeeth all things that are in Nature*: and again, *Cum Animi hominum ſemper fuerint futurique ſint*; *Since the Minds of Men ever were, and ever will be*. Nevertheleſs none of

theſe ever maintained, that *Humane Minds* and their diſtinct *Perſonalities*, were thus all, Of *Themſelves*, Independently upon any thing as their *Cauſe* or *Original*. And, as it was before Demonſtrated, from the Nature of *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* (it comprehending the *Poſſibilities* of all Things, and therefore ſuppoſing *Infinite Power*) that there can be but One *Mind*, or *Underſtanding Being*, Self-Exiſtent, all *Minds* partaking of that *One Mind*; ſo is it hardly Poſſible, for any one in good earneſt, to Entertain ſuch a Conceit as this, that his Own *Particular Soul*, *Mind*, and *Perſonality*, and conſequently *all Humane Souls*, though ſubject to ſuch *Laws* of *Fate* as now they are; did not only *Pre-Exiſt* before their Reſpective *Bodies*, and were from *Eternity* without Beginning, but alſo *Exiſted* Of *Themſelves Neceſſarily* and *Independently* upon any thing elſe. Wherefore if Humane *Souls*, *Minds*, and *Perſonalities*, being unqueſtionably *Subſtantial Things* and *Really Diſtinct* from Matter, (which therefore could not poſſibly be *Generated* out of it) did not all Exiſt from *Eternity*, Of *Themſelves*, *Neceſſarily*, and *Independently*, it is certain that they muſt Derive their whole Being, from the Deity, or be *Created* ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, or *Non-Exiſtence* by it. And if *Humane Souls* were unqueſtionably thus Created, it cannot reaſonably be doubted, but that *Matter* or *Body* it ſelf, was Created likewiſe out of Nothing, or Cauſed by the Deity: for as much as that which Created One thing out of Nothing, could Create every thing; and there is Really more of *Subſtance*, that is, a Higher Degree *of Entity*, in *Minds* and *Souls*, *Conſcious Self-moving*, and *Underſtanding Beings*, then in *Senſleſs Matter*, or *Unactive Bulk*.

But for as much as this Doctrine of a *Divine Creation* out of Nothing *Pre-Exiſting*, lies under no ſmall Prejudice upon this Account, becauſe it is ſo generally taken for granted, that none of the Pagan Theiſts, who are ſuppoſed to have kept cloſe to the ſimple Light of Nature, did ever acknowledge in the Deity, any ſuch *Creative Power* out of Nothing, or that God was the *Cauſe* of any *Subſtance*, we muſt of Neceſſity here declare this, how common ſoever it be, to be a great *Miſtake*. For beſides that, *Plato* in his Sophiſt having defined the *Efficient* or *Effective Power* in general, after this manner, Ποιητικὸν πᾶζαν ἔφαμεν εἶναι δύναμιν, ἥτις ἂν αἰτία γίνηται τοῖς μὴ πρότερον ὂσιν ὕστερον γίνεσθαι, *To be A Power or Cauſality, whereby that which was Not before, was afterwards Made to Be*; and then dividing this *Efficiency*, into *Divine* and *Humane*, he Immediately Subjoyns concerning the Former, Ζῶα δὴ πάντα, &c. μῶν ἄλλο τινὸς ἢ θεοῦ δημιουργοῦντος φήσομεν ὕστερον γίνεσθαι πρότερον μὴ ὄντα; *Shall we not then ſay, that all Animals and other things, were by the Divine Efficiency alone, After they had Not been, Made to be?* Where thus much at leaſt is certain, that *Plato* did not at all Queſtion the Poſſibility of a Thing's being Made out of Nothing in this Senſe; that is, brought into Being, *After it had Not been*, by a *Divine Power*. But becauſe it may be thought, that he meant this no further, than of the firſt compages of Animals, in which Notwithſtanding every thing, Souls and all, might be Made out of Pre-Exiſting Matter; we ſhall here further add, what in his *Timæus* he declareth concerning the Soul, τῷ ψυχῷ δὲ ὡς νῦν ὑστέρων
ἐπιχειρήσομεν

ὅπιχρεῶμεν λέγειν, ὅτως ἐμηχανήσατο ὁ Θεὸς νεωτέραν, ὁ γὲ ἂν ἄρξασθαι πρεσβύτερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρας ἔασεν, ὁ δὲ γενέσθαι ἀρετῇ πρότερόν τε καὶ πρεσβυτέραν ψυχὴν σώματος, ὡς δεσπότιν καὶ ἄρξουσαν ἀρξομένου συνεπόησε, *That God did not Make it, after Body, and Junior to it; ſince it was not fit, that the Elder ſhould be Ruled or Governed by the Younger; but he made Soul before Body, Older than it, and Superiour to it, as well in reſpect of Time as Dignity.* Which Notion is further purſued by him in his Tenth *De Legibus*, ὀρθῶς ἄρα καὶ κυρίως ἀληθέστατά τε καὶ τελεώτατα εἰρηκότες ἂν εἴημεν, ψυχὴν μὲν πρότερον γεγονέναι σώματος ἡμῖν· σῶμα δὲ δεύτερόν τε καὶ ὕστερον ψυχῆς ἀρχούσης ἀρχόμενον κατὰ φύσιν. *Wherefore it was rightly, properly, and moſt truly affirmed by us; that Soul was made Firſt as that which Ruleth, but Body afterward, as that which is to be Ruled and Governed thereby:* From whence alſo he draws this Conſectary, ὡς εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ φανείη πρεσβυτέρα σώματος· ὅσα καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς πρὸ τοῦ σώματος ἔσοιτο πρεσβύτερα· τρόποι καὶ ἤθη καὶ βουλήσεις καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ δόξαι ἀληθεῖς, ἐπιμέλειά τε καὶ μνῆμαι, πρότερα μήκους σωμάτων καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους, εἴπερ γεγονότα ἂν, εἴπερ καὶ ψυχὴ σώματος, *That If the Soul be Older than the Body, then muſt the Things of the Soul alſo, be Older than thoſe of the Body, and therefore Cogitation, and the ſeveral ſpecies of it, muſt be in order of Nature, not only before Local Motion, but alſo before Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity of Bodies.* From whence it is plain, that *Plato's* firſt γένεσις, or Production of Souls by *God*, could not be out of any Pre-Exiſting Body or Matter, they being affirmed by him to be before, not only this and that particular Body, but all Body whatſoever, before *Longitude*, *Latitude* and *Profundity*. Which may be further confirmed from hence, becauſe in his Sophiſt, he plainly condemns that Opinion of ſome, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν σῶμά τι κεκτῆσθαι, *That the Soul it Self had ſomething of Body in it*; and he often elſewhere declares the Soul to be Incorporeal. It is certain alſo that not only *Plato*; but all thoſe other Pagan Philoſophers too, who aſſerted the *Incorporeity* and *Immortality* of Humane Souls, could not poſſibly conceive Souls, to have been made out of *Pre-Exiſtent Matter*, but either ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, they being not *Eternal*, but having a *Newneſs of Being*, (as *Plato* himſelf ſeemed to ſuppoſe) or elſe if they were conceived to be *Eternal* by them (which was the opinion of moſt of the *Junior Platoniſts*, yet) to have Derived their whole *Subſtance* from the *Deity*, and always to Depend upon it; as *Eternal Light*, would depend upon an *Eternal Sun*. *Plutarch* and his followers being only here to be excepted, who would neither have *Souls made out of Nothing* by God, nor yet out of *Corporeal Matter Pre-Exiſting*, (they being themſelves *Incorporeal*;) but out of a ſtrange *Commixture* of the *Subſtance* of *God* himſelf, with the *Subſtance* of a certain *Diſorderly Soul*, *Self-Exiſtent* and *Uncreated*; of which we have ſpoken already. But that the *Genuine Platoniſts*, did univerſally ſuppoſe, that One *Subſtance* might be *Cauſed by another*, and derive its whole Being from it, is undeniably Evident from hence, becauſe their *Second Divine Hypoſtaſis* or *Subſtance*, (though *Eternal*) was according to them, Derived from; or Begotten by their Firſt, and their Third *Hypoſtaſis* or *Subſtance* Produced both from the *Firſt* and *Second*; and other Inferiour Orbs of Being, as the Particular Souls of Demons and Men, from that whole *Trinity* of Divine Hypoſtaſes

postaſes joyntly concurring. And as for Matter or Body it ſelf, it is certain alſo, that *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblichus*, *Hierocles*, *Platoniſts*, expreſly denied it to have been ἀγέννητον, *Unmade*, or *Proclus* and other *Self Exiſtent*, and conceived it to have derived its whole *Being* from the Deity; who accordingly is ſtyled by *Proclus*, ἀῤῥήτῳ αἰτία τῆς ὕλης, *The Ineffable Cauſe of Matter.* In like manner have we already ſhowed, that according to the Chalday Oracles, *Matter* it ſelf was *alſo Cauſed* or *Produced* by the Deity, to which purpoſe is this Verſe Cited by *Proclus*, Ἔνθεν ἄδην θρώσκῃ γένεσις πολυποικίλος ὕλης. *From whence* (that is, From *the Deity*) *abundantly ſprings forth the Generation of the Multiform Matter.* The Meeter here requiring, that it ſhould be read ἄδην, and not ἄρδην, as it is in *Proclus* his Copy. Moreover *Iamblichus* hath recorded in his Myſteries, that *Hermes*, and the old Egyptian *Theologers* likewiſe, held matter not to be ἀγέννητον, that is, *Self-Exiſtent*, *Unmade*, or *Underived* from the *Deity*, but to have been *Cauſed* by it. Whence does *Proclus* conclude it probable, that *Plato* was of the ſame Perſwaſion alſo; as likewiſe *Orpheus* before had been, he deriving this as is ſuppoſed, with other things from the *Egyptians*. It is true indeed, that many of theſe Philoſophers, aſſerted *Matter*, *Souls*, and the whole *World*, to have been *Eternal* without Beginning, and Conſequently not Created, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, in that ſtricter Senſe, that is, out of an Antecedent *Non-Exiſtence* in time. Notwithſtanding which, they did ſuppoſe them to have received their Whole Being from the Deity, and to have Depended on it, every jot as much, as if having once Not been, they had afterward been *Made by it.* And that which gives to any Subſtance its *Whole Being*, though from *Eternity*, ſo that it never *was Not*; the ſame upon Suppoſition, that it once had not been, could unqueſtionably have Produced it, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, or an *Antecedent Non Exiſtence.*

Thus *Hierocles in Photius*; δημιουργὸν θεὸν παρυφίστησιν ὁ Πλάτων πάσης ἐμφανοῦς τε καὶ ἀφανοῦς διακοσμήσεως, ἐκ μηδενὸς προϋποκειμένης γεγενημένης, &c. *Plato cenſuit Mundum à Deo, ex nullâ priùs exiſtente Materiâ, productum, &c.*

We have now ſufficiently diſproved The Truth of that Aſſertion, That *Nothing could be Made out of Nothing*, in the Atheiſtick Senſe thereof; *viz.* That *Nothing which before was Not*, *could afterwards poſſibly be Made to Be:* Though this ſhould not be Extended ſo far, as to *Accidental Things*, and *Modifications*, but reſtrained and confined, only to *Subſtantials: That no Subſtance whatſoever, could have a Newneſs of Being, or be Cauſed by any other Subſtance*; but whatſoever *Subſtantial Thing* any where Is in the World, the ſame did Exiſt Of It ſelf from Eternity, and Independently upon any thing elſe; nothing but different *Modifications* being *Made* or *Produced.* Which ſame Aſſertion, has been alſo ſometimes, otherwiſe thus expreſſed; *Nothing can be Made but out of Pre-Exiſting Subſtance*; the meaning hereof being this, That *Nothing can be Made*, but *New Accidental Modifications*, of what before *Subſtantially* was; no *Subſtance* it ſelf being *Makeable* or *Producible* by any other *Subſtance*, neither in *Time* (ſo as to have a *Newneſs* or *Beginning* of Being) nor yet from *Eternity.* Where the Atheiſts and ſome others taking it for granted, that there is no other *Subſtance* beſides *Body*, or *Matter*, do further limit and reſtrain the Senſe of that Propoſition in this manner: *Nothing can be Made but out of Pre-Exiſting Matter*; that is, *Nothing can be Made*, but out of

of *Corporeal Substance Pre-Existing*. An *Idolum Specus*, (if I may use that Language) which in all Probability had its first Original, chiefly from mens Measuring the Extent of all Power, by their own Production of *Artificial things*. Because forsooth, a *Carpenter* or Architect cannot make a *House*, but out of *Pre-Existing Timber*, *Bricks*, and *Stones*, nor a *Taylour* a *Garment*, but out of *Pre-Existing Cloth*; nor a *Cook*, *Puddings* or *Pyes*, but out of Pre-Existing *Materials* or *Ingredients*; That therefore no Power whatsoever, no no that of God Almighty, can extend any further, than to the *New Modifying* of Pre-Existent *Matter*, but not to the *Production* or *Causing* of any *Substance*. We shall in the next place make it appear, that were this Assertion True, That No *Substance* or *Real Entity* which once *was Not*, could be *Caused* or *Produced*, yet would it notwithstanding of the Two, more impugn *Atheism*, than *Theism* (it being possible for *Falshoods*, though not for *Truths*, to disagree) for as much as the *Atheists* do really bring More *Out of Nothing*, or *Non Existence*, than the *Theists* do; and therefore ought not to make this an Objection against *Theism*. For though according to the *True* and *Genuine Theology*, *God or a Perfect Being* be supposed, to be the Only *Necessary Self-Existent Thing*, and the *Cause* of all other *Substance*, and consequently to have *Produced* all *Imperfect Things*, not only *Souls*, but also *Matter* it self, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *Out of Nothing*, or an Antecedent *Non-Existence*, yet is there, by reason of the Weakness of Humane Understandings, a *Latitude in Theism*. Wherefore some there are, who though imposed upon by that *Idolum Specus*, or imprisoned in it, That *Nothing can possibly be Made but out of Pre-Existing Matter*, by the *New Modification thereof*; do notwithstanding devoutly worship *a Deity*, according to their *Notion* of it, *A Perfectly Understanding Being Unmade*; though not the *Creator* of *Matter*, yet the *Maker* of the Whole *World* out of it, and the *Supreme Governour* of the same; they thus supposing *Two Principles* in the Universe, an *Active* and a *Passive* one, *God* and *Matter*. Besides which, it is not impossible for others to think, that though *Matter* or *Body* be not the only *Substance*, but *Humane Souls* are *Incorporeal*, yet the *Substance* of these *Souls* was not *Created* out of *Nothing* no more than that of Body, but they were Made either out of some *Pre-Existing Common Soul*, (as their *Intelligible Matter*) or out of the *Substance* of the *Deity* it self; or else Existed *Of themselves, from Eternity Unmade*: and yet nevertheless may these acknowledge, *One Supreme Understanding Being Self-Existent* also, though neither the Creator of *Matter*, nor of *Souls*, yet the *Supreme Governour* and *Orderer* of all. And it is certain, that *Plutarch*'s *God*, was no better than this, and yet was that Pagan notwithstanding, a *Devout Religionist* in his Kind, as well as a *Hearty Moralist*. And such a *Theism* or *Theology*, as either of those forementioned, (though not *Genuine* and *Sincere*, but Imperfect and Mongrel things) would perhaps be to the Atheists, little less Troublesome and Uneasie, than the *True*. Thus have we shewed, that this Principle, *That Nothing can come out of Nothing*, or be *Made*, otherwise than out of *Pre-Existing Substance* or *Matter*, though it be indeed *Contradictious* to the *True* and *Genuine Theology*, yet is it not absolutely Inconsistent with all manner of *Religion*; there being certain *Spurious* or *Imperfect Forms* of *Theism*, built upon this Foundation. But now on the

the contrary, we ſhall make it manifeſt, That this very *Principle*, made uſe of by the *Atheiſts*, is in Truth and Reality *Contradictious* to all manner of *Atheiſm*, and deſtructive of the ſame; the Atheiſts Univerſally *Generating* and *Corrupting Real* Entities, and *Subſtantial* things, that is, Producing them out of *Nothing* or *Non-Exiſtence*, and reducing them to *Nothing* again: for as much as they make all things whatſoever, the bare *Subſtance of* Matter only excepted, (which to them is either no *Determinate Thing*, or elſe nothing but meer *Bulk*, or *Reſiſting* and *Diviſible* Magnitude) to come out of *Nothing*, and to go to *Nothing*. Thus does *Ariſtotle* in a place before cited, declare the *Atheiſtick* Senſe, εἰσὶ γάρ τινες, οἳ φασιν ὄδὲν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι; *There are Certain men, who affirm, that Nothing is Unmade, but All things Generated or Made.* Whoſe Senſe is afterwards more diſtinctly thus propoſed by him, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα γίνεσθαί τε καὶ ῥεῖν, εἶναι δ' παγίως ὄδὲν· ἓν δέ τι μόνον ὑπομένειν, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα πάντα μεταχηματίζεσθαι πέφυκεν. *That all other things are Generated and Flow, and none of them firmly Is*, (they being perpetually E*duced* out of *Nothing*, and *Reduced* to *Nothing*) *but that there is only One thing which remaineth; namely that, out of which all the other are Made, by the Transformation thereof.* Which *One thing*, (to wit Matter) as the ſame *Ariſtotle* further adds, they affirmed to be the *Only Subſtance*, and from Eternity *Unmade*, but all other things whatſoever, being but πάθη καὶ ἕξεις καὶ διαθέσεις, *Paſſions*, *Affections*, and *Diſpoſitions* thereof, γίνεσθαι καὶ φθείρεσθαι ἀπεράντως, *To be Generated and Corrupted Infinitely*; that is, to be *Produced* out of *Nothing* or *Non-Exiſtence*, and *Reduced* again to *Nothing*, without end. And doubtleſs this is the True meaning of that Paſſage in *Plato's* Tenth *De Legibus*, not underſtood by the *Latine Interpreters*; where being to repreſent the *Atheiſtick Hypotheſis* of the Syſtem *of the Univerſe*; he diſcovereth their Grand Arcanum, and that which they accounted, σοφώτατον ἁπάντων λόγων, *The wiſeſt and moſt myſterious of all Doctrines*; after this manner; λέγουσί τινες ὡς πάντα ὄντα τὰ πράγματα γινόμενα καὶ γενόμενα, καὶ γενησόμενα· τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ τέχνῃ, τὰ δὲ διὰ τύχης. *Certain men affirm, that All things are Made, and Have been Made, and will be Made; ſome by Nature, and ſome by Art, and ſome by Fortune or Chance.* For unqueſtionably here, *Plato's* λέγουσί τινες ὡς πάντα ὄντα τὰ πράγματα γινόμενα, *Certain men affirm that All things are Generated or Made, &c.* is the very ſame with *Ariſtotle's*, εἰσὶ γάρ τινες, οἳ φασιν, ὄδὲν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλα πάντα γίνεσθαι, *Certain men affirm, that there is Nothing Unmade, but that All things are Made or Generated.* And perhaps this of *Ariſtotles*, was taken out of that of *Plato's*: Which yet nevertheleſs is ſo to be underſtood, as it is afterwards explained by *Ariſtotle*; All things whatſoever, the bare *Subſtance* of *Matter* only excepted. Wherefore it is certain that either there is no *Real* Entity in the Whole World, beſides the *Bare Subſtance* of *Matter*; that is, beſides *Diviſible* and *Separable* Extenſion, or *Reſiſting* Magnitude, and Conſequently that *Life* and *Cogitation*, *Senſe* and *Conſciouſneſs*, *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding*, all our own *Minds*, and *Perſonalities*, are no *Real* Entities; or elſe, that there are, according to the *Atheiſtick Hypotheſis*, *Real* Entities Produced out *of Nothing*, and Reduced *to Nothing* again. Whereas

Theiſts

Theists suppose, all the *Greatest Perfections* in the Universe, as *Life* and *Understanding*, to have been *Eternal* and *Unmade*, in a *Perfect Being*, the *Deity*, and neither brought out of *Nothing* or *Non Existence*, nor *Reducible to Nothing*; only Imperfect Beings to have been *Made out of Nothing*, or *Produced out of Non Existence*, by this one *Perfect Being* or Deity: the *Atheists* on the contrary, supposing the *Lowest* and most *Imperfect* of all Beings, *Matter*, *Bulk*, or *Divisible* and *Resisting Extension*, to be the Only *Self-Existent* and *Unmade* Thing; conclude all the *Greatest Perfections* in the Universe, *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, to be Made *out of Nothing*, or *Non-Existence*, as also to be reduced to *Nothing again.* Indeed the *Hylozoick Atheists*, being Sensible somewhat of this Inconvenience, of making all *Life* and *Understanding* Out of *Nothing*, and that there must of Necessity be some *Fundamental Life* and *Perception*, which is not *Accidental* but *Substantial*, and which was never *Generated* and cannot be *Corrupted*; have therefore attributed a kind of *Life* and *Perception* to all Matter as such. Notwithstanding which, even these also, for as much as they deny to *Matter*, *Animal Sense* and *Consciousness* suppose all *Animal Life* or *Sense*, and *Conscious Understanding*, to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, *Produced* out of *Nothing* and *Reduced* to *Nothing* again. Neither can *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, be reckoned amongst the *Modes of Matter*, that is of *Magnitude* or *Divisible* and *Antitypous Extension*, since they may be Conceived without the same: whereas *Modes* cannot be conceived without their *Substance.* Standing, Sitting, and Walking, cannot be Conceived without a Body, and that fitly Organized too, and therefore are they Nothing but different *Modes* of such a *Body.* When that Humane Body, which before did Stand doth afterwards Sit, or Walk, no man can think that here is the *Miraculous Production* of any *New Real Entity* out of *Nothing*: nor when the same Matter which was *Square* or *Cubical*, is made *Spherical* or *Cylindrical.* But when there is *Life* and *Understanding* which was not before, then is there unquestionably a new *Real Entity* Produced. But the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists* themselves, according to the Tenor of the *Atomick Physiology*, acknowledge no other *Modes of Matter* or *Body*, but only more or less *Magnitude of Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, *Motion* or *Rest.* And upon this very account do they explode *Qualities*, considered as *Entities* really distinct from these *Modes*; because in the *Generation* and *Alteration* of them, there would be *Real Entities* made *Out of Nothing*, or *without a Cause*; whereupon they Resolve these *Qualities* into *Mechanism* and *Fancy.* But *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, are things which have more *Real Entity* in them, and can no way be *Salved* by *Mechanism* and *Phancy*; wherefore undoubtedly they are no *Modes* of *Matter* or *Body*, but *Attributes* of another kind of *Substance*, *Incorporeal.* All Cogitative Beings, especially *Humane Souls*, and *Personalities*, are unquestionably *Substantial Things*, and yet do the *Atheists* bring these, and consequently *Themselves*, out of *Nothing* or *Non Existence*, and Reduce them to Nothing again. The Conclusion is; that these very Atheists, who contend against Theists, that *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*, do themselves bring *All things out of Nothing* or *Non Existence*, and perpetually *Reduce them to Nothing* again; according to whose Principles, as once there was

no *Life*, nor *Underſtanding* at all in the Univerſe, ſo may there be none again. They who deny a God, becauſe there can be no *Creative Power* belonging to *Any Thing*, do themſelves notwithſtanding attribute to *Matter* (though a meer *Paſſive*, *Sluggiſh*, and *Unactive* thing) a *Creative Power* of Things Subſtantial, (as Humane *Souls* and *Perſona-ities*) out of *Nothing*. And thus is that Formidable Argument of the *Atheiſts*, that there can be no God, becauſe Nothing can be made out of Nothing; not only proved to be Falſe, but alſo Retorted upon theſe Atheiſts themſelves, they bringing all things beſides *Senſleſs* and *Unqualified Matter*, out of *Nothing*.

We have now declared, Firſt, in what ſenſe this Propoſition is unqueſtionably True, that Nothing can be *Made out* of *Nothing*, or Come from *Nothing*, *viz. Cauſally*, That Nothing which before was Not, could afterward be Made, without *a Cauſe*, and a *Sufficient Cauſe*. Or more particularly, theſe Three ways; Firſt, that Nothing *which before was Not*, could afterward be brought into *Being by It ſelf*, or without an *Efficient Cauſe*. Secondly, that *Nothing which once was Not*, could be *Made* or *Produced Efficiently* by any thing, which had not at leaſt *Equal Perfection* in it, and a *Sufficient Active* or *Productive Power*; and Conſequently that no *New Subſtance* can be *Made*, but by a *Perfect Being*, which only is Subſtantially Emanative. Thirdly and Laſtly, that when things are Made out of *Pre-Exiſting Matter*, as in Artificial Productions, and *Natural Generations*, there can be no new *Real Entity Produced*, but only different *Modifications*, of what before *Subſtantially* was; the *Material Cauſe* as ſuch, *Efficiently* Producing Nothing. And thus was this Axiom Underſtood by *Cicero*, That Nothing could be *Made out of Nothing*, *viz. Cauſally*; in his Book *De Fato*, where he reprehendeth *Epicurus* for endeavouring to avoid *Fate* and to Eſtabliſh *Liberty of Will*, by that Abſurd Figment, of Atoms *Declining Uncertainly* from the *Perpendicular*. *Nec cum hæc ita ſint, eſt cauſa, cur* Epicurus *Fatum extimeſcat, & ab Atomis petat præſidium, eaſque De Via deducat; & uno tempore ſuſcipiat res duas inenodabiles, Unam ut ſine Causâ fiat aliquid, ex quo exiſtet, ut De Nihilo quippiam fiat; quod nec ipſi, nec cuiquam Phyſico placet.* Nor *is there for all that, any Reaſon, why* Epicurus *ſhould be ſo much afraid of Fate, and ſeek Refuge in Atoms, he ſuppoſing them in their Infinite Deſcents, to Decline Uncertainly from the* Perpendicular, *and laying this as a Foundation for Liberty of Will; whereby he plunged himſelf at once, into Two inextricable difficulties, the Firſt whereof was, the ſuppoſing of Something to be made without a Cauſe, or which is all one, out of* Nothing; *a thing that will neither be allowed by any Phyſiologer, nor could* Epicurus *himſelf be Pleaſed or Satisfied therewith.* The reaſon whereof is, becauſe it was a *Fundamental Principle* of the *Atomick Philoſophy*, That *Nothing*, (in this ſenſe) *could be Made out of* Nothing. Moreover we have in the next place declared, in what *other Senſe*, this Propoſition, that *Nothing can be Made out of* Nothing, *is Falſe*, namely when this *Out of* Nothing, is not taken *Cauſally*, but ſo as to ſignifie the *Terminus From which*; that Nothing can be Made, out of an *Antecedent Non-Exiſtence*: that no *Real Entity* or *Subſtance* which before was not, could by any *Power* whatſoever be afterwards brought into being: Or That Nothing

thing can possibly be *Made*, but out of *Something Pre-Existing*, by the new *Modification* thereof. And it appears from that of *Cicero*, that the True and Genuine Sense of this Proposition, *De Nihilo nihil fit*; (according to the Mind of those Ancient Physiologers, who laid so great stress thereupon) was not, that Nothing could by any Power whatsoever, be brought out of *Non-Existence* into *Being*; but only that *Nothing could be made without a Cause.* Nor did they here by *Cause* mean, the *Material* only; in this sense, as if *Nothing could Possibly be Made*, but out of *Præ-Existing Matter*; *Epicurus* being taxed by *Cicero*, for introducing that his *Third Motion* of *Atoms*, or *Clinamen Principiorum*, *out of Nothing*, or Without an Efficient Cause; as indeed all Motion also was, to *those Atomick Atheists*, in this Sense, *from Nothing*. Nevertheless, we have also shewed, That if this Proposition, *Nothing out of Nothing*, in that *Atheistick Sense*, (as level'd against a *Deity*) were, True; yet would it of the Two more impugn *Atheism* it self, than it does *Theism*, the Atheists *Generating* and *Corrupting* All Things, the Substance of Matter only excepted, all *Life*, *Sense*, and *Understanding*, *Humane Souls*, *Minds* and *Personalities*, they Producing these, and consequently Themselves, out of *Nothing*, and resolving them all to *Nothing* again. We shall now in the *Third* and *Last place*, make it manifest, that the *Atheists* do not only bring *Real* Entities and *Substantial things* out of *Nothing* in the *Second sense*, that is out of an *Antecedent Non* Existence, (which yet is a thing Possible only to *God*, or a *Perfect Being*) but also that they bring them out of Nothing, in the Absolutely *Impossible Sense*; that is, suppose them to be Made without a *Cause*, *or Nothing to be the Cause of Something.*

But we must prepare the way hereunto, by setting down, First, a Brief and Compendious Sum of the whole *Atheistick Hypothesis.* The Atheists therefore who contend, that Nothing can be Made but only New *Accidents* or *Modifications* of *Pre-Existing Substance*; Taking it for granted, that there is no other Substance besides *Body* or *Matter*, do conclude accordingly, that *Nothing can be Made*, but out of *Pre-Existing Matter* or *Body.* And then they add hereunto, That *Matter* being the only *Substance*, the only *Unmade Self-Existent thing*, whatsoever else is in the world, besides, the bare *Substance* of this *Matter*, was *Made out of it* or *Produced by it.* So that there are these Three Things contained, in the *Atheistick Hypothesis*; First, that No *Substance* can *be Made* or *Caused* by any thing else, but only new *Modifications.* Secondly, that *Matter or Body is the Only Substance*, and therefore whatsoever is made is Made out of *Pre-Existing Matter*; Thirdly and Lastly, That whatsoever there is else in the whole world, besides the Substance of Matter, it is Made or Generated out of *Matter.* And now we shall demonstrate the Absolute *Impossibility* of this *Atheistick Hypothesis*, from that very Principle of the *Ancient Physiologers*, that *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*, in the True Sense thereof: it not only bringing *Real Entities* and *Substantial Things*, out of an *Antecedent Non-Existence*, (though nothing but an Infinitly Perfect Being neither can thus *Create*) but also Producing them without *A Cause.*

First therefore, when they affirm, *Matter to be the Only Substance*, and all things else whatsoever to be *Made out of that alone*, they hereby plainly Suppose, all things to be *Made*, without an *Efficient Cause*, which is to bring them out of *Nothing*, in an *Impossible Sense*. For though it be not True, that *Nothing can be Made* but out of *Pre-Existing Matter* (and consequently that God *himself* supposed to Exist, could in this respect do no more, than a Carpenter or Taylor doth;) I say, though it be not Universally True, That every thing that is *Made*, must have a *Material Cause* (so that the *Quaternio of Causes in Logick*, is not to be Extended, to all things *Caused* whatsoever;) yet is it certain, that Nothing, which once was not, could Possibly be *Made* without an *Efficient Cause*. Wherefore if there be any thing Made, which was not before, there must of Necessity besides Matter, be some other *Substance* Existing, as the *Efficient Cause* thereof; for as much as Matter alone, Could not Make any thing; as Marble cannot make a *Statue*, nor *Timber* and *Stones* a *House*, nor *Cloth* a *Garment*. This is our First *Demonstration* of the *Impossibility* of the *Atheistick Hypothesis:* it supposing all things besides the bare Substance of Matter, to be Made out of Matter alone, without any other *Active Principle* or *Deity*, or to be Made *without* an *Efficient Cause*, which is to bring them from *Nothing*, in an *Impossible Sense*. To which may be added by way of Appendix, that whereas the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, admit of no other *Efficient Causality* in Nature, then only *Local Motion*, and allow to Matter or *Body*, their only Substance, no *Self-Moving Power*, they hereby make all the *Motion*, that is in the whole world, to be without *a Cause*, and from *Nothing*; *Action* without any Subject, or *Agent*, and the *Efficiency* of all things, without an *Efficient*.

In the next place, should we be so liberal, as to grant to the Atomick Atheists, *Motion without a Cause*, or permit *Strato* and the *Hylozoick Atheists*, to attribute to Matter a *Self-Moving Power*, yet do we affirm, that this Matter and Motion both together, could not Possibly Produce any new *Real Entity*, which was not before; Matter as such *Efficiently Causing Nothing*, and Motion only changing the *Modifications* of Matter, as Figure, Place, Site, and Disposition of Parts. Wherefore if Matter as such, have no Animal *Sense* and *Conscious Understanding*, Essentially belonging to it, (which no Atheists as yet have had the Impudence to assert) then can no Motion or *Modification* of Matter, no *Contexture* of *Atoms*, Possibly beget *Sense* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*; because this would be to bring *Something out of Nothing* in the *Impossible Sense*, or to suppose Something to be Made by It self without *a Cause*. Which may Serve also for a *Confutation* of those *Imperfect* and *Spurious Theists*, who will not allow to *God Almighty*, (whether supposed by them to be *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal*) a Power of *Making* any thing, but only out of *Pre-Existent* Matter, by the new *Modifying* thereof: as a Carpenter makes a House out of Pre-Existing Timber and Stone, and a Taylor a Garment out of Pre-Existing Cloth. For since *Animal Life*, and *Understanding*, are not by them supposed to belong at all to Matter as such, and since they

they cannot reſult from any *Modifications* or *Contextures* thereof, it would plainly follow from hence, that God could not Poſſibly make *Animals*, or Produce *Senſe* and *Underſtanding*, *Souls* and *Minds*, which nevertheleſs theſe Theiſts ſuppoſe him to have done; and therefore ought in reaſon to acknowledge him, not only to be the *Maker* of New *Modifications* of Matter, (and one who Built the world only as a Carpenter doth a Houſe) but alſo of *Real Entities* diſtinct from the ſame.

And this was the very Doctrine (as we have already declared) of the moſt Ancient *Atomick Phyſiologers*; not That *every thing whatſoever might be Made out of Pre-Exiſting Matter*; but on the contrary, that in all *Natural Generations*, there is no *Real Entity Produced* out of the *Matter*, which was not before in it, but only *New Modifications*; and Conſequently that *Souls* and *Minds*, being not meer *Modifications* of Matter; in reſpect of *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and Motion, could never be Produced out of it, becauſe they muſt then of neceſſity, *Come from Nothing*; that is, be Made either by *Themſelves*, *without a Cauſe*, or *without a Sufficient Cauſe*. It hath alſo been before noted out of *Ariſtotle*, how the *Old Atheiſtick Materialiſts*, being aſſaulted by thoſe *Italick Philoſophers* after that manner, that *Nothing* which was not before, in *Matter*, beſides its *Modifications*, could Poſſibly be Produced out of it, becauſe *Nothing* can Come out of *Nothing*, and conſequently that in all Natural *Generations* and *Corruptions*, there is no *Real Entity* Made or *Deſtroyed*; endeavoured without denying the words of that Propoſition, to Evade after this manner, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι γίνεσθαι ἁδὲν ὀιονῖαι, ὅτε ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὡς τ᾽ τοιαύτης φύσεως ἀεὶ σωζομένης, ὥζπερ ὴ τ᾽ Σωκράτην, &c. *That there is indeed Nothing Generated or Corrupted (in ſome Senſe) for as much as the ſame Subſtance of* Matter, *always remains, it being never* Made *nor Deſtroyed. For as men do not ſay, that* Socrates *is* Made, *when he is* Made *Muſical or Handſome, nor Deſtroyed, when he looſeth theſe Diſpoſitions, becauſe the ſubject* Socrates, *was before and ſtill remaineth; ſo neither is any Subſtantial thing or Real* Entity *in the world* Made *or Deſtroyed in this ſenſe; becauſe* Matter *which is the Subſtance of all, perpetually remains,* and all other things whatſoever, are but πάθη ἢ ἕξεις ἢ διαθέζεις, *Paſſions and Affections and Diſpoſitions thereof*, as Muſicalneſs and Unmuſicalneſs, in reſpect of *Socrates*. Which is all one as if they ſhould ſay, that all things whatſoever beſides Matter, being but *Accidents* thereof, are Generated out of it and Corruptible into it, without the Production of any *Real Entity* out of Nothing, or the Reduction of any into Nothing, ſo long as the Subſtance of *Matter* which is the only *Real Entity*, remains always the ſame. Wherefore though *Life*, *Senſe*, and *Underſtanding*, all *Souls* and *Minds*, be *Generated* out of Matter, yet does it not follow from thence, that therefore there is any *Real Entity Made* or *Produced*, becauſe theſe are Nothing but *Accidents* and *Modifications* of *Matter*. This was the Subterfuge of the Old *Hylopathian Atheiſts*.

Now it is true indeed, that whatſoever is in the Univerſe, is either *Subſtance* or *Accidents*, and that the *Accidents* of any *Subſtance*, may be *Generated*

Generated and *Corrupted*, without the Producing of any *Real Entity out of Nothing*, and *Reducing* of any into *Nothing*; for as much as the Substance still remains entirely the same. But the Atheists, taking it for granted, that there is no other *Substance* besides *Body* or *Matter*, do therefore falsly suppose, that which is really *Incorporeal Substance*, or else the *Attributes*, *Properties*, and *Modes* thereof, to be the meer *Accidents* of *Matter*, and Consequently conclude these to be *Generable* out of it, without the Production of any *Real Entity out of Nothing*. We say therefore, that it does not at all follow, because the same *Numerical Matter*, (as for example a Piece of Wax) may be Successively made *Spherical*, *Cubical*, *Cylindrical*, *Pyramidal*, or of any other Figure; and the same man may Successively, *Stand*, *Sit*, *Kneel* and *Walk*; both, without the Production of Anything out of Nothing; or because, a heap of Stones, Bricks, Morter, and Timber, lying altogether disorderly and confusedly, may be made into a *Stately Palace*; and that without the *Miraculous Creation* of any *Real Entity* out of *Nothing*; that therefore the same may be affirmed likewise, of every thing else, besides the bare Substance of *Matter*, as namely *Life* and *UnderStanding*, Soul and Mind, that though there be No such thing in *Matter* it self, yet the Production of them out of Matter, would be no Production; of *Something out of Nothing*. One Ground of which mistake hath been, from mens not rightly considering what the *Accidents of a Substance* are, and that they are indeed *Nothing* but the *Modes* thereof. Now a *Mode* is such a thing, as cannot *Possibly* be conceived, without that whereof it is a *Mode*; as *Standing*, *Sitting*, *Kneeling* and *Walking*, cannot be conceived without a Body Organized, and therefore are but *Modes* thereof; but *Life* and *Cogitation*, may be clearly apprehended without *Body*, or any thing of *Extension*; nor indeed can a Thought Be conceived, to be of such a *Length*, *Breadth* and *Thickness*, or to be Hewed and Sliced out, into many *Pieces*, all which laid together, as so many *Small Chips thereof*, would make up again, the entireness of that whole *Thought*. From whence it ought to be concluded, that *Cogitation* is no *Accident*, or *Mode of Matter*, or *Bulky Extension*, but a *Mode* or *Attribute* of another *Substance*, Really distinct from *Matter*, or *Incorporeal*. There is indeed Nothing else clearly conceivable by us in *Body* or *Bulky Extension*, but only more or less *Magnitude of Parts*, *Figures*, *Site*, *Motion*, or *Rest*; and all the *Different Bodies* that are in the whole World, are but several *Combinations* or *Syllables*, made up out of these few *Letters*: but no *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, can Possibly *Spell* or *Compound*, *Life* and *Sense*, *Cogitation* and *UnderStanding*, as the *Syllables* thereof; and therefore to suppose these to be *Generated* out of *Matter*, is plainly to suppose some *Real Entity* to be brought out of *Nothing*, or Something to be made without a *Cause*, which is *Impossible*.

But that which hath principally confirmed men in this *Errour* is the business of *Sensible Qualities* and *Forms*, as they are vulgarly conceived, to be distinct *Entities*, from those forementioned *Modifications* of *Matter*, in respect of *Magnitude* of *Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, *Motion*, or *Rest*. For since these *Qualities* and *Forms*, are unquestionably *Generated*

nerated and *Corrupted*, there ſeems to be no Reaſon, why the ſame might not be as well acknowledged, of *Life*, *Senſe*, *Cogitation*, and *Underſtanding*, that theſe are but *Qualities* or *Accidents* of *Matter* alſo, (though of another Kind) and conſequently may be Generated out of it, without the *Making of any Real thing out of Nothing*. But the *Democritick and Epicurean Atheiſts* themſelves, have from the *Principles* of the *Atomick* Philoſophy, ſufficiently Confuted and Rectified this miſtake, concerning Senſible *Qualities*, they exploding and baniſhing them all, as conceived to be *Entities Really diſtinct* from the forementioned *Modifications* of *Matter*, and that for this very reaſon; Becauſe the *Generation* of them, would upon this ſuppoſition, be the *Production of Something out of Nothing, or without a Cauſe*: and concluding them therefore, to be Really Nothing elſe, but *Mechaniſm*, or *different Modifications of Matter*, in reſpect of the *Magnitude* of *Parts*, *Figure*, *Site* and *Motion* or *Reſt*; they only Cauſing different *Phancies* and *Apparitions* in us. And in very truth, this vulgar opinion of *Real Qualities of Bodies*, ſeems to have no other Original at all, than mens miſtaking their own *Phancies*, *Paſſions*, and *Affections*, for things Really Exiſting in the *Objects* without them. For as *Senſible Qualities*, are conceived to be things diſtinct from the forementioned *Modifications* of Matter, ſo are they Really, Nothing but our own *Phancies*, *Paſſions* and *Affections*; and Conſequently no *Accidents* or *Modifications of Matter*, but *Accidents* and *Modifications* of our *own Souls*, which are *Subſtances Incorporeal*. Now if theſe *Democritick and Epicurean Atheiſts* themſelves, concluded that *Real Qualities*, conſidered as diſtinct from the *Modifications* of *Matter*, could not poſſibly be *Generated* out of it, becauſe this would be the *Production of Something out of Nothing*; they ought certainly much more to have acknowledged the ſame, concerning *Life* and *Cogitation*, *Senſe* and *Underſtanding*, that the *Generation* of theſe out of ſenſleſs *Matter*, would be an *Impoſſible Production of Something out of Nothing*, and conſequently, that theſe are therefore no *Corporeal Things*, but the *Attributes*, *Properties*, or *Modes*, of *Subſtance Incorporeal*; ſince they can no way be Reſolved into *Mechaniſm* and *Phancy*, or the *Modifications* of *Matter*, as the *Vulgar Senſible Qualities* may, and ought to be. For though the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans* did indeed, ſuppoſe, all humane *Cogitations* to be *Cauſed* or *Produced*, by the *Incurſion of Corporeal Atoms* upon the *Thinker*; yet did never any of them arrive to ſuch a degree, either of *Sottiſhneſs* or *Impudence*, as a Modern Writer hath done, to maintain, that *Cogitation*, *Intellection*, and *Volition*, are themſelves really Nothing elſe, but *Local Motion* or *Mechaniſm*, in the inward *Parts* of the *Brain* and *Heart*, or, that *Mens nihil aliud præterquam Motus, in partibus quibuſdam Corporis Organici, that Mind it ſelf, is Nothing but Motion, in ſome parts of the Organized Body*; who therefore as if *Carteſius* had not been ſufficiently Paradoxical, in making *Brute Animals*, (though ſuppoſed by him to be devoid of all *Cogitation*) Nothing but meer *Machines*; and not contented herewith, hath advanced much further, in making this *Prodigious Concluſion*, that all *Cogitative Beings* and *Men* themſelves, are Really Nothing elſe, but *Machines* and *Automata*; whereas he might as well have affirmed *Heaven* to be *Earth*, *Colour* to be *Sound*, *Number* to be *Figure*, or any thing

thing elſe in the world to be any thing, as Cogitation and *Local Motion* to be the very ſelf ſame thing. Nevertheleſs, ſo ſtrong was the *Atheiſtick Intoxication*, in thoſe Old *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, that though denying *Real Qualities* of Bodies, for this very reaſon, becauſe *Nothing could be Produced out of Nothing*, they Notwithſtanding contradicting themſelves, would make *Senſe*, *Life*, and *Underſtanding*, to be *Qualities of Matter*, and therefore *Generable* out of it, and ſo Unqueſtionably, Produced *Real Entities out of Nothing, or Without a Cauſe.*

Moreover it is obſervable, that *Epicurus* having a mind to aſſert *Contingent Liberty* in men, in way of oppoſition to that *Neceſſity* of all Humane Actions, which had been before maintained by *Democritus* and his Followers, plainly acknowledges, that he could not Poſſibly do this, according to the *Grounds of his own Philoſophy*, without ſuppoſing ſomething of *Contingency*, in the *Firſt Principles*, that is in the *Motion of thoſe Atoms*, out of which men and other Animals are Made,

L. 2. p. 134. Lamb.

—— Si ſemper motus connectitur omnis.
Et Vetere exoritur ſemper Novus Ordine Certo,
Nec Declinando faciunt Primordia Motus
Principium quoddam quod Fati fœdera rumpat,
Ex Infinito ne Cauſam Cauſa ſequatur;
Libera per Terras unde hæc Animantibus extat,
Unde eſt hæc, inquam, Fatis Avolſa Voluntas?

The reaſon for which, is afterwards thus expreſſed by him, *Quoniam De Nihilo Nil fit*, becauſe *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing.* Upon which account he therefore ridiculouſly Feigned, beſides his *Two* other *Motions* of *Atoms*, from *Pondus* and *Plagæ*, *Weight* and *Strokes*, a *Third Motion* of *them*, which he calls, *Clinamen Principiorum*, a *Contingent* and *Uncertain Declination*, every way from the *Perpendicular*; out of Deſign, to ſalve this *Phænomenon* of *Free Will* in men; Without bringing Something out of Nothing, according as he thus ſubjoyneth,

Quare in Seminibus quoque idem fateare neceſſe eſt,
Eſſe aliam præter Plagas & Pondera cauſam
Motibus, unde hæc eſt nobis Innata Poteſtas;
De NIHILO quoniam FIERI NIL poſſe videmus.
Pondus enim prohibet ne Plagis omnia fiant
Externa quaſi Vi. Sed ne Mens ipſa Neceſſum
Inteſtinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis,
Et devicta quaſi cogatur Ferre Patique,
Id facit Exiguum CLINAMEN PRINCIPIORUM,
Nec ratione loci certa, nec tempore certo.

Now if *Epicurus* himſelf, conceived, that *Liberty of Will*, could not poſſibly be *Generated*, in Men out of *Matter* or *Atoms*, they having no ſuch thing at all in them (that is no *Contingent Uncertainty* in their Motion)

Motion) without bringing of *Something out of Nothing*; which was contrary to the *Fundamental Principles* of the *Atomick Philosophy*, (though this were intolerably absurd in him, thus to suppose *Contingency*, and a Kind of *Free Will*, in the *Motions* of *Senseless Atoms*; so that indeed he brought his *Liberty of Will*, out of *Nothing*) certainly *Sense*, and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind* in Animals and Men, could not Possibly be Generated out of *Atoms* or *Matter*, devoid of all *Sense* and *Understanding*: For the very same Reason, *Quoniam De Nihilo Nil fit*, *Because Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*. For unquestionably, were all *Life* and *Understandiug*, all *Souls* and *Minds Generated* out of *Dead and Senseless Matter*; and were there no *Substantial* or *Essential Life* and *Understanding* in the whole Universe; then must it of Necessity, be all *Made out of Nothing*, or *without a Cause*, and consequently Real Entities and Substantial things be *Made out of Nothing*, which is absolutely *Impossible*. For though we do not say, that *Life* and *Cogitation*, *Sense* and *Understanding*, abstractly considered, are *Substances*; yet do we affirm them to be *Entities Really* distinct from *Matter*, and no *Modifications* or *Accidents* thereof, but either *Accidents* and *Modifications*, or rather Essential *Attributes* of *Substance Incorporeal*: as also that *Souls* and *Minds*, which are the Subjects of them, are indeed *Substantial Things*. Wherefore We cannot but here again condemn, the *Darkness of that Philosophy*, which Educes not only species *Visible* and *Audible* (Entities Perfectly Unintelligible) and *Real Qualities*, distinct from all the *Modes of Body*, and even *Substantial Forms* too, (as they call them) but also *Sensitive Souls* themselves, both in men and brutes; *Ex Potentia Materiæ*, *Out of the Power of the Matter*; that is, indeed *Out of Nothing*. For as much as this prepares a direct way to *Atheism*; because if *Life* and *Sense*, *Cogitation* and *Consciousness*, may be *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, then might this well be supposed the *first Original of All things*; nor could there Reasonably be any Stop made, at *Rational Souls*; especially by these men, who also conclude them, to be *Rasæ Tabulæ*, *meer White Sheets of Paper*, that have nothing at all in them, but what is *Scribbled* upon them, by Corporeal Objects from without: there being nothing in the *Understanding* or *Mind of Man*, which was not before in Sense: so that Sense is the First *Original Knowledge*; and *Understanding*, but a *Secondary* and *Derivative thing* from it, more *Umbratile* and *Evanide*.

Hitherto have we Demonstrated that all things whatsoever, could not possibly be *Made* out of *Matter*, and particularly that *Life* and *Sense*, *Mind* and *Understanding*, being no *Accidents* or *Modes* of *Matter*, could not by *Motion* be *Generated* out of it, without the Production of *Real Entities* out of *Nothing*. But because some may Possibly Imagine, that Matter might otherwise than thus by *Motion*, by a *Miraculous Efficiency*, Produce *Souls* and *Minds*, we shall add in the last place, that Nothing can *Efficiently Produce* any *Real Entity* or *Substantial thing*, that was not before; unless it have at least equal Perfection to it, and a *Substantially Emanative*, or *Creative Power*. But scarcely any man can be so sottish, as to Imagine, that every *Atom of Dust*, hath Equal Perfection in it to that of the *Rational*

Soul in man, or to Attribute *a Creative Power* to all *Matter*, (which is but a *Paſſive* thing) whilſt this is in the mean time denied by him, to a Perfect Being: both theſe Aſſertions alſo, in like manner as the Former, Producing *Real Entities out of Nothing Cauſally*. And thus have we Demonſtrated the *Impoſſibility* and *Non-ſenſe* of all *Atheiſm*, from this very Principle, by which the Atheiſts would aſſault Theiſm, in the true Senſe thereof, that *No thing can be Made without a Cauſe*, or that *Nothing cannot be the Cauſe of Any thing*.

Now if there be no Middle betwixt *Atheiſm* and *Theiſm*, and all things muſt of Neceſſity either ſpring from *Senſleſs Matter*, or elſe from a *Perfect Underſtanding Being*, then is this *Demonſtration* of the *Impoſſibility* of *Atheiſm*, a Sufficient *Eſtabliſhment* of the Truth *of Theiſm*; it being ſuch a *Demonſtration of a God*, as the Geometricians call, a *Deduction Ad Impoſſibile*, which they allow of for good and frequently make uſe of. Thus; Either there is a *God*, or elſe *Matter*, muſt needs be acknowledged, to be the only *Self-Exiſtent* thing, and all things elſe whatſoever, to be *Made out of it*; But it is Impoſſible that all things ſhould be made out of *Senſleſs Matter*: Therefore is there a God. Nevertheleſs we ſhall here for further ſatisfaction, ſhow how the *Exiſtence of a God*, may be Directly *Demonſtrated* alſo, from this very *Principle*, which the Atheiſts endeavour to take Sanctuary in, and from thence to impugne *Theiſm*, *De Nihilo Nihil*, that *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing Cauſally*, or That Nothing *cannot be the Cauſe of Any thing*.

In the firſt place therefore, we ſhall fetch our Beginning, from what hath been already often declared, That it is *Mathematically Certain*, that *Something or other, did Exiſt Of It Self from all Eternity, or without beginning, and Unmade by any thing elſe*. The Certainty of which Propoſition dependeth upon this very *Principle*, as its Foundation, That *Nothing can come from Nothing*, or be *Made out of Nothing*, or That *Nothing which once was not*, can of it *ſelf come into Being without a Cauſe*; it following unavoidably from thence, That if there had been once *Nothing*, there could *never have been Any thing*. And having thus laid the Foundation, we ſhall in the next place make this further Superſtructure, that becauſe Something did certainly *Exiſt* of it Self from *Eternity Unmade*, therefore is there alſo *Actually*, a *Neceſſarily Exiſtent Being*. For to ſuppoſe, that any thing did Exiſt Of It Self from Eternity, by its own *Free Will* and *Choice*, and therefore not *Neceſſarily* but *Contingently*, ſince it might have Willed otherwiſe; this is to ſuppoſe it to have Exiſted before it Was, and ſo *Poſitively* to have been the *Cauſe of it ſelf*, which is Impoſſible, as hath been already declared. When a thing therefore is ſaid to be *Of It Self*, or the *Cauſe of It ſelf*, this is to be underſtood no otherwiſe, than either in a *Negative Senſe*, as having Nothing elſe for its Cauſe; or becauſe, its *Neceſſary Eternal Exiſtence*, is *Eſſential* to the Perfection of its own Nature. That therefore which *Exiſted Of It ſelf* from *Eternity Independently* upon any thing elſe, did not ſo *Exiſt Contingently* but *Neceſſarily*; ſo that there is undoubtedly, ſomething *Actually* in Being, whoſe *Exiſtence* is and always was *Neceſſary*. In the next place it

it is certain alſo, that Nothing could *Exiſt Neceſſarily* Of it Self, but what included *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* in its own Nature. For to ſuppoſe any thing to Exiſt *Of it ſelf Neceſſarily*, which hath no *Neceſſity* of *Exiſtence* in its own Nature, is plainly to ſuppoſe that *Neceſſary Exiſtence* of it, to *Come from Nothing*, ſince it could neither proceed from that Thing it ſelf, nor yet from any thing elſe. Laſtly, there is Nothing which includes *Neceſſity of Exiſtence* in its very *Nature* and *Eſſence*, but only an *Abſolutely Perfect Being*. The Reſult of all which is, that God or a Perfect Being, doth certainly *Exiſt*, and that there is *Nothing elſe* which Exiſted Of it ſelf from Eternity, Neceſſarily and Independently; but all other things whatſoever derived their Being from him, or were *Cauſed by him*; *Matter* or *Body* it ſelf not excepted.

That which hath Staggered ſome *Theiſts* here, and made them ſo inclinable and prone to believe, that *Matter* alſo Exiſted from Eternity *Unmade*, is partly (as hath been already intimated) an *Idiotical Conceit*, that becauſe Nothing can be *Artificially made* by men, otherwiſe than out of *Pre-Exiſting Matter*, as *Houſes* and *Garments*, *Puddings*, and *Pyes*, therefore there could be no other making of any thing by any Power whatſoever: though even men themſelves, can produce Something out of no *Pre-Exiſtent Matter*, as *Cogitations* and *Local Motion*. And the ſame partly proceedeth alſo, from certain *Falſe* Opinions entertained, concerning *Matter*. For firſt ſome *Theiſts* have ſuppoſed ὕλην ἀσώματον, an *Incorporeal Firſt Matter*; out of which *Incorporeal Matter*. Together with an *Incorporeal Form*, Joyned to it, they conceived the *Eſſence of Body* to have been Compounded, and Made up. And no wonder if theſe ſame *Fanciful Philoſophers*, have further added alſo hereunto, that from this *Incorporeal Matter*, by an *Incorporeal Form*, were begotten likewiſe *Incorporeal Qualities of Body*. Now it is not Conceivable, what elſe ſhould be meant, by this *Incorporeal Hyle* or *Matter*, but only a *Metaphyſical Notion*, of the *Potentiality* or *Poſſibility* of things, reſpectively to the Deity; which becauſe it is indeed *Eternal*, and as much *Unmade* as God himſelf is, it being *Nothing* but the *Divine Power* conſidered *Paſſively*, or the *Reverſe* of it; therefore in all probability, were theſe Philoſophers ſo prone to think, the *Phyſical Matter*, of this Corporeal *Univerſe*, to have been *Eternal* and *Unmade*. Neither was this *Incorporeal Hyle*, or *Matter*, a Novel Opinion, entertained only by Some *Junior Platoniſts*, but older than *Ariſtotle* himſelf; as appeareth plainly, from theſe following words of his in his Metaphyſicks, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὕλῃ τῷ ἀρχῷ λέγουσιν, ἐάντε σῶμα, ἐάντε ἀσώματον τιθῶσιν, *Some ſpeak of the Principle as Matter; whether they ſuppoſe this Matter to be Body, or to be Incorporeal.* But this *Incorporeal Matter* in Phyſiology can be accounted no better than a kind of *Metaphyſical Non-Senſe*. Again others ſeem to have been the more prone to think, *Matter* or *Body*, to have been *Self-Exiſtent* and *Unmade*, becauſe they both conceived it to be Really the ſame thing with *Space*, and alſo took it for granted, that *Space* was *Infinite*, and *Eternal*, and Conſequently *Neceſſarily Exiſtent*. In anſwer whereunto we reply Firſt, That though *Space* and *Diſtance*, ſhould be granted to be *Poſitively Infinite*, or to have no Bounds nor Limits at all, as alſo to have been *Eternal*, yet according

L. 1. c. 6. Thus Porphyr. Τῆς ὕλης τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τάδε ἀσώματας, *&c. Materiæ Proprietates ſecundum Veteres, hæ ſunt; Quod ſit Incorporea, &c.*

to the Opinion of ſome, would it not follow from thence, that *Matter* was *Infinite*, *Eternal* and *Neceſſarily Exiſtent*; not as if *Space* or *Diſtance*, could Exiſt alone by it Self, an *Accident* without a *Subſtance*, it being plainly Impoſſible, that *Nothing* ſhould have any *Accidents*, *Modifications*, and *Attributes*; or be *Menſurable* by *Yards* and *Poles*; but becauſe this *Space* is by them ſuppoſed, not to be the *Extenſion of Body*, but the *Infinite* and *Unbounded Extenſion* of the *Deity*. But in the next place; If *Space* be concluded to be certainly Nothing elſe, but the *Extenſion* and *Diſtance* of Body or *Matter*, conſidered in *General*, (without reſpect to this or that particular Body) and *Abſtractly*; in order to the Conception of *Motion*, and the *Menſuration* of *things*; (For *Space* thus conſider'd, is *Neceſſarily Immoveable*, as to the Parts thereof reſpectively; as the *Two Extreams* of a *Yard Diſtance*, can never poſſibly come nearer to One another) then do we ſay, that there appeareth no ſufficient Ground for this *Poſitive Infinity* of *Space*, we being certain of no more than this, that be the World, or any Figurate Body, never ſo Great, it is not Impoſſible, but that it might be ſtill Greater and Greater, without end. Which *Indefinite Encreaſablenaſs* of *Body* and *Space*, ſeems to be miſtaken for a *Poſitive Infinity* thereof. Whereas for this very Reaſon, becauſe it can never be ſo Great, but that more *Magnitude* may ſtill be added to it, therefore can it never be *Poſitively Infinite*. Nor is there perhaps ſo great an *Abſurdity* in this, *That Another* World could not Poſſibly be made, a *Mile Diſtant* from this; for as much as there being Nothing between them, they muſt needs Touch; or That *this Finite World* could have no *Mountains* and *Valleys*, in the Exteriour Surface of it, ſince it might be either *Spherical*, *Cubical* or *Cylindrical*, or of any other *Regular Figure*, whatſoever the Maker pleaſed to form it in. To conclude therefore, by *Space* without the *Finite World*, is to be Underſtood, Nothing but the *Poſſibility of Body*, Further and Further without End, yet ſo as never to reach to *Infinity*; and ſuch a *Space* as this was there alſo, before this World was Created, a *Poſſibility* of ſo much *Body* to be Produced. But *Space* and *Actual Diſtance*, as really *Menſurable* by *Yards* and *Poles*, though it may be Greater and Greater without end, yet can it not be Poſitively Infinite, ſo as that there could be no more added to it; and therefore there can be no *Argument* from hence, to prove the *Neceſſary Exiſtence of Matter*.

Moreover the *Exiſtence* of a *Deity* might be further *Demonſtrated*, from this *Common Notion*, That *Nothing can come from Nothing Cauſally*, becauſe if there were no God, as we could not have had any *Idea* of him, or a *Perfect Being*, ſince it muſt have *Come from Nothing*, and have been the *Idea* or *Conception* of *Nothing*; So neither could there have been indeed any *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding* at all. For Singular Bodies Exiſting without us, cannot enter into us, and put Underſtanding in us, nor is there any thing but *Local Motions* propagated from them to our Organs of Senſe. The Mind muſt have *its Immediate Intelligibles*, within it ſelf, for otherwiſe it could not poſſibly Underſtand any thing; which *Intelligibles* and their *Relations* to one another, or *Verities*, are (as was ſaid before) *Eternal*. Moreover, the Mind can frame *Ideas* or *Conceptions*, not only of things *Actually Exiſting*,

iſting, but alſo of all *Poſſibilities*; which plainly Implies and ſuppoſes the *Actual Exiſtence* of a Being *Infinitely Powerful*, that could Produce them. So that the proper *Object*, of *Mind* and *Underſtanding*, is a *Perfect Being*, and all the *Extent* of its Power; which Perfect Being, Comprehending it ſelf and the *Extent of its own Power*, or the *Poſſibities of all things*, is the *Firſt Original Mind*, of which all other Minds partake. Wherefore were there no *Perfect Omnipotent Being*, Comprehending it ſelf, and its own Power or all the *Poſſibilities of things*; the *Intelligible Objects of the* Mind and *Ideas*, muſt have come from Nothing.

However it hath been already proved from this *Principle*, *Nothing from Nothing*, that the *Powers* of *Senſe* and *Underſtanding*, or the Entities of *Soul* and *Mind*, could never have Reſulted, from any *Modifications* of *Senſleſs Matter* whatſoever. Wherefore ſince it is *Mathematically* certain, that our Humane *Souls* and *Perſons*, could not Poſſibly have been Generated out of *Matter*; one of theſe Two things will undeniably follow; That Either they muſt all have Exiſted Of Themſelves from *Eternity Unmade*, or Elſe have been *Created* ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, *out of an Antecedent Non-Exiſtence*, by a *Perfect Underſtanding Being Unmade*, or atleaſt have Derived their whole Subſtance from it. So that it is, altogether as certain, that there is a God, as that our Humane *Souls* and *Perſons*, did not all Exiſt from *Eternity Of Themſelves*. And that there muſt be ſome *Eternal Unmade Mind*, hath been already Demonſtrated alſo, from the ſame Principle, *Nothing out of Nothing*. Thus have We abundantly *Confuted*, the *Second Atheiſtick Argumentation*, that there can be no *Omnipotence* nor *Divine Creation*, becauſe *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*; we having plainly ſhewed that this very *Principle*, in the True Senſe thereof, affordeth a *Demonſtration* for the Contrary.

THE *Six* following *Atheiſtick Argumentations*, driving at theſe *Two* things, *Firſt*, the Diſproving of an *Incorporeal*, and then of a *Corporeal Deity*; (From both which, the Atheiſts conceive it muſt follow of neceſſity, that there can be none at all) we ſhall take them all together, and in order to the *Confutation* of them, perform theſe *Three Things*. Firſt, we ſhall *Anſwer* the *Atheiſtick Argumentations*, againſt an *Incorporeal Deity*, (contained in the *Third* and *Fourth Heads.*) Secondly, we ſhall ſhew, that from the very *Principles* of the *Atheiſtick Corporealiſm*, (as repreſented in the *Fifth* and *Sixth Heads*) *Incorporeal Subſtance* is *Demonſtrable*. And Laſtly, That there being undeniably *Incorporeal Subſtance*, the Two following *Atheiſtick Argumentations* alſo, againſt a *Corporeal Deity*, (in the *Seventh* and *Eighth Sections*) prove altogether *Inſignificant*.

We begin with the *Firſt* of theſe; To ſhew the *Invalidity* of the *Atheiſtick Argumentations*, againſt an *Incorporeal Deity*. It hath been already

already obſerved, That though all *Corporealiſts*, be not therefore of neceſſity *Atheiſts*; yet *Atheiſts* univerſally have been *Corporealiſts*, this being always their Firſt and Grand *Poſtulatum*, *That there is no other Subſtance beſides Body.* Thus *Plato* long ago, declared Concerning them; διϊσχυρίζονται τοῦτο εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρέχει περιβολὴν καὶ ἁπαφὴν τινὰ, ταυτὸν σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν ὁρίζόμενοι· τὸ δ' ἄλλων εἴτις φησὶ μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καταφρονοῦντες τὸ παράπαν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐθέλοντες ἄλλο ἀκούειν. *They contend ſtrongly, that that only really Is, which is Tangible or Can Reſiſt their Touch; concluding Body and Subſtance, to be one and the ſelf-ſame thing And if any one ſhould affirm, that there is any thing Incorporeal, they will preſently cry him down, and not hear a word more from him.* For there can be no doubt, but that the Perſons here intended by *Plato*, were thoſe very *Atheiſts*, which himſelf ſpake of afterward, in the ſame *Dialogue*; μῶν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόξματι καὶ ῥήματι χρώμενοι φήσομεν, τῷ φύσιν αὐτὰ πάντα γεννᾶν, ἀπό τινος αὐτομάτης, καὶ ἄνευ διανοίας φυσεως; ἢ μετὰ λόγου καὶ ἐπιστήμης θείας, ἀπὸ θεοῦ γιγνομένης; *Whether ſhall we aſſent, to that Opinion now adays entertained by ſo many, That Nature Generateth all things from a certain Fortuitous Cauſe, without the direction of any* Mind *or Underſtanding?* or rather, that *it produceth them, according to Reaſon, and Knowledge, proceeding from God?* Indeed the Philoſopher there tells us, that ſome of theſe *Atheiſtick Perſons*, began then to be ſomewhat aſhamed of making *Prudence*, and *Juſtice*, and other *Moral Vertues*, *Corporeal Things*, or *Bodys*, ἀποκρίνονται τῷ μὲν ψυχῇ αὐτὴν δοκεῖν σφίσι σῶμά τι κεκτῆσθαι, φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ὧν ἠρώτησας, αἰσχύνονται τὸ τολμᾶν, ἢ μηδὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτὰ ὁμολογεῖν, ἢ πάντ' εἶναι σώματα διϊσχυρίζεσθαι. *Though they affirm concerning the Soul it ſelf, that this ſeems to them to be Corporeal; yet concerning Prudence, and thoſe other Vertues mentioned, ſome have now ſcarcely the Confidence to maintain, theſe to be either Bodies or Nothing.* But this (ſaith he) was indeed no leſs than the quite Giving up of the Cauſe of *Atheiſm*; εἰ γάρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ἐκλάσει τῶν ὄντων συγχωρεῖν ἀσώματον, ἱκανὸν, *becauſe if it be but once granted, that there is never ſo little Incorporeal, this will be ſufficient, to overthrow the Atheiſtick Foundation.* Wherefore he concludes, that ſuch as theſe, were but *Mongrel* and *Imperfect Atheiſts*, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν γε δὴ οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἐπαισχυνθείεν, οἵ γε αὐτῶν παρτοὶ καὶ αὐτόχθονες, ἀλλὰ διαπείνοιντ' ἄν, πᾶν ὃ μὴ δυναταὶ ταῖς χερσὶ συμπιέζειν, ὡς ἄρα τοῦτο οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ὄν, *For they who are thorough paced, and Genuine Atheiſts indeed, will bogle at neither of thoſe forementioned things, but contend that whatſoever, they cannot graſp with their hands, is altogether Nothing.* That is, that there is no other *Subſtance* nor *Entity* in the World, but only *Body*, that which is *Tangible*, or *Reſiſts* the *Touch*. *Ariſtotle* alſo, repreſenteth the *Atheiſtick Hypotheſis* after the ſame manner, τοῦτο καὶ τοιοῦτῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ ἅπασαν οὐσίαν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πάθη τούτων· *They affirm that Matter or Body, is all the Subſtance that is, and that all other things, are but the Paſſions and Affections thereof.* And again in his Metaphyſicks, ἓν τὸ πᾶν, καὶ μίαν εἶναί τινα φύσιν, ὡς ὕλην τιθέασι, καὶ ταύτην σωματικὴν καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσαν, *Theſe men maintain All to be One, and that there is but one Only* Nature, *as the Matter of all things, and this Corporeal, or endued with Magnitude.* And now we ſee plainly, that the ancient *Atheiſts*, were of the very ſame mind, with theſe

Soph. p. 172. Etc.

Met. L. 1. c. 7.

theſe in our Days; that *Body*, or that which is *Tangible* and Diviſible, is the Only *Subſtantial Thing*, from whence it follows, that an *Incorporeal Subſtance* would be the ſame with an *Incorporeal Body*, *i. e.* an Impoſſibility, and that there can be no *Incorporeal Deity*.

But in the Management of this *Cauſe*, there hath been ſome Diſagreement amongſt the *Atheiſts* themſelves. For Firſt, the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, though conſenting with all the other *Atheiſts* in this, That whatſoever was *Unextended*, and *devoid of Magnitude*, was therefore *Nothing*; (ſo that there could neither be, any *Subſtance*, nor *Accident* or *Mode* of any *Subſtance*, *Unextended*) did notwithſtanding diſtinguiſh concerning a *Double Nature*. Firſt, That which is ſo *Extended*, as to be *Impenetrable*, and *Tangible*, or *Reſiſt the Touch*, which is *Body*. And Secondly, That which is Extended alſo, but *Penetrably* and *Intangibly*, which is *Space* or *Vacuum*: a *Nature*, according to them, really diſtinct from *Body*, and the only *Incorporeal Thing* that is. Now ſince this *Space* which is the only *Incorporeal*, can neither *Do nor Suffer* any thing, but only give *Place* or *Room* to Bodies to Subſiſt in, or Paſs thorough, therefore can there not be any *Active*, *Underſtanding*, *Incorporeal* Deity. This is the *Argumentation* of the *Democritick Atheiſts*.

To which we Reply; That if *Space* be indeed a *Nature* diſtinct from *Body*, and a Thing *Really Incorporeal*, as they pretend, then will it undeniably follow from this very Principle of theirs, that there muſt be *Incorporeal Subſtance*; and (this *Space* being ſuppoſed by them alſo to be *Infinite*) an *Infinite Incorporeal Deity*. Becauſe if Space be not the *Extenſion* of *Body*, nor an *Affection* thereof; then muſt it of neceſſity be, either an *Accident Exiſting* alone by it ſelf, without a *Subſtance*, which is Impoſſible; or elſe the *Extenſion* or *Affection*, of ſome other *Incorporeal Subſtance*, that is *Infinite*. But here will *Gaſſendus* ſtep in, to help out his good Friends, the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, at a dead Lift; and undertake to maintain, that though *Space* be indeed an *Incorporeal Thing*, yet it would neither follow of neceſſity from thence, that it is an *Incorporeal Subſtance* or *Affection* thereof, nor yet that it is an *Accident*, Exiſting alone by it ſelf without a *Subſtance*; becauſe this *Space* is really, neither *Accident*, nor *Subſtance*, but a certain *Middle Nature or Eſſence* betwixt both. To which Subterfuge of his, that we may not quarrel about Words, we ſhall make this Reply; That unqueſtionably, Whatſoever *Is*, or hath any kind of *Entity*, doth either Subſiſt by it ſelf, or elſe is an *Attribute*, *Affection*, or *Mode*, of ſomething that doth Subſiſt by it ſelf. For It is Certain, That there can be no *Mode*, *Accident*, or *Affection*, of Nothing; and conſequently, that Nothing cannot be *Extended*, nor *Menſurable*. But if Space be neither the *Extenſion* of *Body*, nor yet of *Subſtance Incorporeal*, then muſt it of neceſſity be, the *Extenſion* of *Nothing*, and the *Affection* of *Nothing*; and Nothing muſt be *Menſurable* by *Yards* and *Poles*. We conclude therefore, That from this very *Hypotheſis* of the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheiſts*, that *Space* is a *Nature* diſtinct from *Body* and *Poſitively Infinite*, it follows undeniably, that there muſt be

ſome

ſome *Incorporeal Subſtance*, whoſe *Affection* its *Extenſion* is; and becauſe there can be nothing *Infinite*, but only the *Deity*, that it is the *Infinite Extenſion* of an *Incorporeal Deity*; juſt as ſome *Learned Theiſts* and *Incorporealiſts* have aſſerted. And thus is the *Argument* of theſe *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheiſts*, againſt an *Incorporeal Deity*, abundantly confuted; we having made it manifeſt, that from that very *Principle* of their own, by which they would diſprove the ſame, it is againſt themſelves *Demonſtrable*.

To which it might be here further added, that *Epicurus* who profeſſedly oppoſed *Plato's Incorporeal God*, as an *Impoſſibility*, did notwithſtanding, manifeſtly Contradict himſelf, when he aſſerted ſuch a *Democracy of Monogrammous Gods*, as were not Compounded of *Atoms* and *Vacuum*, (though according to him, the only *Principles of Body*) that ſo they might be *Incorruptible*; nor yet could *Touch* or be *Touched*, but were *Penetrable*, as is declared in thoſe Verſes of *Lucretius*,

Tenvis enim Natura Deûm, longeque remota,
Senſibus à noſtris, Animi vix mente videtur.
Quæ quoniam manuum Tactum, ſuffugit & Ictum,
Tactile nil nobis quod ſit, contingere debet.
Tangere enim non quit, quod Tangi non licet ipſum.

(Though *Tangibility* and *Impenetrability*, were elſewhere made by him, the very *Eſſence* of *Body*) and Laſtly, ſuch as had not *Corpus* but *Quaſi-Corpus*, and therefore muſt needs be *Really Incorporeal*. Though there is no doubt to be made, but that *Epicurus* Colluded in all this; himſelf not Believing a jot of it, nor any ſuch Gods at all.

But other Atheiſts there were, who concluding likewiſe, That whatſoever was *Unextended was Nothing*, were ſenſible of the Inconvenience of making *Space* thus to be a thing really diſtinct from *Body*, (from whence it would follow unavoidably, that it was an *Affection*, of *Incorporeal Subſtance*;) and therefore acknowledged, not *Two Natures* of *Extended Things*, but as we had it before in *Ariſtotle*, μίαν τινὰ φύσιν τὴν ταύτην σωματικὴν, *One only Nature, and that Bodily*; *Space* being therefore to them, either a meer *Imaginary Thing*, that hath no Reality without our Minds, but only a *Phantaſm* of our own, and in their Modern Language, a kind of *Ghoſt*, *Apparition*, or *Spectre* of a Body; or elſe indeed, the very *Extenſion* of Body it ſelf, conſidered in General, and Abſtractly from this or that *Singular Body*, *Moveable*. And theſe men therefore framed their *Argumentation* againſt an *Incorporeal Deity* after this manner. Nothing truly Is, but what is *Extended*, or hath a Certain *Magnitude*, (becauſe that which is *Unextended* and hath no *Magnitude*, is *No-where*, and conſequently *Nothing*.) But whatſoever is *Extended*, and in a *Place*, is Body. Therefore is there no other *Subſtance* beſides Body; and Conſequently there can be no *Incorporeal Deity*. Or elſe to put the Argument into a more *Approveable Syllogiſtick Form*, Whatſoever is *Extended*, is *Body*, or *Corporeal*; But *Whatſoever Is*, *is* Extended. Therefore

fore *Whatsoever* Is, *is Body*, or Corporeal. And by Consequence there can be no *Incorporeal Deity*.

To which *Argumentation*, the Assertors of *Incorporeal Substance*, have Replied *Two* manner of ways. For First, the Generality of the ancient *Incorporealists*, taking it for granted, that whatsoever was *Extended* in Magnitude, and had Parts one without another, was *Divisible*, as also probably, *Impenetrable* by any thing else *Extended*, because there can be no *Penetration of Dimensions*; and therefore no One *Magnitude*, can be *Imbibed* or *Swallowed* up into another, but must of necessity stand without it, adding so much to the Quantity thereof: They readily gave their Assent to that *Proposition*, That Whatsoever is *Extended*, into Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity, is *Body*. But being strongly perswaded of the Existence of some other *Substance* besides *Body*; they denied that Other *Proposition* of theirs, That *Whatsoever* Is, is *Extended*; or What is *Unextended* is *Nothing:* maintaining that besides *Body*, or *Extended Substance*, there was another *Substance Incorporeal*, which therefore was ἀδιάστατον, and ἀμεγέθης, and ἄποσος, and ἀμερὴς, and ἀδιαίρετον, *Unextended*, and devoid of *Quantity* and *Magnitude*, without *Parts*, and *Indivisible*. That *Plato* himself Philosophized after this manner, might be proved from sundry Passages of his Writings, as that in his *Tenth De Legibus*, where he affirmeth, that the *Soul* it self, and those things which belong to it, as *Cogitative*, are πρότερα μήκους σωμάτων καὶ βάθους καὶ πλάτους, *in Order of Nature, before the Longitude, and Latitude, and Profundity of Bodies*. Where doubtless his meaning was not; as if there were a *Longitude*, *Latitude*, and *Profundity* in *Souls*, but of a different kind from that *Longitude*, *Latitude*, and *Profundity* of Bodies, and before it: but that *Longitude*, *Latitude*, and *Profundity*, being the *Essential Properties* of *Body* only; *Soul* and *Cogitation*, as devoid of these, was in order of Nature Before them. Again from that in his *Timæus*, where speaking of *Place*, *Space*, and *Matter*, he condemneth this for a Vulgar Error, That *Whatsoever Is*, must of necessity be in some *Place* or other, and what is in *No Place*, is *Nothing*. τρίτον δὲ αὖ γένος τὸ τοῦ χώρας, ἕδραν παρέχον ὅσα ἔχει γένεσιν πᾶσιν——περὶς ὃ δὴ καὶ ὀνειροπολοῦμεν βλέποντες, καὶ φαμὲν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πᾶν, τὸ ὂν ἅπαν ἔν τινι τόπῳ, καὶ κατέχον χώραν τινὰ· τὸ δὲ μήτε ἐν γῇ, μητέπου κατ' οὐρανόν, οὐδὲν εἶναι· *The Third Kind, is that of Space, which gives room to all things that are Generated. And when we look upon this, we dreamingly affirm, That every thing that Is, must of necessity be in some Place, and possess a certain Room and Space, and that whatsoever is not Somewhere, either in Earth or in Heaven, is Nothing. Which Drowsie or Dreaming Imagination*, (saith he, like a Ghost) *continually haunteth and possesseth men, and that even then, when they think of that True and Awakened Nature of the Deity*. Whereas this Philosopher himself, discoursing elsewhere of God, under the Title of πολὺ πέλαγος τοῦ καλοῦ, *The Vast Sea of Pulcritude*, describeth him after this manner, οὐδέπου ὄν, οὐκ ἐν γῇ, οὐκ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ, μεθ' αὑτοῦ, μονοειδὲς ἀεὶ ὄν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα καλὰ ἐκείνου μετέχοντα, *As that which is not Any where, either in Earth, or in Heaven, but it self alone by It self, and With It self, all other Beautiful things Partaking of it*. And as for *Aristo-*

tles Senſe in this Particular; that he here departed not, as he did in ſome other things, from his Maſter *Plato*, may appear from that Whole *Chapter* or *Section*, at the End of his *Phyſicks*, Spent upon this very Subject, to prove, ὅτι τὸν πρῶτον ἀμερῆ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν μέγεθος; *That his Firſt Immoveable Mover* (which is *God Almighty*) *muſt of neceſſity be devoid of Parts, or Indiviſible, and have no Magnitude at all.* The Concluſion of which *Section*, and his whole Book of *Phyſicks* is this, διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων, φανερὸν ὅτι ἀδύνατον τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν καὶ ἀκίνητον ἔχειν τι μέγεθος· εἰ γὰρ μέγεθος ἔχει, ἀνάγκη ἤτοι πεπερασμένον αὐτὸ εἶναι, ἢ ἄπειρον· ἄπειρον μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται μέγεθος εἶναι, δέδεικται πρότερον ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ πεπερασμένον ἀδύνατον ἔχειν ἄπειρον δύναμιν, δέδεικται νῦν· φανερὸν τοίνυν, ὅτι ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστι, καὶ ἀμερές, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχον μέγεθος. *Theſe things being thus determined; It is manifeſtly Impoſſible, that the firſt Mover ſhould have any Magnitude. For if it hath Magnitude, that muſt of neceſſity be either Finite or Infinite. But that there can be no Infinite Magnitude, was before demonſtrated in the Phyſicks; and that nothing which hath a Finite Magnitude, can have Infinite Power, hath been now Proved. Wherefore it is plain, that the Firſt Mover is Indiviſible, and devoid of Parts, and hath no Magnitude at all.* Which ſame Doctrine is again Taught and
P. 14. c. 7. Aſſerted by *Ariſtotle* in his Metaphyſicks, ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔστιν οὐσία τις ἀΐδιος καὶ ἀκίνητος, καὶ χωριστὴ τῆς αἰσθητῶν, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων· δέδεικται δὲ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος οὐδὲν ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν τοιαύτην τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ ἀμερὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει δύναμιν ἄπειρον πεπερασμένον, καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄπειρον. *From what hath been declared, it is manifeſt, that there is an Eternal and Immoveable Subſtance, Separate from Senſibles; as alſo that this Subſtance cannot poſſibly have any Magnitude, but is devoid of Parts, and Indiviſible. Becauſe no Finite thing can have Infinite Power, and there is no ſuch thing poſſible as Infinite Magnitude.* Neither doth *Ariſtotle* appropriate this to the Supreme *Deity*; *To be thus devoid of Magnitude and of Parts*, and conſequently *Indiviſible*; he ſome where attributing the ſame alſo to all other *Immaterial* or *Incorporeal things*, and particularly to the *Humane Mind*, ἀδιαίρετον πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὕλῃ ἔχον, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, *Every thing that is devoid of Matter, is Indiviſible, as the Humane Mind.* And the like, doth he aſſert, at once, both concerning the *Mundane*, and the *Humane Soul*, that they are no *Magnitudes*, though ridiculouſly (after his manner) imputing the Contrary Opinion to *Plato*,
De An. L. 1. c. 3. ὁ καλῶς τὸ λέγειν τὴν ψυχὴν μέγεθος εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ νοῦς εἷς καὶ συνεχής, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ νόησις· ἡ δὲ νόησις τὰ νοήματα· ταῦτα δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς ἓν, ὡς ὁ ἀριθμός, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς τὸ μέγεθος· διόπερ οὐδὲ νοῦς οὕτω συνεχής· ἀλλ' ἤτοι ἀμερής, ἢ οὐχ ὡς τὸ μέγεθός τι συνεχής· πῶς γὰρ ἂν νοοῖ μέγεθος ὤν, ὅτῳ δὴ τῶν μορίων τῷ αὐτοῦ; μορίων δὲ ἤτοι τὸ μέγεθος, ἢ τὸ εἶδος· εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ εἶδος, αὐτὰ δ' ἄπειρα, δῆλον ὡς οὐδέποτε διέξεισιν· εἰ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος, πολλάκις ἢ ἀπεφάνατο νοήσει τὸ αὐτό· Ἔτι δὲ πῶς νοήσει τὸ ἀμερὲς μερισθέν. *It is not rightly affirmed either of the Mundane, or Rational Soul, that they are Magnitudes. For the Intellect is One and Continuous, as Intellection is, which is the ſame with the Intelligibles. But theſe are one, not as Magnitudes, but as Numbers. Wherefore the Intellect is not ſo Continuous, but either devoid of Parts, or not Continuous as Magnitude. For how, being Magnitude, could*

it

it understand with any of its Parts, whether Conceived as Points, or as lesser Magnitudes; since either way, there would be an innumerable company of Intellections? Moreover how can it conceive any thing that is Indivisible, by what is Divisible? Furthermore in this same *Book De Animâ*, *Aristotle* stifly denies, Souls in general, either to be in a *Place*, or to be *Locally Moved*, otherwise than by Accident, as they are said to be *Moved*, together with the Motion of *the Body*. Thus *Simplicius*, ὅρα ὡς πανταχοῦ τὰς σωματικὰς ἀποζέεται τῆ ψυχῆς κινήσεις, *See how* Aristotle *doth every where remove, or exclude from the Soul, Corporeal* (or Local) *Motions.* And *Fol. 6.* again ἀπαγορεύει μὴ κινεῖσθαι τὰ ἀσώματα τῆ κινήσεως αἴτια ὄντα πρῶτα ὄντ μέσα ὄντ ἔσχατα ἦ, Aristotle *will by no means allow any Incorporeal things whatsoever, whether of the First, Second or Lowest rank, (they being all the Causes of motion) themselves to be moved. Philoponus* likewise, ὁρᾷς ὡς περὶς τὰς σωματικὰς κινήσεις ἀποβλέπων, ἕτως αὐτῶ ἀκίνητον εἶναι φησι· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐν τόπῳ σῶμά ἐστιν. *You see how* Aristotle, *respecting Corporeal* Motions, *pronounces of the Soul, that it is Immoveable. For whatsoever is in a Place* (and moveable) *is Body.* Lastly, in that Passage before cited, *Aristotle* plainly makes, the *Essence* of *Corporeal Substance*, as opposed to *Incorporeal*, to consist in *Magnitude.*

Besides *Plato* and *Aristotle*, we might here instance in sundry other, of the ancient *Incorporealists*, who clearly maintained the same Doctrine. *Philo* doth not only assert in general, a *Double Essence* or *Substance*, ἀδιάστατον, and διαστηματικῶ, *a Distant, and Indistant one*, but somewhere writeth thus concerning the Deity, ὑπὸ *De Confus.* τῦ Θεῦ πεπλήρωται τὰ πάντα, ὡς ἐχόντῳ ὁ περιεχομένῳ, ᾧ πανταχοῦ τε *Ling. p. 339.* καὶ ὁλαχοῦ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι μόνῳ· ὁλαχοῦ μὲν ὅτι καὶ χώραν καὶ τόπον αὐτὸς τοῖς σώμασι συγγεγέννηκε τὸ· ὃ πεποιηκὼς ἐν ὁδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων θέμις εἶπεῖν περιέχεσθαι· πανταχοῦ δ', ὅτι τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῦ, διὰ γῆς καὶ ὕδατῳ ἀέρος τε καὶ θερμῦ τείνας, &c. *All things are filled with God, as Containing them, but not as being Contained by them, or in them; to whom alone it belongeth to be, both Every where and No where. No where because himself Created Space and Place, together with Bodies, and it is not lawful to include the Creator, within any of his Creatures. And Every where, because he extendeth his Vertues and Powers, throughout Earth and Water, Air and Heaven, and leaveth no Part of the World destitute thereof, but collecting all things together under himself, hath bound them fast with Invisible Bonds.* But none hath more industriously pursued this business then *Plotinus* who every where asserts, *Body* and *Magnitude*, to be one and the same thing; and that besides this, there is another *Substance Incorporeal*, which consequently is ἄπους and ἀμεγέθης and ἀμερὴς, devoid of *Quantity*, and of *Magnitude*, and of *Parts*, locally distant from one another; ὃ ἐν τῇ αὐτῦ ὁσίᾳ τὸ ποσὸν εἶναι ὑπερβέβηκεν, *it having in its Nature transcended, the Imperfection of Quantity.* And Who hath also written, Two Whole Books upon this very Subject, τὸ ὂν ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸν ἀριθμῷ ἅμα πανταχοῦ εἶναι ὅλον, *That one and the self same Numerical thing, may be all of it, entirely Every where.* Wherein his Principal design was to Prove, that *the Deity, is not Part of it here,*

here, and part of it there; and ſo much thereof in one place, and ſo much in another (as if the very *Subſtance* of it were *Menſurable* by Yards and Poles) but the whole *Undivided Deity*, every where, πρὸ πάντων ἐν τόπῳ ἁπάντων (ſaith he) *God is before all things that are in a Place.* And θαυμάζειν δ' οὐδέν, εἰ αὐτὸ μὴ ὂν ἐν τόπῳ, παντὶ τῷ ἐν τόπῳ ὄντι, ὅλως πάρεσι, φησὶ γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἀνάγκη· αὐτῷ τόπον οὐκ εἰληχότι, ᾧ πάρεσι, τοῦτο ὅλον παρεῖναι, *It is not at all to be wondered at, that God being not in a Place, ſhould be preſent to every thing that is in a Place, wholly and entirely: Reaſon pronouncing, that he having no place, muſt therefore of neceſſity be* ὅλως, *all of him Indiviſibly Preſent, to whatſoever he is Preſent.* Neither is this, ſaith he, a thing only deduced by *Reaſon*, but that which is before Reaſon, ſuggeſted, by the *Inſtincts of Mankind*; τὸ ἓν καὶ ταυτὸν ἀριθμῷ, παντα χοῦ ἅμα ὅλον εἶναι, κοινὴ ἔννοια φησὶν εἶναι, ὅταν πάντες κινούμενοι αὐτοφυῶς λέγωσι, τὸν ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν θεὸν, ὡς ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, *That one and the ſame Numerical Subſtance (to wit of the Deity) is at once entirely every where, is agreable to the Common Notions, Sentiments of Mankind, when we do ſo often by the Inſtincts of Nature, ſpeak of that God, who is in Every one of us; as ſuppoſing him to be one and the ſame in all.* Where the Philoſopher ſubjoyns, καὶ ἔστι πάντων βεβαιοτάτη ἀρχὴ, ἣν ὥσπερ αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν φθέγγονται, &c. *And this is the Firmeſt of all Principles, that which our Souls do, as it were, Naturally and of themſelves Speak; and which is not Collected by Reaſon, but comes forth from them, before Ratiocination.* Moreover he often affirmeth of the humane Soul, or rather takes it as a thing for granted, that this is, the Whole or All of it, in every part of the Body, that is Undividedly; ὅτι ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀριθμῷ, τὸ ἐν τῷ ποδὶ, καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ὑπάρχει, *As for the humane Soul, it is one and the ſame Numerically, in the Hand and in the Foot.* And again, ἔπειτα πῶς ἐν ποδὶ καὶ χειρὶ τὼ αὐτὼ, τὼ δ' ἐν τῷ δὲ μέρει τοῦ παντὸς, ὁ τὼ αὐτὼ τὼ ἐν τῷδε, *Since we commonly ſuppoſe, our own Soul to be the ſame, both in our foot and in our hand; why ſhould we not in like manner, acknowledge, that of the Mundane Soul or Deity,* which is in one part of the Univerſe, to be the ſame with that in another? In like manner *Simplicius*, proving that Body is not the firſt *Principle*, becauſe there muſt of neceſſity be Something *Self-moving*, and what is ſo, muſt needs be *Incorporeal*, writeth thus, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀμερὲς εὐθὺς ἀνάγκη εἶναι καὶ ἀδιάστατον, μεριστὸν γὰρ καὶ διαστατὸν ὑπάρχον, οὐ δύναται ὅλον ὅλῳ ἑαυτῷ ἐφαρμόσαν, ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἶναι κινοῦν, καὶ ὅλον τὸ αὐτὸ κινούμενον. *Becauſe what is ſuch, muſt of neceſſity be Indiviſible, and Indiſtant, for were it Diviſible, and Diſtant, it could not all of it be conjoyned with its whole ſelf; ſo that the whole ſhould both actively move, and be moved.* Which ſame thing ſeems further Evident, in the Souls being All *Conſcious* of It Self, and *Reflexive* upon its *whole Self*, whichcould not be, were one part of it Diſtant from another. Again the ſame Philoſopher, expreſly denieth, the *Soul* though a Self-moving *Subſtance*, to be at all Locally *Moved*, otherwiſe then by accident in reſpect of the Body, which is moved by it, οὐ τὰς σωματικὰς κινούμενον κινήσεις (κατὰ γὰρ ἐκείνας ἀκίνητόν ἐστι) ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχικὰς, αἷς ὀνόματός ἐστι ζητοπεῖσθαι βουλεύεσθαι, διανοεῖν, δοξάζειν, κινεῖ τὰ σώματα κατὰ τὰς σωματικὰς κινήσεις, *The Soul being not Moved by Corporeal or Local Motions (for in reſpect of theſe it is Immoveable) but by Cogitative ones only,*

P. 667.

P. 644.

P. 649.

(the

(the names whereof are Consultation, and Deliberation, &c.) by these Moveth Bodies Locally. And that this was Really *Plato's* meaning, also, when he determined the Soul to be a *Self-moving Substance and the Cause of all Bodily Motion*; that moving it self in a way of *Cogitation* it moved Bodies *Locally* (Notwithstanding that *Aristotle* would not take notice of it) sufficiently appears from his own words, and is acknowledged by the Greek Scholiasts themselves, upon *Aristotle's De Anima.* Thus again *Simplicius* elsewhere, ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ ἐν τόπῳ ψυχὴ, οὐδ' ἂν κινοῖτο, τὰς τῇ ἐν τόπῳ ὄντων κινήσεις, *Since the Soul is not in a place, it is not capable of any Local* Motion.

We should omit the Testimonies of any more *Philosophers*, were it not, that we find *Porphyrius* so full and express herein; who makes this the very beginning of his ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ, his *Manuduction to Intelligibles*; πᾶν σῶμα ἐν τόπῳ, οὐδὲν ἧττον τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἀσωμάτων ἐν τόπῳ, *That though Every Body be in a* Place, *yet Nothing that is properly Incorporeal, is in a* Place: and who afterwards further pursues it in this manner, οὐδὲ τοπικῶς διέρχεται τὸ ἀσώματον· ὅπερ βέλτιον· ὄγκου γὰρ συνυφίστατο τόπῳ· τὸ δ' ἄογκον παντελῶς ἢ ἀμέγεθες, ὑπὸ τῇ ἐν P. 229, 230. ὅλῳ ἀκριβῶς, τοπικῆς τε κινήσεως ἄμοιρον, διαθέσει τοίνυν ποίᾳ ἐχεῖ ἐυρίσκεται, ὅπερ ἢ διάκειται· καὶ οὐκ τῇ ἔργων αὐτῆς φανερὰ ἡ παρουσία αὐτῆ γίνεται, *Neither does that which is Incorporeal move Locally by Will. Place being Relative only to* Magnitude *and Bulk. But that which is devoid of Bulk and Magnitude, is likewise devoid of Local* Motion. *Wherefore it is only present by a certain Disposition and Inclination of it, to one thing more than another, nor is its presence there discernible otherwise, than by its operations and Effects.* Again concerning the Three *Divine Hypostases*, he writeth thus, ὁ θεὸς πάνταχοῦ ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ, καὶ ὁ νοῦς P. 231. πανταχοῦ ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ, καὶ ψυχὴ πανταχοῦ ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ, &c. *The Supreme God, is therefore Every where, because he is Nowhere; and the same is true also of the* Second *and Third Divine Hypostasis, Nous and Psyche. The Supreme God is Every where and No where, in respect of those things which are after him, and only his own and in himself. Nous or Intellect is in the Supreme God; Every where and No where as to those things that are after him. Psyche or the Mundane Soul is both in Intellect and the Supreme God, and Every where and No where as to Bodies. Lastly, Body, is both in the Soul of the World, and in God.* Where he denies, God to be *Locally* in the *Corporeal World*, and thinks it more proper to say that the *Corporeal World is in God, then God in it*; because the World is held and contained in the Divine Power, but the Deity is not in the *Locality* of the *World.* Moreover he further declares his Sense after this manner; οὐδ' εἰ κενὸν ἔν τι ὑπονοηθείη ἀσώματον, ἐν κενῷ οἷόν τε εἶναι νοῦν, σώματος μὲν γὰρ δεκτικὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ κενὸν. Νοῦς δ' ἐνέργειαν χωρῆσαι ἀμήχανον, καὶ τόπον δοῦναι ἐνεργείᾳ, *Nor if there were conceived to be, such an Incorporeal Space or Vacuum* (as *Democritus* and *Epicurus* supposed) *could Mind or God, possibly Exist in this Empty Space*, (as Co-extended with the same) *for this would be only Receptive of Bodies, but it could not receive the Energie of Mind or Intellect, nor give any Place or Room to that, that being no Bulkie thing.* And again, ὁ μὲν κόσμος ἐν τῷ νῷ διαστατικῶς πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ ἀσώματον τῷ κόσμῳ ἀμερῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως· τὸ δὲ ἄμερες ἐν διαστατῷ ὅλον γίνεται κατὰ πᾶν μέρος, ταυτὸν δὲ ἂν

καὶ

καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ· αὐτὸ ἀμερῶς πάρεστι καὶ ἀπληθύντως καὶ ἀτόπως, τῷ τῷ αὐτῷ φύσιν, τῷ μεριστῷ, καὶ πεπληθυσμένῳ, καὶ ὅλῳ ἐν τόπῳ, *The Corporeal World is Diſtantly preſent, to the Intelligible, (or the Deity;) and that is Indiviſibly and Indiſtantly preſent, with the World. But when that which is Indiſtant and Unextended, is preſent with that which is Diſtant and Extended; then is the Whole of the Former, one and the ſame Numerically, in Every part of the Latter. That is, it is Indiviſibly and Unmultipliedly, and Illocally, there (according to its own Nature) preſent with that, which is naturally Diviſible, and Multipliable, and in a Place.* Laſtly, he affirmeth the ſame likewiſe of the *Humane Soul*, that this is alſo ὐσία ἀμεγέθης, *A Subſtance devoid of Magnitude*, and which is not *Locally* preſent, to this or that *Body*, but by *Diſpoſition* and *Energie*, and therefore the Whole of it in every *part* thereof *Undividedly*.

And as for Chriſtian Writers, beſides *Origen*, who was ſo famous an Aſſerter of *Incorporeal Subſtance*, that (as *Socrates* recordeth) the Egyptian Monks and Anthropomorphites, threatned death to *Theophilus* the *Alexandrian* Biſhop, unleſs he would at once execrate and renounce the Writings of *Origen*, and profeſs the Belief of a *Corporeal God, of Humane Form*; and who alſo maintained *Incorporeal Subſtance* to be *Unextended*, as might be proved from Sundry Paſſages, both of his Book againſt *Celſus*, and that *Peri Archon*; we ſay (beſides *Origen* and others of the *Greeks*) St. *Auſtine* amongſt the Latins, clearly aſſerted the ſame, he maintaining in his Book, *De Quantitate Animæ*, and elſe where, concerning the *Humane Soul*, that being *Incorporeal*, it hath no Dimenſions of *Length*, *Breadth* and *Profundity*, and is *Illocabilis*, *No where* as in a *Place*. We ſhall conclude, with the Teſtimony of *Boetius*, who was both a Philoſopher and a Chriſtian, *Quædam ſunt* (ſaith he) *Communes Animi Conceptiones, per ſe notæ, apud Sapientes tantum; Ut Incorporalia non eſſe In Loco; There are certain Common Conceptions, or Notions of the Mind, which are known by themſelves amongſt wiſe men only; as this for example, That Incorporeals are in No Place.* From whence it is manifeſt, that the generality of reputed Wiſe men, were not formerly of this opinion, *Quod Nuſquam eſt nihil eſt, That what is No where, or in no certain Place, is Nothing*; and that this was not look'd upon by them as a *Common Notion*, but only as a *Vulgar Errour*.

By this time we have made it unqueſtionably Evident, that this Opinion of *Incorporeal Subſtance* being *Unextended*, *Indiſtant*, and *Devoid of Magnitude*, is no Novel or Recent thing, nor firſt ſtarted in the *Scholaſtick Age*, but that it was the general Perſwaſion, of the moſt ancient and learned Aſſerters of *Incorporeal Subſtance*; eſpecially, that the *Deity* was not Part of it *Here*, and Part of it There, nor the *Subſtance* thereof *Menſurable* by Yards and Poles, as if there were ſo much of it contained in one Room, and ſo much and no more in another, according to their ſeveral Dimenſions; but that the whole *Undivided Deity*, was at once in Every *Part* of the world, and conſequently No where *Locally* after the manner of *Bodies*. But becauſe this opinion, ſeems ſo *Strange* and *Paradoxical*, and lies under ſo great *Prejudice*,

Prejudices, we ſhall in the next place ſhow, how theſe ancient *Incorporealiſts*, endeavoured to acquit themſelves in repelling the ſeveral *Efforts* and *Plauſibilities* made againſt it. The Firſt whereof is this, That to ſuppoſe *Incorporeal Subſtances*, *Unextended* and *Indiviſible*, is to make them *Abſolute Parvitudes*, and by means of that, to render them all, (even the *Deity* it ſelf) contemptible; ſince they muſt of neceſſity, be either Phyſical *Minimums*, that cannot *Actually* be *Divided* further by reaſon of their *Littleneſs*, (if there be any ſuch thing) or elſe meer *Mathematical Points*, which are not ſo much as *Mentally Diviſible*: ſo that *Thouſands* of theſe *Incorporeal Subſtances*, or *Spirits*, might *Dance together at once upon a Needles Point.* To which it was long ſince thus Replied by *Plotinus*, P. 656. οὐχ ὅτω ἡ ἀμερὲς ὡς μηδὲν· ὅτω γὰρ ὀδὲν ἦεν καὶ μεγεθὸν ἔσαι· καὶ ὁ πάντι αὐτὸ ἐφαρμόζει· ὁσ' ἂν αὐξομιλύῳ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέσαι· ἀλλ' ὁσ' ὅτως ὡς σημεῖον, ὁ γὰρ ἓν σημεῖον ὁ ὄγκῳ· ἀλλ' ἄπτερα ἐν αὐτῷ, ὁσ' ὡς ἐφαρμόζει, *God and all other Incorporeal Subſtances, are not ſo Indiviſible, as if they were Parvitudes, or Little things, as Phyſical points; for ſo would they ſtill be Mathematically Diviſible; nor yet, as if they were Mathematical Points neither, which indeed are no Bodies nor Subſtances, but only The* Termini *of a Line. And neither of theſe wayes, could the Deity* Congruere, *with the world; nor Souls with their reſpective Bodies, ſo as to be all preſent with the whole of them.* Again he writeth particularly concerning the Deity thus, ὅτε ὅτως ἀμηχὲς, ὡς τὸ σμικρώτατον, μέγιστον γὰρ ἁπάντων, ὁ μεγέθει ἀλλὰ δυνάμει· —— λεπτέον ἢ καὶ ἄπειρον ἀλήπτῳ τ' δυνάμεως. P. 764. *God is not ſo Indiviſible as if he were the Smalleſt or Leaſt of things, for he is the Greateſt of all, not in reſpect of Magnitude, but of Power. Moreover as he is Indiviſible, ſo is he alſo to be acknowledged Infinite, not as if he were either a Magnitude or a Number, which could never be paſt thorough; but becauſe his Power is Incomprehenſible.* Moreover the ſame Philoſopher, condemneth this for *a Vulgar Errour*, proceeding from *Senſe* and *Imagination*, that whatſoever is *Unextended* and *Indiſtant*, muſt therefore needs be *Little*, he affirming on the contrary the Vulgar to be much miſtaken, as to *True Greatneſs* and *Littleneſs*, μέγα νομίζοντες τὸ αἰσθητὸν, ἀποροῦμεν πῶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ, P. 643. ἐκείνη ἡ φύσις ἐκτέτανται· τὸ δ' ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ λεγόμενον μέγα μικρόν· ὃ δ' νομίζεται μικρὸν εἶναι μέγα· ἔτι ὅλον ὅτι πᾶν τὸ τοῦ μέρους φθάνει, μᾶλλον δ' τοῦτο πανταχόθεν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο ἰὸν, ὑφίζανει αὐτὸ παντάχοθεν πᾶν καὶ μεῖζον ἑαυτοῦ, *We commonly looking upon this Senſible world as Great, wonder how that* (Indiviſible and Unextended) *Nature of the Deity, can every where comply and be preſent with it. Whereas that which is Vulgarly called Great, is indeed Little, and that which is thus Imagined to be Little, is indeed Great. For as much as the whole of This diffuſeth it ſelf through every part of the other; or rather this whole* Scnt. p. 243. *Corporeal Univerſe, in every one of its parts, findeth that Whole and Entire; and therefore Greater than it ſelf.* To the ſame purpoſe alſo *Porphyrius*, τὸ ὄντως ὂν ὅτι μέγα, ὅτι μικρὸν ἔστι· (τὸ γὰρ μέγα καὶ μικρὸν πως ἴσως ὅλως ἴδια.) ἐκβεβηκὸς δ' τὸ μέγα καὶ μικρόν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ταὐτὸ καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ ὄν· εἰ καὶ διαίρεσκεται ἅμα ὑπὸ παντὸς μεγίστου, καὶ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἐλαχίστου διαιρούμενον· μήτε ἄρα ὡς μέγιστον αὐτὸ ὑπονοήσεις· εἰ δ' μὴ, ἀπορήσεις πῶ μέγιστον ὂν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ὄγκοις πάρεστι,

πάρεσι, μὴ μειωθὲν, ἢ συσκελέν· μήτε ὡς ἐλάχιστον, εἰ ὃ μὴ, πάλιν ἀπορήζεις, πῶς ἐλάχιστον ὂν τοῖς μεγίστοις ὄγκοις πάρεσι, μὴ πολλαπλασιαθὲν, ἢ αὐξηθὲν, *The Deity, which is the only true Being, is neither Great nor Little, (For as much as Great and Little properly belong to Corporeal Bulk or Magnitude) but it exceedeth both the Greatneſs of every thing that is Great, and the Littleneſs of whatſoever is Little (it being more Indiviſible and more One with it ſelf, than any thing that is Little, and more Powerful than any thing that is Great) So that it is above both the Greateſt, and the Leaſt; it being found, all one and the ſame, by every Greateſt and every Smalleſt thing, participating thereof. Wherefore you muſt neither look upon God, as the Greateſt thing,* (that is in a way of *Quantity*) *for then you may well doubt, how being the Greateſt, He can be all of him preſent with every Leaſt thing, neither diminiſhed nor contracted: nor yet muſt you Look upon him, as the Leaſt thing neither; for if you do ſo, then will you be at a loſs again, how being the Leaſt thing, he can be preſent, with all the Greateſt Bulks, neither Multiplied nor Augmented.* In a word, the Sum of their Anſwer amounts to this, that an *Incorporeal Unextended Deity* is neither a *Phyſical Point*, becauſe this hath *Diſtance* in it, and is Mentally *Diviſible*; nor yet a *Mathematical One*; becauſe This though having neither *Magnitude* nor *Subſtance* in it, hath notwithſtanding *Site* and *Poſition*, a Point being according to *Ariſtotle*, a *Monad having Site and Poſition.* It is not to be conceived as a *Parvitude* or very *Little thing*, becauſe then it could not *Congruere*, with all the Greateſt things; nor yet as a *Great thing*, in a way of Quantity and Extenſion, becauſe then it could not be All of it Preſent, to every *Leaſt thing.* Nor does *True Greatneſs* conſiſt, in a way of *Bulk* or *Magnitude*, all *Magnitude* being but *Little*, ſince there can be no *Infinite Magnitude*, and no *Finite Magnitude* can have *Infinite Power*, as *Ariſtotle* before urged. And to conclude, though ſome who are far from Atheiſts, may make themſelves merry, with that *Conceit*, of *Thouſands of Spirits, dancing at once upon a Needles Point*, and though the *Atheiſts*, may endeavour, to *Rogue* and *Ridicule*, all *Incorporeal Subſtance* in that manner; yet does this run upon a clear Miſtake of the Hypotheſis, and make nothing at all againſt it; for as much as an *Unextended* Subſtance, is neither any *Parvitude*, as is here ſuppoſed (becauſe it hath no *Magnitude* at all) nor hath it any *Place*, or *Site*, or *Local Motion*, properly belonging to it; and therefore can neither Dance upon a Needles Point, nor any where elſe.

But in the next place, it is further *Objected*; That What is neither *Great* nor *Little*, what poſſeſſes no *Space*, and hath no *Place* nor *Site* amongſt Bodies, muſt therefore needs be an *Abſolute Non-Entity*, for as much as *Magnitude* or *Extenſion*, are the very *Eſſence* of *Being* or *Entity*, as ſuch; ſo that there can be neither *Subſtance* nor *Accident* Unextended. Now ſince whatſoever is *Extended*, is *Bodily*, there can therefore be no other *Subſtance* beſides *Body*, nor any thing *Incorporeal*, otherwiſe then as that word may be taken, for a *Thin and Subtile Body*, in which Senſe Fire was by ſome in *Ariſtotle*, ſaid to be, μάλιστα τῶν στοιχείων ἀσώματον, and ἀσωματώτατον; *The moſt Incorporeal of all the Elements*; and *Ariſtotle* himſelf uſeth the word in the ſame manner, when

when he affirmeth, that all *Philoſophers* did define the *Soul*, by Three things, *Motion*, *Senſe*, and *Incorporiety*; ſeveral of thoſe there mentioned by him, underſtanding the Soul to be no otherwiſe *Incorporeal*, than as σῶμα λεπτόμερες, *A Thin and Subtle Body.* In anſwer to which Objection; we may remember that *Plato* in the paſſage before cited, declareth this to be but a *Vulgar Errour*, that whatſoever doth not take up *Space*, and is in no *Place*, is *Nothing.* He Intimateing the Original hereof, to have ſprung, from men's adhering too much to thoſe *Lower Faculties*, of *Senſe* and *Imagination*, which are able to conceive Nothing, but what is *Corporeal.* And accordingly *Plotinus*; ἡ μὲν αἴσθησις, ἢ προσέχοντες ἀπιστοῦμεν τοῖς λεγομένοις, λέγει ὅτι ὧδε καὶ ὧδε· ὁ δὲ λόγος τὸ ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φησὶν, οὐκ ἐκεῖσε θεῖσαν ὧδε καὶ ὧδε γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκεῖσε πᾶν αὐτοῦ μεμερισμένον, οὗτος ἀδιαστάτου αὐτοῦ. *Senſe indeed, which we attending to, disbelieve theſe things, tells us of Here and There; but Reaſon dictates, that Here and There, is ſo to be underſtood of the Deity, not as if it were Extendedly Here and There, but becauſe every Extended thing, and the ſeveral Parts of the World, partake every where of that, being Indiſtant and Unextended.* To the ſame purpoſe *Porphyrius*, δεῖ τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσι κατανοοῦντας τῆς ἑκατέρας ἰδιότητος μὴ ἐπαλλάττειν τὰς φύσεις· μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ προσόντα τοῖς σώμασιν, ἢ τοιαῦτα, μὴ φαντάζεσθαι καὶ δοξάζειν περὶ τὸ ἀσώματον· ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ σωμάτων, ἐν συνηθείᾳ πᾶς· ἐκείνων δὲ μόλις ἐν γνώσει γίνεται, ἀορίστων περὶ αὐτὰ, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ φαντασίας κρατῶνται, *We ought therefore, in our Diſquiſitions concerning Corporeal and Incorporeal Beings, to conſerve the Property of each, and not to confound their Natures. But eſpecially to take heed, that our Phancy and Imagination, do not ſo far impoſe upon our judgments, as to make us attribute to Incorporeals, what properly belongeth to Bodies only. For we are all accuſtomed to Bodies, but as for Incorporeals, ſcarcely any one reaches to the knowledge of them; men alwaies fluctuating about them and diffiding them, ſo long as they are held under the Power of their Imagination.* Where afterwards he propoundeth a Form for this, How we ſhould think of *Incorporeals*, ſo as not to *Confound* their *Natures* with *Corporeals*; ἐν ἀπείροις μέρεσι τοῦ διαστατοῦ παρὸν ὅλον τὸ ἀδιάστατον, ὅτε μεριζόμενον πάρεσι, τῷ μέρει δηλονότι μέρος, ὅτε πληθυνόμενον τῷ πλήθει παρέχεν ἑαυτὸ πόλλα πλασιαθὲν· ἀλλ' ὅλον πᾶσί τε τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ ὄγκωμενος, ἑνί τε ἑκάστῳ τοῦ πλήθος, ἀμερῶς καὶ ἀπλησθύντως καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀριθμῷ· τὸ δὲ μερικῶς καὶ διῃρημένως ἀπολάυειν αὐτοῦ. *That the Indiſtant and Unextended Deity, is the Whole of it preſent in Infinite Parts of the Diſtant World, neither Divided, as applying part to part; nor yet Multiplied into many Wholes, according to the multiplicity of thoſe things that partake thereof. But the whole of it (One and the ſame in Number) is preſent to all the Parts of the Bulkie World, and to every one of thoſe many things in it, Undividedly and Unmultipliedly; that in the mean time partaking thereof Dividedly.* It was granted therefore by theſe *Ancients*, that this *Unextended and Indiſtant Nature, of Incorporeals, is* ἀφάνταστον, *a thing altogether Unimaginable*; and this was concluded by them, to be the only Reaſon, why ſo many have pronounced it to be *Impoſſible*, becauſe they attended only to *Senſe* and *Imagination*, and made them the only *Meaſure* of *Things* and *Truth*; it having been accordingly maintained by divers of them, (as *Porphyrius* tells us) that *Imagination* and *Intellection*, are

P. 656.

Ap. p. 242.

P. 224. Αφ.

but Two different Names, for one and the ſame thing; ὀνόματι μόνον διαφορᾶς προσκειμένης τῇ τοῦ νοῦ ὑποσάζει, καὶ τῇ φαντασίᾳ, ἡ γὰρ ἐν λογικοῖς ζώοις φαντασία δέδοκται αὐτοῖς νόησις, *There is a difference of Names only and no more, betwixt Mind and Phancy. Phancy and Imagination in Rational Animals, ſeeming to be the ſame thing with Intellection.* But there are many things, which no man can have any *Phantaſm* or *Imagination* of, and yet are they notwithſtanding by all Unqueſtionably acknowledged for *Entities* or *Realities*; from whence it is plain, that we muſt have ſome other *Faculties* in us, which Extend beyond *Phanſie* and *Imagination.* Reaſon indeed dictates, that whatſoever can either *Do or Suffer* any thing, muſt therefore be undoubtedly *Something:* but that whatſoever is *Unextended*, and hath no *Diſtant* Parts, one without another, muſt therefore needs be *Nothing*, is no *Common Notion*, but the *Spurious Suggeſtion* of *Imagination* only, and a *Vulgar Errour.* There need to be no fear at all, Leſt a Being *Infinitely Wiſe* and *Powerful*, which Acts upon the whole world; and all the Parts thereof, in Framing and Governing the ſame, ſhould prove a *Non-Entity*, meerly for want of *Bulk* and *Extenſion*, or becauſe it *Swells* not out into *Space* and *Diſtance* as Bodies do, therefore Vaniſh into *Nothing.* Nor does *Active Force* and *Power*, as ſuch, depend upon *Bulk* and *Extenſion*, becauſe then, whatſoever had the greater *Bulk*, would have the greater *Activity.* There are therefore, *Two kinds* of *Subſtances* in the Univerſe, the *Firſt Corporeal*, which are Nothing but ὄγκοι, *Bulks*, or *Tumours*, devoid of all *Self-Active Power*; the *Second Incorporeal*, which are ἀόγκοι δυνάμεις, *Subſtantial Powers*, *Vigours*, and *Activities*; which though they act upon *Bulk* and *Extenſion*, yet are themſelves *Unbulkie* and devoid of *Quantity* and *Dimenſions*; however they have a certain βάθος in them in another *ſenſe*, an *Eſſential Profundity*, according to this of *Simplicius*, μερισὴ μὲν ἁπλῶς ἡ σωματικὴ οὐσία πᾶσα, ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν μορίων κειμένων· ἀμέριστος δὲ εἰλικρινῶς ἡ νοερά, πολὺ δὲ βάθος ἔχουσα, *All Corporeal Subſtance, is ſimply Diviſible, ſome Parts of it being here and ſome there, but Intellectual Subſtance, is Indiviſible, and without Dimenſions, though it hath much of Depth and Profundity in it in another Senſe.* But that there is ſome thing ἀφάνταστον *Unimaginable* even in Body it ſelf, is evident, whether you will ſuppoſe it to be *Infinitely Diviſible* or Not, as you muſt of neceſſity ſuppoſe, one or other of theſe. And that we ought not always to pronounce of *Corporeal Things* themſelves, according to *Imagination*, is manifeſt from hence; becauſe though *Aſtronomical Reaſons*, aſſure us, that the Sun is really more than a *Hundred Times* bigger than the whole Earth, yet can we not poſſibly for all that, *Imagine* the *Sun* of ſuch a Bigneſs, nor indeed the *Earth* it ſelf; half ſo big as we know it to be. The reaſon whereof is, partly becauſe we never had a Senſe or Sight of any ſuch Vaſt Bigneſs at once, as that of either of them, and partly becauſe our Senſe always repreſenting the Sun to us, but ὡς ποδιαῖον, *as of a Foot Diameter*, and we being accuſtomed always to *Imagine* the ſame according to the Appearance of Senſe, are not able to frame any *Imagination* of it, as very much Bigger. Wherefore if *Imagination* be not to be *Truſted*, nor made the *Criterion* or *Meaſure* of *Truth*, as to *Senſible* things themſelves, much leſs ought it to be, as to *Things Inſenſible.* Beſides all which, the

In Ar. Phyſ. p. 3.

Ancient

Ancient *Incorporealists*, argued after this manner, that it is, as Difficult for us to conceive, a *Substance* whose *Duration* is *Unextended* or *Unstretched* out in *Time*, into *Past*, *Present* and *Future*, and therefore without Beginning; as that which is *Unextended* as to *Parts*, *Place* or *Space*, in *Length*, *Breadth* and *Thickness*; yet does Reason pronounce, that there must needs be, not only a *Duration* without *Beginning*, but also ἄχρονον αἰῶνα, a *Timeless Eternity*, or a *Permanent Duration*, differing from that *Successive Flux* of *Time*; (which is one of *Plato's* γιγνητὰ, *Things Generated*, or that had a *Beginning*) This Parity of Reason is by *Plotinus* thus insisted on, διὸ δὴ ἐν χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἔξω, τὸ μὲν χρόνῳ σπαρὲν αἰεὶ πρὸς διάστασιν, τόδε μετὰ τόδε· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένοντι δὲ καὶ ἑστῶτι, καὶ πλείονος ὄντος δυνάμει ἀϊδίῳ, τὸ ὅτι πολλὰ δεικνύμενος ἰέναι χρόνου, *For the same reason, that we deny Local Extension, to the Deity, must we also deny Temporal Distance to the same: and affirm that God is not in Time, but above Time, in Eternity. For as much as Time, is alwaies Scattered and Stretched out in Length, and Distance, one moment following after another; but Eternity remaineth in the same, without any Flux, and yet nevertheless outgoeth Time, and transcendeth the Flux thereof, though seeming to be stretched and spun out more into Length.* Now the reason why we cannot frame a Conception of such a *Timeless Eternity*, is only because our selves are *Essentially Involved* in *Time*, and accordingly are our Conceptions Chained, Fettered, and Confined, to that narrow and dark Dungeon, that our selves are Imprisoned in; Notwithstanding which, our *Freer Faculties*, assuring us of the *Existence* of a Being, which far transcendeth our selves, to wit, one that is *Infinitely Perfect*; we have by means hereof, μαντείαν τινὰ, *a certain Vaticination*, of such a *Standing Timeless Eternity*, as its *Duration*. P. 669.

But as for that Conceit, of *Immaterial* or *Incorporeal Bodies*; or, that God, and Humane Souls, are no otherwise *Incorporeal*, then as σῶμα λεπτομερὲς, *a Thin and Subtle Body*; such as Wind or Vapour, Air, or Æther; it is certain, that according to the Principles of the most ancient *Atomick Philosophy*, (before it was Atheized) there being no such *Real Quality* of *Subtlety* or *Tenuity*, (because this is altogether *Unintelligible*) but this Difference arising wholly, from *Motion*, Dividing the Insensible Parts, and every way Agitating the same, together with a certain *Contexture* of those Parts; it is not Impossible but that the *Finest and most Subtle Body* that is, might become as Gross, Hard, Heavy, and Opake, as Flesh, Earth, Stones, Lead, or Iron; and again that the *Grossest* of these Bodies, by *Motion* and a Different Contexture of Parts, might not only be *Crystalized*, but also become as Thin, Soft, and Fluid as the Finest Æther. So that there is no *Specifick Difference*, betwixt a Thick and Thin, a Gross and Fine, an Opake and Pellucide, an Hard and Soft Body, but *Accidental* only; and therefore is there no reason, why *Life* and *Understanding*, should be thought to belong to the one, rather than to the other of them. Besides which, the Reasons of the ancient *Incorporealists*, (afterwards to be produced) will Evince that the *Humane Soul* and *Mind*, cannot possibly be any *Body* whatsoever, though never so *Fine*, *Thin*, and *Subtle*; whose Parts are by *Motion Dividable* and *Separable* from one another.

But it is further Objected againſt this *Unextended Nature*, of *Incorporeal Subſtances*, as they are ſaid to be *All in the Whole*, and *all in every Part* of that Body, which they are united to, or Act upon; that this is an *Abſolute Contradiction* and *Impoſſibility*; becauſe if the *Whole of the Deity*, be in this One *Point* of *Matter*, then can there be Nothing at all of it, in the Next adjoyning; but that muſt needs be another *Whole*, and Nothing the ſame with the former. In like manner, if the whole *Humane Soul*, be in this one Part of the Organized Body, then can there be none at all of it, in any other Part thereof; and ſo not the *Whole* in the *Whole*. To which Objection, the ancient Incorporealiſts, made this Twofold Reply. Firſt, in way of *Conceſſion*, That this is indeed an *Abſolute Contradiction*, for an Extended *Subſtance*, or Body, to be *All* of it in *every one Part* or *Point* of that *Space*, which the whole occupieth. Thus *Plotinus*; σώματι ἀδύνατον ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι, ἢ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπάρχειν, *It is Impoſſible for a Body, or Extended Subſtance, to be one and the ſame, All of it in every Part of that Space, which it poſſeſſes; and for every Part thereof, to be the ſame with the Whole.* But Secondly, as for an *Unextended and Indiſtant Subſtance*, which hath no *Parts* one without another, it is ſo far from Being a *Contradiction*, that it ſhould be *All* of it in every Part of that Body, which it *Acts* upon; that it is *Impoſſible* it ſhould be otherwiſe, only a *Part in a Part thereof*; ſo that an *Equal Quantity* of both, ſhould Co-Exiſt together, becauſe this is to ſuppoſe an *Unextended* Subſtance to be *Extended*. We ſay it is Contradictious to the Nature of that *Subſtance*, which is ſuppoſed to be, ἀμεγέθης, ἄποσος, ἀδιάστατος, ἀμερὴς, ἀδιαίρετος, *Devoid of Magnitude, and of Quantity, and of Parts, Indiſtant, and Indiviſible*; that it ſhould be otherwiſe United to, or Conjoyned with, an *Extended Body*, then after this way, which is look'd upon as ſuch *Conjuring*; namely, that the *Whole of it ſhould be preſent with, and Act upon every Part thereof*. Thus *Plotinus*, ὅτος ὁ λόγος ἐξ αὐτῶ τῶ πράγματος, ἢ τ' ἰδίας ἀλλότριον ὄδεν, ὅδ' ἐκ τ' ἑτέρας φύσεως ἐλκύσας, *This Form of Doctrine, concerning Incorporeals, is neceſſarily taken from the thing it ſelf, (Viz.* the nature of them as *Unextended) and hath Nothing in it Alien from that Eſſence, as confounding the Corporeal Nature therewith.* Whatſoever is *Unextended* and *Indiſtant*, cannot poſſibly Co-Exiſt, with an *Extended Subſtance*, *Point by Point*, and *Part* by *Part*, but it muſt of neceſſity be, ὅλον ἓν καὶ ταυτὸν ἀριθμῶ, *All of it, one and the ſame Numerically*; that is, (like it ſelf) *Undividedly*, in every Part of that, which it Acts upon. Wherefore the word ὅλον, in this *Form*, when it is ſaid, that the *Whole Deity*, is in every Part of the World, and the *Whole Soul* in every *Part* of the *Body*, is not to be taken in a *Poſitive ſenſe*, for a Whole *conſiſting of Parts*, one without another, but in a Negative only, for μὴ μεμερισμένον, *An Whole Undivided*; ſo that the meaning thereof is no more than this, that the *Deity* is not *Dividedly*, in the World, nor the Soul *Dividedly* in the Body, a Part here, and a Part There; but The Τὸ Θεῖον, is παντα χῶ ὅλον μὴ μεμερισμένον, *Every where, All of it, Undividedly.* Thus again *Plotinus*, εἰ ἓν παντα χῶ θεὸς, ὐχ' οἷόν τε μεμερισμένον· ὃ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι παντα χῶ αὐτὸς εἴη, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶ μέρος, τὸ μὲν ἅδι,

En. 4. *L.* 7. *p.* 460.

P. 662.

P. 662.

ἀΐ, τὸ ἢ ἀΐ ἔσαι, αὐτὸς ὐχ ἕις ἔτι ἔσαι, ὥζπερ εἰ τμηθείη τι μέγεθος εἰς πολλὰ, ἢ τὰ μέρη πάντα, ὃν ἔτι τὸ ὅλον ἐκεῖνο ἔσαι· πρὸς τούτοις ἢ ἢ σῶμα· εἰ ἢ ταῦτα ἀδύναΐα, πάλιν ἂν ἀνεφάνη τὸ ἀπισόμενον, ἐν φύζῃ ἄνθρώπε, ὁμῶ θεὸν νομίζειν ἢ πανταχῆ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα ὅλον εἶναι. *If therefore, God be every where: it cannot poſſibly be, that he ſhould be ſo Dividedly; becauſe then himſelf would not be every where, but only a Part of him Here, and a Part of him There, throughout the whole World; himſelf being not one Undivided Thing. Moreover, this would be all one, as if a Magnitude were Cut and Divided into many Parts, every one of which Parts, could not be, that whole Magnitude. Laſtly, this would be the very ſame, as to make God a Body.* Now if theſe *things be Impoſſible*; then muſt *that ſo much Disbelieved thing* (look'd upon as ſuch a *Puzzling Griphus*, or rather as *Contradictious Non-ſenſe*) be an Undoubted Truth, according to the Common Notions of mankind; that God is Every where; to wit, that He is All of him, the ſame Whole, Undividedly, Every where. The ſum of all is, That though it be an *Abſolute Contradiction*, for a Body, or *Quantum*, to be ὁμῶ πᾶν, *All of it in every Part* of that Space, which the Whole is in; yet it is no Contradiction at all for an *Unextended* and *Indiſtant Being*, to be All of it *Undividedly*, in every Part of that Body, it Acts upon; but on the contrary, it would be flatly Contradictious to it; to ſay, that it is only *Part* of it in a *Part*; this being to *Divide* an *Indiviſible* thing, into *Parts*.

The *Fourth* and *Laſt Objection*, againſt *Incorporeal* and *Unextended Subſtance*, is from that *Illocality*, and *Immobility*, (which will follow thereupon) of *Humane Souls*, and other *Finite Particular Spirits*, ſuch as *Demons* or *Angels*; That this is not only in it ſelf very *Abſurd*, to ſuppoſe theſe *Finite and Particular Beings*, to be thus *Illocal* and *Immoveable*; *No where*, and *Every where*; (from whence it would ſeem to follow that they might Act the whole *Corporeal Univerſe*, or take cognizance of all things therein Every where) but alſo, that this *Conceit* is Contradictious to the Very *Principles* of *Religioniſts* themſelves, and plainly Confuted by the ſame; they acknowledging Univerſally, that *Humane Souls* (at Death) departing out of this Body, do *Locally* move from thence, into a certain other *Place*, Called *Hades*, *Hell*, or *Inferi*. Now the Latter Part of this Objection is Firſt to be Anſwered. And this is indeed a thing, which the ancient *Aſſerters* of *Incorporeal Subſtance*, as *Unextended*, were not unaware of; That the Vulgarly *Received Tradition*, of *Humane Souls*, (after Death) going into *Hades*, might be Objected againſt them. For the Satisfying whereof, *Plotinus* ſuggeſteth theſe *Two Things*; Firſt, τὸ μὲν εἰς Ἅιδ γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀϊδῆ τὸ χωρὶς λέγεται; *That if by Hades be meant, nothing but* τὸ ἀειδὲς *The Inviſible*, (as many times it is) *then is there no more ſignified by the Souls going into Hades, than its no longer being Vitally united to this Earthy Body, and but Acting apart by it ſelf, and ſo hath it nothing of Place neceſſarily included in it.* Secondly, Εἰ δέ τινα χείρω τόπον· τί θαυμαστόν; ἐπεὶ ἢ νῦν ἕ τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ κἀκείνῃ λέγεται ἐκεῖ· ἀλλ' ὃν ὄντ@ ἔτι σωμαΐ@; ἢ τὸ εἴδωλον εἰ μὴ ἀποζήσεται, πῶς ὃν ἐκεῖ ἕ τὸ εἴδωλον; *But if by Hades be underſtood, a Certain Worſer Place, (as ſometimes it alſo is)* *What*

En. 6. L. 4. c.

What wonder is this? ſince now where our Body is, there in the ſame place is our Soul ſaid to be alſo? But you will Reply, how can this be, when there is now no longer any Body left? We Anſwer, that if the Idol of the Soul be not quite Separated from it, Why ſhould not the Soul it ſelf be ſaid to be there alſo, where its Idol is? Where by the *Idol of the Soul Plotinus* ſeems to mean, an *Airy* or *Spirituous Body*, *Quickned* and *Vitalized* by the Soul, adhering to it after death. But when the ſame Philoſopher ſuppoſes, this very *Idol of the Soul* to be alſo *Separable* from it, and that ſo as to ſubſiſt apart by it ſelf too, this going alone into *Hades*, or the *Worſer Place*, whilſt that liveth only in the *Intelligible World* (where there is no *Place* nor *Diſtance*) lodged in the Naked Deity, having nothing at all of *Body* hanging about it, and being now not A *Part* but the *Whole*, and ſo Situate nether here nor there; in this High Flight of his, he is at once, both *Abſurdly Paradoxical*, in dividing the *Life* of the *Soul* as it were into *Two*, and forgat the *Doctrine* of his own *School*, which as himſelf elſewhere intimateth, was this, τῳ ἡμετέρῳ ψυχῳ τὸ μὲν σῶμα καταλείφειν, ὃ πάντη ἢ ἔξω σώματος ἔσεσθαι, *That Our Soul, though it ſhall quit this Body, yet ſhall it never be diſunited from all Body.* Wherefore *Porphyrius* anſwering the ſame *Objection*, though he were otherwiſe much addicted to *Plotinus*, and here uſes his Language too, yet does he in this depart from him, adhering to the ancient *Pythagorick Tradition*; which as will appear afterwards, was this, *That Humane Souls are always United to ſome Body or other.*

En. 4. L. 3. c. 4.

[Αφ. *p.* 232. Ὥσπερ τὸ ὄπι γῆς εἶναι ψυχῇ ὄξιν, ὃ τὸ γῆς ὄπιβαίνειν, ὡς τὰ σώματα· τὸ ἢ προεσάναι σώματος, ὃ γῆς ὄπιβαίνει· ὅτω ἢ ἐν ἅδᾳ εἶναι ὄξι ψυχῇ, ὅταν προεσήκῃ εἰδώλῳ, φύσιν μὲν ἔχοντος εἶναι ἐν τόπῳ, ζνότῃ ἢ τῳ ὑπόσασιν κεκτημένῳ· ὥστε εἰ ὁ Ἅδης ὑπώγειός ὄξι τόπος ζνοῆρνὸς, ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν ἅδᾳ γίνεται ἐφελκομένη τὸ εἴδωλον· ὄξελθόσῃ ἢ αὐτῇ τοῦ στερεοῦ σώματος, τὸ πνεῦμα συνομαρτεῖ, ὃ ὃν ἐξ ζφαιρῶν συνελέξατο· ἐπεὶ ἢ διήκῃ τὸ βαρὺ πνεῦμα, ἢ ἔνυδρον, ἄχει ἐξ ὑπογείων τόπων, ὅτω ἢ αὐτὴ λέγεται χωρεῖν ὑπὸ γῆν· ὀχ ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ὐσία μεταβαίνῃ τόπους, ἢ ἐν τόποις γίνεται· ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ πεφυκότων σωμάτων, τόπους μεταβαίνῃν, χέσεις ἀναδέχεται. *As the Souls being here upon Earth,* (ſaith he) *is not its moving up and down upon it, after the manner of Bodies; but its Preſiding over a Body which moveth upon the Earth; ſo is its being in Hades, nothing but its preſiding over that Idol, or Enlivened Vaporous Body, whoſe Nature it is to be in a Place, and which is of a Dark Subſiſtence. Wherefore if Hades be taken for a Subterraneous and Dark Place, yet may the Soul nevertheleſs, be ſaid to go into Hades, becauſe when it quits this Groſs Earthy Body, a more Spirituous and Subtle Body, collected from the Spheres* (or Elements) *doth ſtill accompany it. Which Spirit being Moiſt and Heavy, and naturally deſcending to the Subterraneous places, the Soul it ſelf may be ſaid in this ſenſe to go Under the Earth alſo, with it, not as if the Subſtance thereof, paſſed from One Place to Another, but becauſe of its Relation and Vital Union to a Body which does ſo.* Where *Porphyrius* addeth, contrary to the Senſe of *Plotinus*; That *the Soul is never quite Naked of all Body; but hath alway ſome Body or other joyned with it ſuitable and agreeable to its own preſent Diſpoſition* (*either a Purer or Impurer one.*) *But that at its firſt Quitting, this Groſs Earthly Body, the Spirituous Body, which accompanieth it,* (*as its Vehicle*) *muſt needs go away Fouled and Incraſſated with the groſs Va-*

pours

pours and steams thereof; till the Soul afterwards by Degrees Purging it self, this becometh at length A Dry Splendour, which hath no Mysty Obscurity, nor casteth any Shadow.

But because this Doctrine of the *Ancient Incorporealists*, concerning the *Humane Souls* being always, (after Death) United to some *Body* or other; is more fully declared by *Philoponus*, then by any other, that we have yet met withal, we shall here excerp some Passages out of him about it. First therefore, he declareth this for his own opinion, agreeable to the Sense of the best Philosophers; τὸ μὲν λογικὸν χωριστὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον, τοῦτο μὲν χωριστὸν, ἄλλου μέντοι τινὸς σώματος ἀχώριστον, λέγω δὲ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς δόξα, ὡς δείξομεν. *That the Rational Soul, as to its Energie, is separable from all Body; but the Irrational Part or Life thereof, is Separable only from this Gross Body, and not from all Body whatsoever; but hath* (after Death) *a Spiritnous or Aiery Body, in which it acteth; This I say is a True Opinion, as shall be afterwards proved by us.* And again, ἡ δὲ ἄλογος ἐπὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, ὑπολειπόμενον καὶ μετὰ ἔξοδον τὸν ἐκ τούτου τῆς ψυχῆς, σχῆμα καὶ ὑποκείμενον ἔχοντα τὸ πνευματικὸν σῶμα· ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἔστι μὲν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων, λέγεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος τοῦ ἀέρος· ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦτο γίνον, λέγεται ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος. *The Irrational Life of the Soul, hath not all its Being, in this Gross Earthy Body, but remaineth after the Souls Departure out of it; having for its Vehicle and Subject, the Spirituous Body. Which it self is also compounded out of the Four Elements, but receiveth its Denomination from the Predominant Part, to wit Air: as this Gross Body of ours is called Earthy, from what is most Predominant therein.* Thus do we see, that according to *Philoponus*, the *Humane Soul* after Death, does not meerly exercise its *Rational Powers*, and think only of *Metaphysical* and *Mathematical Notions*, *Abstract* things, which are neither in *Time* nor *Place*, but exerciseth also its Lower *Sensitive* and *Irrational Faculties*, which it could not possibly do, were it not then *Vitally* United to some *Body*; and this Body then accompanying the Soul, he calls *Pneumatical*, that is (not *Spiritual* in the *Scripture-Sense*, but) *Spirituous*, *Vaporous*, or *Airy*. Let us therefore in the next place see, what *Rational Account*, *Philoponus* can give of this *Doctrine* of the *Antients*, and of his Own Opinion agreeably thereunto, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἡμετέρα, μετὰ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο ἔξοδον, ὁμολογεῖται, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀποδείκνυται, εἰς ἅδου ἀφικνεῖσθαι, κολάσεως ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁ καλῶς βεβιωμένων παρέχειν· ὁ γὰρ μόνον τοῦ εἶναι ἡμῶν φροντίζει ἡ πρόνοια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ εὖ εἶναι· διὸ δὴ ἀμελεῖται ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς φύσιν ἀπολιθήσασα, ἀλλὰ τυγχάνει τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας· καὶ ἐπιδὴ τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν αὐτῇ διὰ γλυκυθυμίαν ἐγένετο, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸ καθαρθῆναι δι' ἀλγύνσεως αὐτῇ γενήσεται· κολάζονται γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα· διὰ τοῦτο ἀλγύνεται ἡ καθαιρομένη ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ γῆν δικαιωτηρίοις διὰ κολάσεως. Ἀλλ' εἰ ἀσώματος ἡ ψυχὴ ἀδύνατον αὐτὴν παθεῖν· πῶς ἂν κολάζεται; ἀνάγκη ἂν πᾶσα σῶμά τι αὐτῆς ἔχεσθαι, ὃ διαιρεινόμενον ἀμέτρως ἢ συγκρινόμενον, ὑπὸ ψύξεως ἢ καύσεως ἀμέτρου, ἀλγύνει τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ τὴν συμπάθειαν· ποῖον ἂν σῶμά ἐστι τὸ ἐχόμενον αὐτῆς; ὃ δήπου τοῦτο ἀνελύθη γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο, τὸ πνευματικόν, ὃ λέγομεν ἐν τούτῳ ἂν εἶναι πάντως διὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἐν ὑπομεμένῳ, θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία· καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. *Our Humane Soul*, (in those who are not *Purged* *Proœm. in Aristot. De An.* *Ibid.*

Purged and *Cleanſed* in this Life) *after its departure out of this Body, is acknowledged, or rather Demonſtrated, to go into* Hades, *there to receive Puniſhment, for its evil Actions paſt. For Providence does not only take Care of our Being, but alſo of our Well-Being. Therefore is the Soul though lapſed into a Preter-Natural State, yet not neglected by Providence, but hath a Convenient Care taken of it; in order to its Recovery. And ſince Sinning had its Original from the Deſire of Pleaſure, it muſt of neceſſity be Cured by Pain. For here alſo Contraries are the Cures of Contraries. Therefore the Soul being to be Purged, is Puniſhed and Pained in thoſe Subterraneous Judicatories and Priſons, in order to its Amendment. But if the Soul be Incorporeal, it is Impoſſible for it to Suffer. How then can it be Puniſhed? There muſt of Neceſſity be ſome Body joyned with it: Which being immoderately Conſtringed or Agitated, Concreted, or Secreted, and Diſcordantly Moved, by Heat and Cold; or the like, may make the Soul ſenſible of Pain by reaſon of Sympathy; as it is here in this Life. What Body therefore, is that which is then Conjoyned with the Soul, after the diſſolution of that Earthy Body, into its Elements? Certainly it can be no other, than this Pneumatical, or Spirituous Body, which we now ſpeak of. For in this are Seated, as their Subject, the Iraſcible and Concupiſcible Paſſions, and they are inſeparable from the ſame, nor could they be in the Soul, diſunited from all Body. And that Soul which is freed from theſe, would be forthwith freed from Generation; nor would it be concerned in thoſe Subterraneous Judicatories and Priſons, but be carried up aloft, to the higher Celeſtial Regions, &c.* After which he endeavours further to confirm this *Opinion*, from the Vulgar *Phænomena*, δῆλον ὃ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὅτι τὸ ἕξι τὸ πνευματικὸν σῶμα, ᾗ τότε ἀχωρίσα θυμὸς ᾗ ὅπι θυμία, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆ περιμάτων ἐνεργείας· πόθεν γὲ ἐν τοῖς τάφοις τὰ ϛιοφδῆ φαίνονται φαντάσματα; ἃ γὲ δήγε ἡ ψυχὴ ἐσχημάτισαι, ἢ ὅλως ὁρατὴ· ἀλλὰ φασὶ τὰς ἀκαθάρτους ψυχὰς, μετὰ τῆ ἔξοδον τότε τῷ σώματι πλανᾶσθαι ὅπί τινα χρόνον μετὰ τῷ πνεύματι, ᾗ τοῦτο φαντασιοῦσθαι περὶ τὰς τάφους· διὸ φρονιτέον εὐζωΐας· ὑπὸ τότε γάρ φασι τῷ πνεύματι, παχυμερίντος ἐκ μοχθηρᾶς διαίτης, κατα ϛαίνεσθαι περὶ τὰ πάθη τῆ ψυχῆ, *Furthermore, that there is ſuch a Pneumatical (Spirituous, Vaporous, or Airy) Body, which accompanieth Souls Unpurged after Death; is evident alſo from the Phænomena themſelves. For what account can otherwiſe be given, of thoſe Spectres or Phantaſms, which appear Shadow-like about Graves or Sepulchres? ſince the Soul it ſelf is neither of any Figure, nor yet at all Viſible. Wherefore theſe Ancients ſay, that Impure Souls after their departure out of this Body, wander here up and down, for a certain ſpace, in their Spirituous, Vaporous, and Airy Body, appearing about* Sepulchres, *and haunting their former Habitations. For which cauſe there is great reaſon, that we ſhould take care of Living Well; as alſo, of abſtaining from a Fouler and Groſſer diet; theſe Ancients telling us likewiſe, that this Spirituous Body of ours, being fouled and incraſſated by Evil Diet, is apt to render the Soul, in this Life alſo, more Obnoxious to the Diſturbances of Paſſions.* And here *Philoponus* goes on to gratifie us, with a further Account, of ſome other of the Opinions of theſe Ancients, concerning this *Spirituous* or *Airy Body*, accompanying the Soul after Death, ἔχει γάρ τι ᾗ αὐτὸ φασι τ᾽ φυτικῆς ζωῆς, ᾗ γὲ τρέφεσθαι· τρέφεσθαι ἢ ὄχ ὅτως ὡς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἀτμῶν ἢ διὰ μοιρῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλον δι᾽ ὅλε, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ὡς οἱ ϛπόγγοι,

δέχονται

δέχονται τὰς ἀτμὰς· διὰ τοῦτο φροντίζουσιν οἱ ζηλωταὶ τῆς λεπτοτέρας διαίτης καὶ ξηροτέρας, διὰ τὸ μὴ παχύνεσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα ἀλλὰ λεπτύνεσθαι· πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὰς καθαρμοὺς φασι προσλαμβάνειν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι πλύνεται, ἐκεῖνο δὲ καθαρμοῖς διὰ τῆς ἀτμῶν· διὰ δὲ ἀτμῶν τινῶν τρέφεται τινῶν δὲ καθαίρεται· ὃ διοργανοῦσθαι δέ φασιν αὐτό, ἀλλ' ὅλον δι' ὅλου ἐνεργεῖν, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι· διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἐν τοῖς μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ, ὅτι ἡ κυρίως αἴσθησις μία, καὶ τὸ κυρίως αἰσθητήριον ἕν· *They further add, that there is Something of the Plantal and Plastick Life also, Exercised by the Soul, in those Spirituous or Airy Bodies, after Death; they being Nourished too; though not after the same manner, as these Groß Earthy Bodies of ours are here, but by Vapours; and that not by Parts or Organs, but throughout the Whole of them, (as Sponges) they imbibing every where those Vapours. For which cause, they who are wise, will in this Life also, take care of using a Thinner and Dryer Diet, that so that Spirituous Body* (which we have also at this present time within our *Grosser* Body) *may not be Clogged and Incrassed, but Attenuated. Over and above which, those Ancients made use of Catharms, or Purgations to the same end and purpose also. For as this Earthy* Body *is washed by Water, so is that Spirituous* Body *Cleansed by Cathartick Vapours; some of these Vapours being* Nutritive, *others Purgative. Moreover these Ancients further declared, concerning this Spirituous* Body; *that it was not* Organized, *but did the Whole of it, in every Part throughout, exercise all Functions of Sense; the Soul Hearing, and Seeing, and Perceiving all Sensibles, by it every where. For which Cause* Aristotle *himself, affirmeth in his Metaphysicks, That there is properly but One Sense, and but One Sensory. He by this One Sensory meaning, the* Spirit, *or Subtle Airy* Body, *in which the Sensitive Power, doth all of it, through the Whole, immediately apprehend all Variety of Sensibles. And if it be demanded, How it comes then to pass, that this* Spirit, *appears Organized in* Sepulchres, *and most commonly of Humane Form, but sometimes in the Form of some other Animals; to this those Ancients Replied, That their appearing so frequently in Humane Form; proceedeth from their being, Incrassated with Evil Diet, and then as it were stamped upon, with the Form of this Exteriour Ambient* Body, *in which they are; as Crystal is Formed and Coloured, like to those things which it is fastned in, or Reflects the Image of them. And that their having sometimes other different Forms, proceedeth from the Phantastick Power of the Soul, it self, which can at pleasure transform this Spirituous Body into any shape. For being Airy, when it is Condensed, and Fixed, it becometh Visible; and again Invisible, and Vanishing out of Sight, when it is Expanded and Rarefied.*

Now from these *Passages* cited out of *Philoponus*, it further appeareth, that the *Ancient Asserters* of the *Souls Immortality*, did not suppose *Humane Souls* after Death, to be quite strip'd, *Stark Naked* from all Body; but that the *Generality* of *Souls*, had then a certain *Spirituous*, *Vaporous*, or *Airy* Body, accompanying them; though in different *Degrees* of *Purity* or *Impurity*, Respectively to themselves. As also, that they conceived, this *Spirituous Body*, (or at least something of it) to hang about the Soul also here in this Life, before Death, as its *Interiour Indument* or *Vestment*; which also then sticks to it,

when that other Groſs *Earthly Part* of the Body, is by Death put off, as an *Outer Garment*. And ſome have been inclinable to think (by reaſon of certain Hiſtorick *Phænomena*) theſe Two, to be things ſo diſtinct, that it is not Impoſſible, for this *Spiritnous Body*, together with the *Soul* to be *Locally ſeparated* from the other *Groſſer Body*, for ſome time, before Death, and without it. And indeed thus much cannot be denied, that our *Soul* Acteth, not Immediatly only upon *Bones*, *Fleſh*, and *Brains*, and other ſuch like Groſs Parts of this Body, but firſt and chiefly upon the *Animal Spirits*; as the Immediate Inſtruments of *Senſe* and *Phancy*; and that by whoſe *Vigour* and Activity, the other Heavy and Unwieldy Bulk of the Body, is ſo nimbly Moved. And therefore we know no reaſon but we may aſſent here to that of *Porphyrius*, τὸ αἷμα νομὴ ἢ τροφὴ ὄζι τῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δ' πνεῦμα ὄχημα τ῀ ψυχῆς, *That the Blood is the Food and Nouriſhment of the Spirit*, (that is, that *Subtle Body* called the *Animal Spirits*) *and that this Spirit is the Vehicle of the Soul, or the more Immediate Seat of Life.*

Nevertheleſs the ſame *Philoponus* there addeth, that according to theſe Ancients; beſides the *Terreſtial Body*, and this *Spirituous* and *Airy Body* too, there is yet a *Third* kind of Body, of a Higher Rank then either of the Former, (peculiarly belonging to ſuch *Souls* after Death, as are *Purged* and *Cleanſed* from *Corporeal Affections, Luſts*, and *Paſſions*,) called by them, σῶμα αὐγοειδες, and ἀφθαρτον, and αἰθέριον, *&c.* A *Luciform*, and *Celeſtial*, and *Ethereal Body*. The Soul (ſaith he) continueth either in the *Terreſtrial*, or the *Aereal Body*, ſo long, ἕως ἑαυτὴν καθάρσασα ἀνενεχθῇ, τ῀ γενέσεως ἀπαλλαγεῖσα· τότε τοίνυν καὶ τ῀ θυμὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποτίθεται, μετὰ τότε τῦ ὀχήματος τῦ πνεύματος λέγω· εἶναι δέ τι καὶ μετὰ τῦτο ἄλλοτι ἀϊδίως αὐτῆς ἐξημμένον, σῶμα ἀφθαρτον καὶ διὰ τῦτο ἀΐδιον, ὅ φασιν Αυγοειδὲς ἢ Ασεροειδὲς· τῆ γὰ ἐγκοσμίων ὄντων ἀνάγκη πάντως ἔχειν τινὰ κλῆρον ὃν διοικεῖ, μέρος ὄντα τῦ κόσμου· καὶ εἰ ἀκίνητος ὄζι, ἢ δεῖ αὐτὴν ἀεὶ ἐνεργεῖν, δεῖ ἔχειν ἀϊδίως ἐξημμένον τὸ σῶμα, ὃ ἀεὶ ζωοποιήσει· διὰ ταῦτα ὖν τὸ αὐγοειδές φασι σῶμα αὐτὴν ἀεὶ ἔχειν, *Until that having Purged it ſelf, it be carried aloft, and freed from Generation. And then doth it put off, both the Iraſcible and Concupiſciple Paſſions at once, together with this Second Vehicle, or Body, which we call Spirituous. Wherefore theſe Ancients ſay, that there is another Heavenly Body, always conjoyned with the Soul, and Eternal, which they call Luciform, and Star-like. For it being a Mundane thing, muſt of neceſſity have, ſome Part of the World, as a Province allotted to it, which it may adminiſter. And ſince it is always Moveable, and ought always to Act, it muſt have a Body Eternally conjoyned with it, which it may always Enliven. And for theſe Cauſes do they affirm, the Soul always to have a Luciform Body.* Which *Lucid* and *Etherial* Body of the Soul, is a thing often mentioned by other Writers alſo; as *Proclus* in his Commentary upon the *Timæus*, P. 290. καὶ τ῀ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς ἐξήρτηταί τι τοιῦτον ὄχημα αἰθέριον, ὡς αὐτός φησιν· ἐμβιβάζει γὰν εἰς ὄχημα καὶ αὐτὴν φησὶ τῦ δημιργῦ· καὶ γὰ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνάγκη πρὸ τῆ ἐνυτῶν ζωμάτων, αἰθέροις καὶ ἐυκινήτοις χρῆσθαι ζώμασιν, ὡς κατ' ἰσίαν ἔχεσαν τὸ κινεῖν, *The Humane Soul hath alſo*, (ſaith he) *ſuch an Ethereal Vehicle belonging to it, as* Plato *himſelf intimates*,

timates, when he affirmeth the Demiurgus at first to have placed it in a Chariot. For of necessity, every Soul before this Mortal Body, must have an Eternal and easily Moveable Body, it being Essential to it to move. And elsewhere the same *Proclus*, ἄνω μένοντες οὐδὲν δεόμεθα τούτων τῶν μερικῶν ὀργάνων. ἃ ἡμῖν συνήπται καταβᾶσιν εἰς γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ τὸ ὄχημα τὸ Αὐγοειδὲς, πάσας ἔχων ἡνωμένας τὰς αἰσθήσεις, *Whilst we remain above, we have no need of these Divided Organs, which now we have descending into Generation; but the Uniform Lucid or Splendid Vehicle, is sufficient, this having all Senses United together in it.* Which Doctrine, of the *Unorganized Luciform*, and *Spirituous Vehicles*, seems to have been derived from *Plato*, he in his *Epinomis*, writing thus concerning a Good and Wise man after *Death*; ὃν καὶ σπουδάζοντα καὶ παίζοντα καὶ ζηδάζων ἅμα; ἐάνπερ θανάτῳ, τὴν αὐτὴν μοῖραν ἀναπλήσῃ; μήτε μεθέξειν ἔτι πολλῶν τότε, καθάπερ νῦν αἰσθήσεων, μιᾶς μοίρας μεταλήφεται μόνον, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἕνα γεγονότα εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι. *Of whom, whether I be in Jest or Earnest, I constantly affirm, that when dying he shall yield to Fate, he shall no longer have this Variety of Senses, which now we have, but One Uniform Body, and live a happy Life.* Moreover *Hierocles* much insisteth upon this Αὐγοειδὲς ζῶμα, this *Luciform* and *Ethereal Body*, ὃ καὶ ψυχῆς λεπτὸν ὄχημα οἱ χρησμοὶ καλοῦσι, *Which also* (saith he) *the Oracles call the Thin and Subtle Vehicle, or Chariot of the Soul*; he meaning doubtless by these *Oracles*, the *Magical* or *Chaldaick Oracles* before mentioned. And amongst those now Extant, under that Title, there seems to be a clear acknowledgment of these Two *Vehicula of the Soul*, or *Interiour Induments* thereof; the *Spirituous*, and the *Luciform* Body, the latter of which, is there Enigmatically called Ἐπίπεδον, or a *Plain Superficies*, in these words; Μὴ πνεῦμα μολύνῃς, μηδὲ βαθύνῃς τὸ Ἐπίπεδον, *Take care, not to Defile or Contaminate the Spirit; nor to make the Plain Superficies, Deep.* For thus *Psellus* glosseth upon that Oracle, δύο χιτῶνας ἐπενδύσασι τὴν ψυχὴν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι· ἡ μὲν πνευματικὸν ὠνόμασαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ὑφανθέντα αὐτῇ· ἡ δὲ Αὐγοειδῆ, λεπτὸν ἡμῖν ἀναφῆ, ὅπερ Ἐπίπεδον· *The Chaldaick Philosophers, bestow upon the Soul, Two Interiour Tunicles or Vestments, the one of which they called, Pneumatical, or the Spirituous Body; which is weaved out as it were to it, and compounded of the Gross Sensible Body* (it being the more Thin and Subtle part thereof) *the other the Luciform Vestment of the Soul, Pure and Pellucide, and this is that which is here called the Plain Superficies.* Which, saith *Pletho*, is not so to be understood, as if it had not *Three Dimensions* (for as much as it is a *Body* also) but only to denote the *Subtlety* and *Tenuity* thereof. Wherefore when the aforesaid *Hierocles* also calls this *Luciform* and *Etherial Body*, τὸ πνευματικὸν ὄχημα τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς, *The Spiritual Vehicle of the Rational Soul*, he takes not the Word πνευματικὸν, *in that Sense*, wherein it is used by *Philoponus* and Others; as if he intended to confound this *Etherial Body*, with that other *Spirituous* or Airy *Body*, and to make but one of them; but rather styles it *Spiritual*, in a higher Sense, (and which cometh near to that of the *Scripture*) as being a Body more *Suitable* and *Cognate*, with that *Highest* and *Divinest Part* of the Soul, *Mind* or *Reason*, then the other *Terrestial Body is* (which upon that account is called also, by the same *Hierocles*, (as well as it is by St. *Paul*) σῶμα ψυχικὸν, *the Animal or Natural Body.*)

P. 164.

dy.) So that this *Spiritual Body* of *Hierocles*, is not the *Airy*, but the *Etherial* Body, and the ſame with *Syneſius* his θεῖον σῶμα, *His Divine Body.* And that this Diſtinction of two *Interior Vehicles* or *Tunicles* of the *Soul*, beſides that *Outer* Veſtment, of the *Terreſtial Body*, (ſtyled in *Plato* τὸ ὀστρεῶδες, the *Cruſtaceous* or *Oſtreaceous Body*) is not a meer *Figment* of the latter *Platoniſts* ſince *Chriſtianity*, but a *Tradition* derived down from Antiquity, appeareth plainly from *Virgil* in his Sixth *Ænead*, where though not commonly underſtood, he writeth firſt of the *Spirituous*, or *Airy Body*, in which Unpurged Souls, receive *Puniſhment* after Death, thus;

Quin & Supremo cum Lumine Vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne Malum miſeris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt peſtes: penituſque neceſſe eſt
Multa diu concreta modis inoleſcere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt; aliæ panduntur inanes
Suſpenſæ ad Ventos; aliis ſub gurgite Vaſto
Infectum eluitur Scelus, aut exuritur Igni.

And then again of the other *Pure Ethereal* and *Fiery Body*, in this manner,

Donec Longa dies perfecto temporis Orbe,
Concretam exemit labem, Purumque reliquit
Æthereum Senſum, atque Auraï Simplicis Ignem.

Now as it was before obſerved, that the *Ancient Aſſerters* of the *Souls Immortality*, ſuppoſing it to have beſides this *Terreſtial Body*, another *Spirituous* or *Airy Body*, conceived this not only to accompany the Soul after Death, but alſo to hang about it here in this Life, as its *Interiour Veſt* or *Tunicle*; (they probably meaning hereby, the ſame with that which is commonly called, the *Animal Spirits*, diffuſed from the Brain, by the Nerves, throughout this whole Body) in like manner is it certain, that Many of them ſuppoſing, the Soul beſides thoſe Two forementioned, to have yet a *Third Luciform* or *Etherial Body*, conceived this in like manner, to adhere to it even in this *Mortal Life* too, as its *Inmoſt Clothing* or *Tunicle*; yet ſo as that they acknowledged the Force thereof, to be very much weakned and abated, and its Splendour altogether obſcured, by the *Heavy Weight*, and *Groſs Steams* or *Vapours*, of the *Terreſtial Body.* Thus *Suidas* upon the Word Αυγοειδὴς, tells us out of *Iſidore*, ὡς ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ Αυγοειδὲς ὄχημα, λεγόμενον ἀϊδιον· ἣν τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Αυγοειδὲς σῶμα τῷδε ἀποκέκλῃσθαι ἐνίοις μὲν ἔσω τῆς κεφαλῆς· *That according to ſome Philoſophers, the Soul hath a certain Luciform Vehicle, called alſo Star- or Sun-like, and Eternal: which Luciform Body, is now ſhut up within this Terreſtrial Body* (as a Light in a dark Lanthorn) *it being ſuppoſed by ſome of them, to be included within the Head, &c.* With which agreeth *Hierocles*, ἐν τῷ ἐνταῦθα ἡμῶν ζώματι, τὸ Αυγοειδὲς ἔστειλαι, περιπνέον τῷ ἀψύχῳ σώματι ζωὴν, ἣν τὴν ἁρμονίαν αὐτοῦ συνέχον, *The Splendid or Luciform Body, lieth in this Mortal Body of ours, continually* P. 293.

nually Inſpiring it with Life, and containing the Harmony thereof. The ground of which opinion was, becauſe theſe Philoſophers generally conceived, the Humane Soul to have *Pre-Exiſted*, before it came into this *Earthly Body*, and that either from *Eternity*, or elſe from the Firſt beginning of the World's Creation; and being never without a Body, and then in a Perfect State, to have had a *Lucid* and *Etherial Body*, either *Co-Eternal*, or *Co-Eve* with it, (though in order of Nature Junior to it) as its *Chariot* or *Vehicle*; which being Incorruptible, did always inſeparably adhere to the Soul, in its After-*Lapſes* and *Deſcents*, into an *Aerial* firſt, and then a *Terreſtrial Body*; this being as it were the *Vinculum* of Union, betwixt the Soul and them. Thus *Pletho* declares their Senſe, διὰ ὃ τοιάτε σώματος τοῦ ὃ ποτε τοῦ ἐνύλῳ τίνος ἀνθρωπίνῳ ψυχὴν συζεύγνυσθαι, ὅλε ὅλῳ τῷ τοῦ ἐμβρύε ζωτικῷ πνεύματι διὰ συζύγειαν ἐπιπλεκομένε ἅτε πνεύματός τινος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὄντος, *By this Etherial Body, is our Humane Soul Connected, with its Mortal Body; the whole thereof being Implicated with the whole Vital Spirit of the Embryo, for as much as this it ſelf is a Spirit alſo.* But long before *Pletho* was this Doctrine declared and aſſerted by *Galen*, as agreeable both to *Plato*'s and his own ſenſe, He firſt Premiſing, that the *Immediate Organ* or *Inſtrument* of *Sight*, was αὐγοειδὲς, a *Luciform* and *Ethereal Spirit*, δεόντως ἂν ἐροῦμεν αὐγοειδὲς μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ὄργανον, ἀεροειδὲς δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἀτμοειδὲς δὲ τὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς γεύσεως ὑγρὸν, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἁφῆς γεῶδες, &c. *Wherefore we may reaſonably affirm, that the Organ of Sight, is a Luciform or Etherial Body; as that of Hearing is Aerial; that of Smelling Vaporous; that of Taſt Moiſt or Watery; and That of Touch Earthy; like being perceived by like:* And He accordingly thus underſtanding, thoſe Known Verſes of *Empedocles*, which as *Ariſtotle* otherwiſe interprets them, are Nonſenſe, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν ὃ βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν οἷς φησι, ταῖν μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν, &c. αἰσθανόμεθα γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ μὲν γεωδεστέρῳ τῷ αἰσθητηρίων, τῆς γεώδους φύσεως, τοῦ δ' αὐγοειδεστέρου τῆς ὄψεως, τῷ Αὐγοειδεῖ, &c. *And this was that which* Empedocles *meant to ſignifie, in thoſe famous Verſes of his; it being certain that by the moſt Earthy of our Senſes, the Touch, we perceive the Earthy Nature of Senſibles; and by the moſt Luciform, viz. that of Sight, the Paſſions of Light; by that which is Aerial, Sounds; by that which is Moiſt and Sponge-like, Taſts; and Laſtly, by the Organ of Smelling, which is the Extremity of thoſe Former Cavities of the Brain, as repleniſhed with Vapours, Odours.* After which he writeth, of the *Eſſence* or *Subſtance* of the Soul, in this manner, εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς οὐσίας ἀποφήνασθαι χρὴ, δυοῖν θάτερον ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν, ἢ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ οἷον Αὐγοειδὲς, καὶ Αἰθερώδες σῶμα λεκτέον αὐτὴν, εἰς ὃ κἂν μὴ βούλωνται καταλαβεῖν ἀφικνεῖσθαι σωϊκοὶ, ἢ αὐτὴν μὲν ἀσώματον ὑπάρχειν οὐσίαν, ὄχημά τε τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῆς εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα· διὸ δὴ μέχρι τῆν πρὸς τ' ἄλλα ζώματα κοινωνίαν λαμβάνει· τοῦτο μὲν δὴ αὐτὸ διὸ ὅλε λεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐκτεθεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐγκεφάλε· τῇ δὲ γε πρὸς αὐτὸ κοινωνίᾳ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ὅλας αὐτῆς πνεῦμα φωλοειδὲς γίνεσθαι, *And if we ſhould now declare any thing concerning the Eſſence or Subſtance of the Soul, we muſt needs affirm one or other of theſe Two things; That either it ſelf is this Luciform and Etherial Body* (which the Stoicks whether they will or no, by conſequence will be brought unto, as alſo *Ariſtotle* himſelf) *or elſe that the Soul is it ſelf an Incorporeal Subſtance, but that this Luciform Etherial Body, is its Firſt Vehi-*

Dog. Hip. & Plat. L. 7.

cle;

cle, by which as a Middle, it communicates with the other Bodies. Wherefore we must say, that this Etherial Lucid Body, is Extended throughout the whole Brain; whence is that Luciform Spirit derived, that is the Immediate Instrument of Sight. Now from hence it was, that these Philosophers, besides the *Moral Purgation* of the Soul, and the *Intellectual* or *Philosophical*; recommended very much a *Mystical or Telestick* way of *Purifying*, this *Etherial Body* in us, by *Dyet* and *Catharms*. Thus the forementioned *Hierocles*, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἀυγοειδεῖ ἡμῶν σώματι προσέφυ σῶμα θνητὸν ὄν, καθαρεύειν δεῖ καὶ τοῦτο, &c. *Since to our Lucid or Splendid Body, this Gross Mortal Body, is come, by way of Accession, we ought to Purifie the Former also, and free it from Sympathy with the Latter.* And again afterwards, αἱ τοῦ λογικοῦ ψυχῆς καθάρσεις καὶ τὸ ἀυγοειδὲς ὀχήμα τῷ προσηθεῖναι, ὅπως ἂν αὐταῖς ὑποπτερον καὶ τοῦτο γενόμενον μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἴσηται πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πορείαν, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, *Together with the Purgations of the Rational Soul, the Purification of the Luciform or Etherial Vehicle, is also to be regarded, that this being made Light, and Alate or Wingy, might no way hinder the Souls Ascent upward: But he that endeavours, to Purifie the Mind only, neglecting the Body, applies not himself to the whole Man.* Whereupon he concludes, τὴν Τελεστικὴν ἐνέργειαν λέγω, τὴν τοῦ ἀυγοειδοῦς καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν, *I therefore call this the Telestick or Mystick Operation; which is Conversant about the Purgation of the Lucid or Etherial Vehicle.* And whereas Philosophy was by *Plato* and *Socrates* Defined, to be a *Continual Exercise* of *Dying* (which yet *Pliny* thought to be nothing but an *Hypochondriacal* or *Atrabilarian Distemper* in them, in those words of his, *Est etiam quidam Morbus, Per Sapientiam Mori, That the Dying by Wisdom or Philosophy, is also but a certain kind of Bodily Disease, or Over-grown Melancholy*) Though they supposed this principally to consist, in a *Moral Dying* to *Corporeal Lusts* and *Passions*, yet was the design thereof, partly *Mystical* and *Telestick* also, it driving at this further thing, that when they should put off this *Terrestrial Body*, they might at once Dye also, to the *Spirituous* or *Aerial*; and then their Soul have nothing left, hanging about it, but only the *Pure Etherial Body*, its Light-*winged Chariot*: which in *Virgil*'s Language, is

P. 294.

——*Purumque relinqui*
Æthereum Sensum, atque Aurai Simplicis Ignem.

Notwithstanding which, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, seem not to have been all of them of this Perswasion, that the same *Numerical Etherial Body*, which the *Soul* was at first *Created* with, continueth still about it, and adhereth to it Inseparably to all Eternity, during its *Descents*, into other *Grosser Bodies*; but rather to have supposed, that according to the *Moral* Disposition of the *Soul*, it always finds or makes a *Cognate* and *Suitable Body*, Correspondently Pure or Impure; and consequently, that by *Moral Vertue* and *Philosophy*, it might again recover that *Celestial Body*, which was lost by its *Fall* and *Descent* hither. This seemeth to have been *Porphyrius* his sense in these words of his, ὡς ἂν διατεθῇ ἡ ψυχὴ, εὐθέσηει σῶμα τάξει καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις διωρισμένον· διὸ καθαρώτερον μὲν διακειμένη σύμφυτον τὸ ἐξ ὠ-

τὴν ἀΰλον σῶμα, ὅπερ ἂν ᾖ τὸ αἰθέριον, *However the Soul be in it ſelf affected, ſo does it alwaies find a Body, ſuitable and agreeable to its preſent Diſpoſition; and therefore to the Purged Souls, does Naturally accrue a Body, that comes next to Immateriality; that is, an Etherial one.* And probably *Plato* was of the ſame Mind, when he affirmed, the *Soul to be alwaies in a Body, but ſometimes of one kind, and ſometimes of another.*

Now from what hath been declared, it appeareth already, that the moſt *Ancient Aſſerters* of the *Incorporiety* and *Immortality* of the Humane Soul, ſuppoſed it notwithſtanding, to be Always Conjoyned with a Body. Thus *Hierocles* plainly, ἡ λογικὴ οὐσία σύμφυες P. 289.
ἔχουσα σῶμα, ὅτω παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρῆλθεν, ὡς μήτε τὸ σῶμα εἶναι αὐτὸ, μήτε ἄνευ σώματος· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἀσώματον, ἀποπεφάνθαι δὲ εἰς σῶμα τὸ ὅλον αὐτῆς εἶδος, *The Rational Nature, having alwaies a Cognate Body, ſo proceeded from the Demiurgus, as that neither it ſelf is Body, nor yet can it be without Body, but though it ſelf be Incorporeal, yet its whole Form notwithſtanding, is Terminated in a Body.* Accordingly whereunto, the Definition which he gives of a Man, is this, ψυχὴ λογικὴ μετὰ συμφοῦς ἀθανάτου σώματος, *A Rational Soul,* P. 290.
together with a Cognate Immortal Body; he concluding there afterwards, that this *Enlivened Terreſtrial Body*, or *Mortal man*, is nothing but εἴδωλον ἀνθρώπου, *The Image of The True man*, or an *Acceſſion* thereunto, which is therefore Separable from the ſame. Neither doth he affirm this only of *Humane Souls*, but alſo of all other *Rational Beings* whatſoever, Below the *Supreme Deity*, and Above Men; that they always, *Naturally Actuate a Body.* Wherefore a *Demon* or *Angel* (which *words* are uſed as *Synonymous* by *Hierocles*) is alſo Defined by him, after the ſame manner, ψυχὴ λογικὴ μετὰ φωλδοῦς σώματος, *A Rational Soul together with a Lucid Body.* And accordingly *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, affirmeth, πάντα δαίμονα τῆς ἡμετέρων περέπονα ψυχῶν, καὶ νοερὸν ἔχειν ψυχὴν, καὶ ὄχημα αἰθέριον, *That every Demon, Superiour to our Humane Souls, hath both an Intellectual Soul, and an Ethereal Vehicle, the Entireneſs thereof being made up or Compounded of theſe Two things.* So that there is hardly any other Difference left, betwixt *Demons* or *Angels*, and *Men*, according to theſe Philoſophers, but only this; That the *Former* are *Lapſable*, into *Aereal Bodies* only, and no further; *but the Latter into Terreſtial alſo.* Now *Hierocles* poſitively affirmeth, this to have been the *True Cabala*, and *Genuine Doctrine* of the *Ancient Pythagoreans*, entertained afterwards by *Plato*; καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Πυθαγορείων ἦν δόγμα, ὃ δὴ Πλάτων ὕστερον ἐξέφηνεν, ἀπεικάζας ξυμφύτῳ δυνάμει ὑποπτέρῳ ξεύγει τε καὶ ἡνιόχῳ, πᾶσαν θείαν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν, *And This was the Doctrine of the* Pythagoreans, *which* Plato *afterwards declared; he reſembling, Every both Humane and Divine Soul,* (that is, in our Modern Language, Every *Created Rational Being*) *to a Winged Chariot, and a Driver or Charioteer, both together:* meaning by the *Chariot*, an *Enlivened Body*, and by the *Charioteer*, the *Incorporeal Soul* it ſelf *Acting* it.

And now have we given a full Account, in what manner the Ancient Aſſerters of *Incorporeal Subſtance* as *Unextended*, Anſwered that

Objection

Objection againſt the *Illocality* and *Immobility* of *Particular*, *Finite* Spirits; Demons or Angels, and *Humane Souls*; that theſe being all *Naturally Incorporate*, however in Themſelves and Directly *Immoveable*, yet were capable of being in ſome ſenſe Moved, by *Accident*, together with thoſe *Bodies*, reſpectively, which they are *Vitally* United to. But as for that *Pretence*; That theſe *Finite Spirits*, or *Subſtances Incorporeal*, being *Unextended*, and ſo having in themſelves, no *Relation* to any *Place*, might therefore *Actuate* and *Inform* the *Whole Corporeal World* at once, and take Cognizance of all things therein; their Reply hereunto was; That theſe being *Eſſentially* but *Parts* of the *Univerſe*, and therefore not *Comprehenſive* of the *Whole*; Finite or Particular, and not Univerſal Beings; (as the *Three Hypoſtaſes* of the *Platonick Trinity* are) the *Sphere* of their *Activity*, could not poſſibly Extend any further, than to the *Quickning* and *Enlivening* of ſome certain *Parts* of *Matter* and the World, allotted to them; and thereby of becoming *Particular Animals*; it being Peculiar to the *Deity*, or that *Incorporeal Subſtance*, which is *Infinite*, to *Quicken* and *Actuate* All things.

But it would be no *Impertinent Digreſſion* here, (as to the main Scope of our *Preſent Undertaking*) ſhould we briefly compare; the forementioned *Doctrine* and *Cabbala*, of the Ancient *Incorporealiſts*, (the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*) with that of *Chriſtianity*; and conſider the *Agreement* or *Diſagreement*, that is betwixt them. Firſt therefore, here is a plain *Agreement* of theſe *Beſt*, and moſt *Religious Philoſophers*, with *Chriſtianity*, in this; That the moſt *Conſummate Happineſs*, and *Higheſt Perfection*, that *Humane Nature* is capable of, conſiſteth not in a *Separate State* of *Souls*, ſtrip'd *Naked* from all *Body*, and having no manner of Commerce with *Matter*; as ſome *High-flown Perſons* in all Ages have been apt to Conceit. For ſuch amongſt the *Philoſophers* (and *Platoniſts* too) was *Plotinus*; *Unevennes* and *Unſafeneſs* of whoſe Temper, may ſufficiently appear from hence; That as he conceived *Humane Souls*, might poſſibly aſcend to ſo high a Pitch, as quite to ſhake off *Commerce* with all *Body*; ſo did he in the other hand again *Imagine*, that they might alſo *Deſcend* and *Sink down* ſo low, as to *Animate* not only the *Bodies* of *Bruits*, but even of *Trees* and *Plants too*; Two Inconſiſtent *Paradoxes*; the Latter whereof is a moſt *Prodigious Extravagancy*; which yet *Empedocles* (though otherwiſe a *Great Wit*) ſeems to have been guilty of alſo, from thoſe Verſes of his in *Athenæus*;

Ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κόρος τε κόρος τε,
θάμνος, τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἐν ἁλὶ ἔλλοπος ἰχθύς.

And amongſt the Jews, the famous *Maymonides* was alſo of this *Perſwaſion*, it being a Known Aphoriſm of his, in his Great Work, שבעולם הבא אין גוף או דמות. *That in the World to Come*, (or *State* of *Conſummate Happineſs*) *there ſhall be nothing at all of* Body, *but Pure Incorporeity*. Upon which Account, being accuſed as a Denyer of the *Reſurrection*, (an Article as well of the *Jewiſh*, as of the *Chriſtian Faith*) he wrote that Book intituled *Iggereth Teman*, purpoſely to purge

purge himſelf, and to reconcile thoſe Two Aſſertions together, which he doth after ſuch a manner; as that there ſhould be indeed a *Reſurrection*, at the Firſt Coming of the *Jewiſh Meſſias*, of ſome certain Perſons, to live here a while upon the Earth, Eat and Drink, Marry and be given in Marriage, and then dy again; after which in the *World to come*, they ſhould for ever continue *Pure Souls*, Ununited to any *Body*. In which, it may be well ſuſpected, that the Deſign *Maymonides* drove at, was againſt *Chriſtianity*; which notwithſtanding, as to this Particular, hath the Concurrent *Suffrages* of the beſt Philoſophers, That the moſt *Genuine* and *Perfect ſtate*, of the *Humane Soul*, which in its own Nature is immortal, is to continue for ever, *not without*, but with a *Body*. And yet our High-flown Enthuſiaſts generally, (however calling themſelves Chriſtians) are ſuch great *Spiritualiſts*, and ſo much for the *Inward Reſurrection*, (which we deny not to be a Scripture-Notion alſo; As in that, of S. *Paul*, *If ye be Riſen with Chriſt, &c.* And again, *If by any means I might attain to the Reſurrection of the Dead,*) as that they quite *Allegorize* away, together with other *Parts of Chriſtianity*, the *Outward Reſurrection* of *the Body*; and indeed will ſcarcely acknowledge any *Future Immortality*, or *Life to come after Death*; their Spirituality thus ending in *Sadduciſm*, and *Infidelity*, if not at length in *Down-right Atheiſm*, and *Senſuality*.

But beſides this there is yet a further *Correſpondence, of Chriſtianity*, with the forementioned *Philoſophick Cabbala*; in that the Former alſo ſuppoſes, the *Higheſt Perfection* of our *Humane Souls*, not to conſiſt in being *Eternally* Conjoyned, with ſuch *Groſs Bodies*, as theſe we now have, Unchanged and Unaltered. For as the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts*, have always Complained, of theſe *Terreſtrial Bodies*, as *Priſons*, or *Living Sepulchres* of the *Soul*; ſo does *Chriſtianity* ſeem to run much upon the ſame ſtrain, in theſe *Scripture-Expreſſions*; *In this We Groan Earneſtly, deſiring to be Clothed upon, with our Houſe which is from Heaven:* and again, *We that are in this Tabernacle do Groan, being burdened, not for that we would be Uncloathed*, (that is ſtrip'd quite *Naked* of all *Body*) *but ſo cloathed upon, that Mortality might be ſwallowed up of Life:* and laſtly, *Our ſelves alſo which have the Firſt Fruits of the Spirit, Groan within our ſelves, waiting for the Adoption* (*Sonſhip* or *Inheritance*) namely, *the Redemption of our Bodies*. That is, the Freedom of them from all thoſe Evils and Maladies of theirs, which we here ly oppreſſed under. Wherefore we cannot think, that the ſame *Heavy Load* and *Luggage*, which the Souls of good men being here burdened with, do ſo much groan to be delivered from, ſhall at the General Reſurrection, be laid upon them again, and bound faſt to them, to all Eternity. For of ſuch a *Reſurrection* as this, *Plotinus*, (though perhaps miſtaking it for the True Chriſtian Reſurrection) might have ſome cauſe to affirm, that it would be but ἀνάστασις εἰς ἄλλον ὕπνον, *A Reſurrection to another Sleep*; the Soul ſeeming not to be *Thoroughly Awake* here, but as it were *Soporated*, with the Dull Steams and Opiatick Vapours of this groſs Body. For thus the Authour of the *Book of Wiſdom*, *The Corruptible Body preſſeth down the Soul, and the Earthly Tabernacle weigheth down the Mind, that muſeth*

upon many things. But the same will further appear, from that Account, which the Scripture it self giveth us, of the *Resurrection*; and *First* in *General*, when S. *Paul* Answering that *Querie*, of the *Philosophick Infidel*, How *are the dead raised, or with what Body do they come?* Replieth in this manner; Thou *Fool* (that is, thou who thinkest to puzzle or baffle, the Christian Article of the Resurrection, which thou understandest not) That *which thou sowest*; is not Quickened (to the Production of any thing) *except it first die to what it was.* And *thou sowest not that Body that shall be*, but *bare Grain as of Wheat*, or of *Barley*, or the like; *but God* (in the ordinary course of Nature) *giveth it a Body, as it hath pleased him,* (that is, a *Stalk*, and an *Eare*, having many Grains with Husks in it; and therefore neither in *Quantity*, nor *Quality*, the same with that which was Sowed under Ground) Nor does *he give* to all Seeds, one and the same kind of Body neither, but to *every seed its own correspondent Body*; as to Wheat one kind of Eare, and to Barley another. As if he should have said; Know that this Present Body of ours; is to be look'd upon, but as a kind of *Seed* of the *Resurrection-Body*, which therefore is accordingly, in some sense the *Same*, and in some sense *not the* Same with it. Besides which General Account, the Particular Oppositions, which the Scripture makes, betwixt the *Present* and *Future Body*, seem very agreeable to those of the *Philosophick Cabala.* For First, the *Present Body*, is said to be Sowed in *Corruption*, but the *Future* Raised in *Incorruption.* For the *Children of the Resurrection*, cannot *die any more.* And then *Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life.* Wherefore the Christian *Resurrection-Body*, as well as that of the *Philosophick Cabala*, is σῶμα ἀθάνατον, and ἄϊδιον too (2 *Cor.* 5. 1.) *an Immortal* and *Eternal Body.* Again the *Body Sowed*, is said to be a *Dishonourable, Ignominious*, and *Inglorious Body*, and therefore called also by S. *Paul*, τὸ σῶμα τ῀ ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, *The Body of our Humility*, or *Humiliation*; A Body agreeable to this Lapsed *State* of the Soul; But the Body which shall be Raised, shall be a *Glorious Body*; and σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τ῀ δόξης αὐτ῀, *Conformable to that Glorious Body of Christ.* Who when he was but Externally Transfigured, his Face did *shine as the Sun*, and his *Raiment was white as the Light.* The Glory of a Body, consisteth only in the Comliness of its Proportion, and the Spendor thereof; Thus is there one *Glory of the Sun*, and *another Glory of the Moon*, and another *Glory of the Stars*, that is a different *Splendor* of them. Wherefore the *Future Body* of the Righteous, according to the Scripture also, as well as the *Philosophick Cabala*, will be ζῶμα φωτεινὸν, and ζῶμα αὐγοειδὲς, and ζῶμα ἀστροειδὲς, a *Glorious*, *Splendid*, *Luciform* and *Starlike Body*, *Wisd.* 3. 7. ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψουσι, *The Righteous in the time of their Visitation, shall shine forth. Daniel* 12. the 2. and 3. *They that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament; and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever.* And *Matthew* the 13. 43. *Then shall the Righteous shine forth as the Sun, in the Kingdom of their Father.* And therefore probably; this Future *Glorious Resurrection Body*, is that *Inheritance* of the *Saints in Light*, which the Scripture speaks of, *Col.* 1. the 12. Moreover, there is another difference betwixt this *Present* and that *Future Body* of the *Righteous*,

Righteous, wherein S. *Paul* and *Hierocles* do well agree, the First being called by both of them, Σῶμα ψυχικὸν, *An Animal Body*, The Second, Σῶμα πνευματικὸν, *A Spiritual Body*. Which latter expreſſion in Scripture, does not only denote, the *Subtlety* and *Tenuity* thereof: but alſo as this Preſent Body is called an *Animal Body*, becauſe it is ſuitable and agreeable to that Animal Life, which men have Common with Brutes; ſo is that Future called *Spiritual*, as bearing a fit proportion and correſpondency to *Souls* renewed in the *Spirit* of their *Mind*, or in whom the *Divine* Spirit Dwelleth and Acteth; exerciſing its Dominion. *There is an Animal Body, and there is a Spiritual Body. And, the Firſt Adam was made a Living Soul, the Laſt Adam a Quickning Spirit.* And thus are ψυχικοὶ in the Scripture, taken for οἱ πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες, *They who have not the Spirit.* And ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ, *The Animal Man receiveth not, the things of the Spirit of God.* Which *Spirit* is alſo ſaid in Scripture, to be the *Earneſt of that our Future Inheritance*, *Epheſians* the 1. the 14. and the Earneſt of this *Spiritual and Heavenly Body*, 2 *Corinth.* the 5. the 5. It is alſo ſaid to be that, by which (Efficiently) theſe *Mortal Bodies*, ſhall be *Quickened*, *Romans* the 8. the 11. *If the Spirit of him, that raiſed up Jeſus from the dead, dwell in you, he that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, ſhall alſo Quicken your Mortal Bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* Neither doth *Hierocles* fall much ſhort of this Scripture Notion, of *a Spiritual Body*, when he deſcribes it to be that, ὃ τῇ νοερᾷ τελειότητι τῆς ψυχῆς συνάπτεται, *Which is Agreeable to the Intellectual Perfection of the Soul.* This Spiritual Body is that, which the Ancient Hebrews called, כנפי חנשר *Eagles Wings*; We reading thus *in the Gemara of the Sanhedrin* (*c.* 11. *fol.* 92. *col.* 2.) אם תאמר אותן שנים שעמיד חקבת בהן את תעולם צדיקים מה הן עושין תקבה עושה להן כנפים כנשרים ושטין על פני המים *If you Ask what ſhall become of the Righteous, when God ſhall renew the world*; the *Anſwer is*; *God ſhall make them wings like Eagles, whereby they ſhall fly upon the Face of the Waters.* Again, as this *Preſent Body*, is called in Scripture, an *Earthly Body*, ſo is the *Future Body* of the *Righteous*, ſtyled by S. *Paul*, as well as the *Pythagoreans*, a *Heavenly Body*; and they who ſhall then be poſſeſſors thereof, ἐπουράνιοι ἄνθρωποι, *Heavenly men*, 1 *Cor.* 15. *As is the Heavenly, ſuch are they that are Heavenly.* Beſides which, as Philoſophers ſuppoſed, both *Demons* (or *Angels*) and *Men*, to have one and the ſame, Σῶμα αὐγοειδὲς, ἠθέριον, and αἰθέριον, or a like *Lucid*, *Heavenly* and *Etherial* Body, ſo from that of our Saviour, when he affirmeth, that they who *ſhall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the Reſurrection from the dead, will neither Marry nor be given in Marriage*; *nor can die any more*; *for they are* ἰσάγγελοι *equal to the Angels*; from hence I ſay, we may venture to call this *Reſurrection-Body*, of the *Juſt*, alſo, an *Angelical*, or *Iſangelical* Body; and the rather becauſe, the Ancient Hebrews (as we learn from *Nachmonides* in *Shaar Haggemul*) ſtyled it לבושת חנפש חמלאכותי *The Angelical Clothing of the Soul*, and *Tertullian* himſelf, *Angelificatam Carnem*, *Angelified Fleſh.* But Laſtly, S. *Paul* is not only *Poſitive* in his Doctrine here, but alſo *Negative*; *Now this I ſay, brethren, that Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither doth Corruption inherit Incorruption.* Which Place being undoubtedly not to be Allegorized,

P. 297.

Thus S. *Auſtin. Corpora Angelica*, and *Qualia ſunt Angelorum.*

it may be from thence inferred, that the *Happy Reſurrection-Body*, ſhall not be this Foul and Groſs Body of ours, only *Varniſhed* and *Guilded* over on the outſide of it, it remaining ſtill *Naſty Sluttiſh* and *Ruinous* within, and having all the ſame Seeds of *Corruption* and *Mortality* in its *Nature*, which it had before, though by perpetual *Miracle* kept off, it being as it were by *Violence defended*, from being Seiſed upon and devoured, by the *Jaws of Death*: but that it ſhall be ſo Inwardly changed, in its *Nature*, as that the Poſſeſſers thereof, *Cannot die any more*. But all this which hath been ſaid of the *Reſurrection-Body*, is not ſo to be underſtood, as if it belonged *Univerſally*, to all that ſhall be Raiſed up at the laſt day, or made to appear upon the Earth, as in their own Perſons, at that *Great and General Aſſizes*; That they ſhall have all alike, (*wicked* as well as Good) ſuch *Glorious*, *Spiritual*, and *Celeſtial Bodies*; but it is only a Deſcription of the ἀνάςασις τ᾽ ζωῆς, The *Reſurrection of Life*, which is Emphatically called alſo by our Saviour Chriſt, ἀνάςασις ἡ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, The *Reſurrection from the dead*, or to a Happy Immortality; as they who ſhall be thought worthy thereof, are likewiſe Styled by him, υἱοὶ ἀναςάσεως, *The Children of the Reſurrection*. Of which Reſurrection only it is, that S. *Paul* treateth in that Fifteenth Chapter of his to the *Corinthians*. And we ſay, that this *Chriſtian Reſurrection of Life*; is the *Veſting* and *Setling* of the Souls of Good men, in their *Glorious*, *Spiritual*, *Heavenly*, and *Immortal* Bodies. The Complete Happineſs of a man, and all the Good that can be deſired by him, Was by the Heathen Poet thus Summed up, *Ut ſit Mens Sana in Corpore Sano*, *That there be a Sound Mind in a Sound Body*: and the *Chriſtian Happineſs*, ſeems to be all comprized in theſe *Two Things*. Firſt, in being *Inwardly Regenerated and Renewed in the Spirit of their Mind*, Cleanſed from all *Pollution* of *Fleſh* and *Spirit*, and made partakers of the *Divine Life* and *Nature*; and then *Secondly*, in being *Outwardly Clothed*, with *Glorious*, *Spiritual*, *Celeſtial*, and *Incorruptible Bodies*. The Scripture plainly declareth, that our Souls are not at Home here, in this *Terreſtrial Body*, and Theſe *Earthly Manſions*, but that they are *Strangers* and *Pilgrims* there in it, which the Patriarchs alſo confeſſing, plainly declared that they *Sought a Country*, not that which they came out from, but a *Heavenly* one. From which paſſages of Scripture, ſome indeed would infer, that Souls being at firſt Created by God *Pure*, *Pre-Exiſted* before this their *Terrene Nativity*, in *Celeſtial Bodies*; but afterwards *ſtraggled* and *wandered* down hither, as *Philo* for one, ἀπολιπᾶσα μὲν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν ἀϊδιον τόπον, καθάπερ εἰς ξένιλω χάρων ἦλθε, τὸ σῶμα, *Our Soul* (ſaith he) *having left its Heavenly Manſion, came down into this Earthly Body, as a ſtrange place*. But thus much is certain, that Our Humane Souls were at firſt intended and deſigned by God Almighty, the Maker of them, for other *Bodies* and other *Regions*; as their proper Home and Country, and their *Eternal Reſting Place*: however, to us, *that be not Firſt, which is Spiritual, but that which is Natural*, and *afterwards that which is Spiritual*. Now though ſome from that of St. *Paul*, where he calls this *Happy Reſurrection-Body*, οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ ὐρανοῦ, *That houſe of ours that is from Heaven*, or which cometh *out of Heaven*, would infer, that therefore, it will not be taken, out of *Graves* and *Charnel Houſes*; they conceiving alſo, that the *Individuation* and

Sameneſs

Sameneſs of mens Perſons, does not neceſſarily depend, upon the *Numerical Identity* of all the Parts *of Matter*, becauſe we never continue thus the Same, our *Bodies* always flowing like *a River*, and paſſing away by *Inſenſible Tranſpiration*, and it is certain, that we have not all the ſame Numerical Matter, and neither more nor leſs, both in *Infancy* and in Old Age, though we be for all that the ſelf Same Perſons: yet nevertheleſs according to the beſt Philoſophy, which acknowledges no *Eſſential* or *Specifical Difference* of Matter, the Fouleſt and Groſſeſt Body that is, meerly by Motion, may not only be *Chryſtallized*, but alſo brought into the *Purity* and *Tenuity* of the *Fineſt Ether*. And undoubtedly, that Same Numerical *Body* of our *Saviour* Chriſt, which lay in the Sepulchre, was after his Reſurrection thus Transformed, into a *Spiritual*, and *Heavenly Body*; the *Subtlety* and *Tenuity* whereof appeared, from his entring in when *the doors were ſhut*, and his *vaniſhing out of ſight*; however its *Glory* were for the time ſuſpended, partly for the better convincing his Diſciples of the Truth of his Reſurrection, and partly becauſe they were not then able to bear the Splendor of it. We conclude therefore, that *the Chriſtian Myſtery, of the Reſurrection of Life*, conſiſteth not in the Souls being reunited to theſe Vile Rags of Mortality, theſe *Groſs Bodies* of ours (ſuch as now they are) but in having them *Changed into the Likeneſs of Chriſt's Glorious Body*, and in *this Mortal's putting on Immortality*.

Hitherto have we ſeen, the Agreement that is betwixt *Chriſtianity*, and the Old *Philoſophick Cabbala*, concerning the *Soul*, in theſe *Two Things*. Firſt, That the higheſt Happineſs and Perfection of the *Humane Soul*, conſiſteth not, in a *State* of Pure *Separation* from all *Body*; and Secondly, that it does not conſiſt neither, in an *Eternal Union* with ſuch *Groſs Terreſtrial Bodies*, as theſe Unchanged; the Soul being not at *Home*, but a *Stranger* and *Pilgrim* in them, and Oppreſſed with the Load of them: but that at laſt the *Souls* of Good men, ſhall arrive at *Glorious*, *Spiritual*, *Heavenly* and *Immortal Bodies*. But now as to that *Point*, Whether *Humane Souls* be always United to ſome *Body* or other, and conſequently when by Death they put off this *Groſs Terreſtrial Body*, they are not thereby quite *Deveſted*, and *Strip'd Naked* of all *Body*, but have a Certain, *Subtle* and *Spirituous Body*, ſtill adhering to them, and accompanying them? Or elſe, Whether all *Souls* that have departed out of this Life, from the very beginning of the World, have ever ſince continued, in a *State of Separation* from all *Body*, and ſhall ſo continue forwards till the *Day* of *Judgment* or *General Reſurrection*? We muſt confeſs, that this is a thing not ſo explicitely *Determined*, or expreſly Decided in *Chriſtianity*, either way. Nevertheleſs it is Firſt of all, certain from Scripture; That *Souls Departed* out of theſe *Terreſtial Bodies*, are therefore neither *Dead* nor *Aſleep*, till the Laſt Trump and *General Reſurrection*; but ſtill *Alive* and *Awake*; our Saviour Chriſt affirming, That *they all Live unto God*; the meaning whereof ſeems to be this, that they who are ſaid to be *Dead*, are *Dead* only unto *Men* here upon Earth; but neither *Dead* unto themſelves, nor yet unto God, their *Life* being not Extinct, but only Diſappearing to us, and withdrawn from

Death *called* Sleep *in Scripture, only* κατ' ευφημισμόν.

from our ſight; for as much as they are gone off this Stage which we ſtill continue to act upon. And thus is it ſaid alſo, of our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, and that after his Reſurrection too; *That he Liveth unto God* (*Romans* the 6. the 10.) From whence it is evident, that they who are ſaid to *Live to God*, are not therefore ſuppoſed to be leſs *Alive*, than they were, when they *Lived unto men*. Now it ſeemeth to be a *Priviledge* or *Prerogative* Proper to the Deity only, to *Live* and *Act* alone, without *Vital Union* or *Conjunction* with any Body. *Quærendum*, ſaith *Origen*, *Si Poſſibile eſt, penitus Incorporeas remanere Rationabiles Creaturas, cum ad ſummum Sanctitatis ac Beatudinis venerint? An neceſſe eſt eas ſemper Conjunctas eſſe Corporibus? It is worth our Enquiry; Whether it be poſſible, for Rational Creatures, to remain Perfectly Incorporeal, and Separate from all Body, when they are arrived to the Higheſt Degree of Holineſs and Happineſs? Or Whether they be always of neceſſity conjoyned with ſome Bodies:* And afterwards he plainly affirmeth it to be Impoſſible, *Vivere præter Corpus, Ullam aliam Naturam, præter Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum. For any other Nature, beſides the Father, and the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to live quite without a Body.* Indeed if this were moſt *Natural* to the *Humane Soul* and moſt *Perfective* of it, to continue *Separate* from all *Body*, then doubtleſs (as *Origen* Implied) ſhould the *Souls* of Good men, rather After the day of Judgment, continue in ſuch a State of *Separation*, to all *Eternity*. But on the contrary, If it be *Natural* to *Souls*, to *Enliven* and *Enform* ſome Body or other, (though not always a *Terreſtrial* one) as our Inward Senſe inclines us to think, then can it not ſeem ſo probable, that they ſhould by a kind of *Violence*, be kept ſo long in an *Un-Natural* or *Preter-Natural* State of Nakedneſs and *Separation* from all Body; ſome of them even from *Adam* till the day of Judgment.

Peri Arch. L. 2.

Again the *Scripture* alſo Intimates, that *Souls* Departed out of this Life, have a *Knowledge* of one another, and are alſo capable of the *Puniſhment* of *Senſe* or *Pain*, *Fear him* (ſaith our Saviour) *who After he hath killed, hath Power to caſt into Hell*, *Luke* the 12. And the Soul of the *Rich Man*, is ſaid to be immediately after *Death* in *Torments*, before the Day of *Judgment*; as likewiſe to have *Known Abraham* and *Lazarus*. And it ſeems neither agreeable to our *Common Notions*, nor yet to Piety, to conclude, That the *Souls* of wicked men, departing out of this Life, from the beginning of the world in their ſeveral Ages, till the *Day of Judgment*, have all of them no manner of *Puniſhment* inflicted on them, ſave only that, of *Remorſe of Conſcience*, and *Future Expectation*. Now it is not conceivable, how Souls after Death ſhould *Know* and be *Knowable*, and *Converſe* with one another, and have any Puniſhment of *Senſe* or *Pain* inflicted on them, were they not *Vitally United* to ſome *Bodies*. And thus did *Tertullian* reaſon long ago; *Dolet apud Inferos Anima cujuſdam, & Punitur in Flamma, & Cruciatur in Linguâ, & de digito animæ fœlicioris implorat Solatium Roris. Imaginem exiſtimas, exitum illum Pauperis Lætantis, & Divitis mœrentis. Et quid illic* Lazari *nomen, ſi non in veritate res eſt? Sed etſi Imago credenda eſt, teſtimonium erit veritatis. Si enim non habet Anima Corpus, non caperet Imaginem Corporis. Nec mentiretur*

De An. p. 309. Rigal.

mentiretur de Corporalibus Membris Scriptura, ſi non erant. Quid eſt autem illud, quod ad Inferna transfertur, poſt Divortium Corporis? quod detinetur, & in Diem Judicii reſervatur? Ad quod & Chriſtus moriendo deſcendit? puto ad Animas Patriarcharum? Incorporalitas Animæ ab omni genere Cuſtodiæ libera eſt; immunis à Pœna & à Fovela. Per quod enim Punitur aut Fovetur, hoc erit Corpus. Igitur ſiquid Tormenti ſive Solatii Anima præcepit in Carcere, vel Diverſorio Inferûm, in Igni vel in Sinu Abrahæ, *probata erit Corporalitas Animæ. Incorporalitas enim nihil Patitur, non habens per quod Pati poſſit: aut ſi habet, hoc erit Corpus. In quantum enim Omne Corporale Paſſibile eſt; in tantum quod Paſſibile eſt Corporale eſt. We read in* Scripture, *of a* Soul Tormented in Hell, Puniſhed with Flames, and deſirous of a drop of water to cool his Tongue. You will ſay perhaps, that this is Parabolical and Fictitious. What then does the name of Lazarus ſignifie there, if it were no Real thing? But if it be a Parable never ſo much, yet muſt it notwithſtanding, as to the main, ſpeak agreeably to Truth. For if the Soul (after Death) have no Body at all, then can it not have any Corporeal Image, Shape, or Figure. Nor can it be thought, that the Scripture, would Lie concerning Corporal Members, if there were none. But what is that, which after its Separation from this Body, is carried down into Hell, and there detained Priſoner, and reſerved till the day of Judgment? And what is that which Chriſt dying deſcended down unto, I ſuppoſe to the Souls of the Patriarchs. But Incorporality is free from all Cuſtody or Impriſonment, as alſo devoid of* Pain and Pleaſure. *Wherefore if Souls be ſenſible of* Pain after Death, *and Tormented with Fire, then muſt they needs have ſome Corporeity; for Incorporality ſuffers Nothing. And as every Corporeal thing, is* Paſſive or Patible, *ſo again whatſoever is* Paſſive *is Corporeal. Tertullian* would alſo further confirm this, from a *Viſion* or *Revelation* of a certain Siſter-Prophet, (Miracles and Prophecy, being ſaid by him, not to be then altogether Extinct,) *Inter cætera oſtenſa eſt mihi Anima Corporaliter, & Spiritus videbatur, Tenera & Lucida, & Aerii Coloris, Et Formæ per omnia Humanæ; There was* (ſaid ſhe) *amongſt other things, a* Soul *Corporally Exhibited to my View, and it was Tender and Lucid, and of an Aereal Colour, and every way of Humane Form.* Agreeably to which, *Tertullian* himſelf addeth, *Effigiem non aliam Animæ Humanæ deputandam præter Humanam, & quidem ejus Corporis quod unaquæque circuntulit. There is no other* Shape *to be aſſigned to a Humane* Soul, *but Humane; and indeed that of the* Body, *which it before carried about.* It is true indeed, that *Tertullian* here drives the buſineſs ſo far, as to make the *Soul* it ſelf to be *Corporeal, Figurate* and *Colorate*, and after Death, to have the very ſame *Shape*, which its reſpective *Body* had before in this Life: he being one of thoſe, who were not able to conceive of any thing *Incorporeal*, and therefore being a *Religioniſt*, concluded God himſelf to be a certain *Body* alſo. But the Reaſons which he here inſiſteth on, will indeed extend no further, than to prove, that the *Soul* hath after Death, ſome *Body* Vitally *United* to it, by means whereof, it is both capable of *Converſe*, and *Senſible* of *Pain*, for as much as Body alone, can have no Senſe of any thing.

And this is that which *Irenæus*, from the ſame Scripture gathereth; not

not that the *Soul Is a Body*, but that it *Hath a Body*, after Death conjoyned with it, and that of the ſame *Form* and *Figure*, with that Body which it had before here in this Life; *Pleniſſimè autem Dominus* L. 2. c. 62. *docuit, non ſolum perſeverare, non de corpore in corpus tranſgredientes animas, ſed & Characterem corporis, in quo etiam adaptantur, cuſtodire eundem; Et meminiſſe eas Operum quæ egerunt hîc, & à quibus ceſſaverunt; in Enarratione quæ ſcribitur de Divite & de* Lazaro, *qui refrigerabatur in Sinu* Abrahæ; *in qua ait Divitem cognoſcere* Lazarum *poſt mortem; Et manere in ſuo ordine unumquemque ipſorum; Our Lord hath moſt plainly taught us, that Souls do not only continue after Death, without paſſing out of one Body into another, but alſo that they keep the Character of* Body, *wherein they are then alſo adapted, the ſame which they had before; as likewiſe, that they remember the Actions and Omiſſions of their Life paſt; in that Enarration, which is written, concerning the Rich Man and* Lazarus, *who was refreſhed in* Abraham's *boſom; wherein he affirmeth the Rich Man to have known both* Lazarus *and* Abraham *after Death, as alſo each of them to remain in their own Order.* C. 63. And thus again in the following Chapter; *Per hæc manifeſtiſſimè declaratum eſt, & Perſeverare Animas; & non de corpore in corpus Exire; & habere Hominis Figuram; (ut etiam cognoſcantur) & meminiſſe eorum quæ hic ſint; & Dignam Habitationem Unamquamque Gentem percipere, etiam antè Judicium.* By *theſe things it is moſt manifeſtly declared, that Souls do both Perſevere after Death, and that they do not Tranſmigrate out of one* Body *into another; and that they have a Humane Figure or Shape, (whereby they may be known) as alſo that they remember the things here upon the Earth, and their own Actions; and Laſtly, that each kind of Good and* Bad, *have their diſtinct and ſuitable Habitations aſſigned them, even before the Judgment.* Now that *Irenæus* did not here mean, that Souls are themſelves *Bodily Subſtances*, and conſequently, have a certain *Character*, *Form*, and *Figure* of their own, but only that they have certain *Bodies conjoyned* with them, which are *Figurate*; is Firſt of all evident, from the words themſelves, *Characterem corporis, in quo etiam adaptantur, cuſtodire Eundem*, The Natural Senſe whereof is this, That they *keep the Character of* Body *(wherein they are then alſo adapted, after Death) the ſame with that which theſe* Bodies *before had here in this Life.* And it is further manifeſt from hence, becauſe he elſe where plainly declareth, *Souls* themſelves to be *Incorporeal*; as in his Fifth Book and Seventh Chapter, *Flatus autem Vitæ Incorporalis eſt*, *But the breath of Life is Incorporeal.*

Furthermore, *Origen* was not only of the ſame Perſwaſion, that *Souls* after *Death*, had certain *Subtle* Bodies united to them, and that thoſe Bodies of theirs, had the ſame εἶδος χαρακτηριζον, *Characterizing Form*, which theſe their *Terreſtrial* Bodies before had; but alſo thinks, that this, together with the Souls Immortality, may be ſufficiently proved, from the frequent *Apparitions* of *Ghoſts* or *Departed Souls*; in way of oppoſition to *Celſus*, endeavouriug to invalidate the Scripture Teſtimonies, concerning the *Apparitions* of our Saviour Chriſt, and Imputing them either to *Magical Impoſture*, or *Fanatick Phrenzy*, or the *Diſciples* miſtaking their own *Dreams* and *Phancies* for

for *Visions* and *Sensations*, after the *Epicurean* way; τοῦτο δὲ ἀδὲν ἧττον καταζηλωτικόν ἐστιν ἀναπαίειν δόγματος, ὡς ἄρα ἡ ψυχὴ ὑφέστηκε μετὰ ἀποθανόντων· καὶ ὁ μάτην πεπίστευκε περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς, ὁ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα ἀνελκύσας· ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς λέγει, ζητοῦσι φαντάσματα περὶ μνημεῖα τινὰ γεγονέναι τῶν ἤδη τεθνηκότων· *Though this might seem to have been smartly opposed by* Celsus, *yet are those very Apparitions of Ghosts notwithstanding, a sufficient Argument or Proof of a certain Necessary Opinion, that Souls do subsist after Death. Neither did* Plato *vainly conclude, the Immortality and Permanency of the Soul, besides other things, from those Shadow-like Phantasms of the Dead, that have appeared to many about Graves and Monuments.* Whereupon he giveth this further account of these *Apparitions*, τὰ μὲν οὖν γινόμενα περὶ ψυχῶν τεθνηκότων φαντάσματα ἀπό τινος ὑποκειμένης γίνεται, τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὑφεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Αὐγοειδεῖ Σώματι ψυχῶν· *For these Apparitions of the Dead, are not meer Groundless Imaginations, but they proceed from Souls themselves, really remaining and surviving after Death, and subsisting in that which is called, a Luciform Body.* Where notwithstanding *Origen*, takes this Αὐγοειδὲς Σῶμα, Or *Luciform Body*, in a Larger Sense, than the *Greek Philosophers* were wont to do; namely so as to comprehend under it, that *Aiery* or *Vaporous* Body also, which belongeth to *Unpurged Souls*; who do therein most frequently appear after Death; whereas it is thought proper to the *Purged Souls*, to be cloathed with the *Luciform Body* only. Besides which, the same *Origen* tells us, that the Thing which St. *Thomas* the Apostle disbelieved, was not our Saviour's appearing after Death, as if he had thought it Impossible, for *Ghosts* or *Souls departed, Visibly to appear*, but only his *Rising* and *Appearing* in that same Solid Body, which had been before Crucified, and was laid in the Sepulchre; συγκατετέθητο μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τῇ φαντάζῃ αὐτὸν ἑωρακέναι, ὡς μὴ ἀδυνάτου ὄντος, τοῦ τῶν ψυχῶν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ὀφθῆναι· ἀπέστη δ' ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸ ἐν σώματι αὐτὸν ἀνεστάναι ἐγηγέρθαι, Thomas *also, as well as the other Apostles, assented to the woman affirming, that she had seen Jesus; as not thinking it at all Impossible, for the Soul of a Dead man, to be Seen; but he did not believe him to have Risen and Appeared*, in that self same Solid Body, which before he lived In; for which cause he said, not only, *Unless I see him*; but added also, *And Unless I shall put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.* Where again *Origen* subjoyns, ταῦτα δ' ἐλέγετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Θωμᾶ, κατ' ἐκεῖνον ὅτι δύναται ὀφθαλμοῖς αἰσθητοῖς φανῆναι ψυχῆς Σῶμα πάντα τὸν παρατυχόν εἶδος; ——μεγέθους τε, καὶ ὄμματα καὶ εἰκοῦς, καὶ φωνῆς;

Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῖα περὶ χεῖρ' ἕματ' ἐχούσης.

These things were said by Thomas, *not as doubting at all, but that the Body of a Soul departed* (to wit, Condensed) *might be seen with the Eyes of Sense, every way resembling that Form which it had before in this Life, both in respect of Bigness, Figure, Colour, and Voice; and oftentimes also in the same Customary garments.* Wherefore according to *Origen*, the Jews were at that time Generally possessed with this Opinion, that *Souls* after Death, had certain *Bodies* united to them,

wherein they might Visibly appear: neither is that of any great moment to the contrary, which a Learned Critick objecteth, that *Josephus* writing of their Opinions, maketh no mention hereof: he omitting besides this, other Considerable *Dogmata* of theirs also, as that of the *Resurrection*. However this at least is certain from hence that *Origen* himself took it for granted, that *Humane Souls* departed, were not altogether Naked or Unclothed, but Clothed with a certain *Subtle Body*, wherein they could also Visibly appear, and that in their pristine Form.

Moreover, it might be here observed also, that when upon our Saviour's first *Apparition* to his Disciples, it is said, that they were affrighted, as supposing, they *had seen a Spirit*; our Saviour does not tell them, that a *Spirit* or *Ghost*, had no Body at all, wherein it could Visibly appear; but (as rather taking that for granted) *that a Spirit had no Flesh and Bones*, (no σῶμα ἀντίτυπον) no such *Solid* Body, as they might find him to have; bidding them therefore, handle him; to remove that Scruple of theirs. As if he should have said, Though *Spirits*, or *Ghosts*, and *Souls* Departed, have Bodies (or *Vehicles*) which may by them be so far *Condensed*, as sometimes to make a Visible appearance to the Eyes of men; yet have they not any such *Solid* Bodies, as those of *Flesh and* Bone; and therefore by *Feeling* and *Handling*, may you satisfie your selves, that I am not a meer *Spirit*, *Ghost*, or *Soul*, Appearing; as others have frequently done, without a *Miracle*; but that I appear in that very same *Solid* Body, wherein I was *Crucified* by the Jews, by miraculous Divine Power, raised out of the Sepulchre, and now to be found no more there. Agreeable to which of our Saviour Christ, is that of *Apollonius* in *Philostratus*, λαβέ μοι, ἔφη, κἂν μὲν διαφύγω σε, εἴδωλον εἰμί· εἰ δ' ὑπομένουμι ἁπτόμενον, πεῖσε καὶ ζῆν τε με, καὶ μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ σῶμα, *Touch me and Handle me, and if you find me to avoid the Touch, then may you conclude me to be a Spirit or Ghost*, (that is, a *Soul departed*) *but if I firmly resist the same; then believe me Really to live, and not yet to have cast off the* Body. And indeed though Spirits or Ghosts, had certain *Subtle Bodies*, which they could so far Condense, as to make them sometimes Visible to men; yet is it reasonable enough to think, that they could not *Constipate* or *Fix* them, into such a *Firmness*, *Grossness*, and *Solidity*, as that of *Flesh and* Bone is, to continue therein; or at least, not without such *Difficulty* and *Pain*, as would hinder them from attempting the same. Notwithstanding which, it is not denied, but that they may possibly sometimes make use of other *Solid Bodies*, Moving and Acting them, as in that famous Story of *Phlegons*, where the *Body Vanished* not, as other Ghosts use to do, but was left a Dead Carcase behind. Now as for our Saviour Christ's Body, after his *Resurrection*, and before his Ascension; which notwithstanding its *Solidity* in Handling, yet sometimes Vanished also, out of his Disciples sight; this probably, as *Origen* conceived, was purposely conserved for a time, in a certain *Middle State*, betwixt the *Crassities* of a *Mortal Body*, and the *Spirituality* of a Perfectly *Glorified*, *Heavenly* & *Etherial Body*.

But there is a place of Scripture, which as it hath been interpreted

preted by the Generality of the Ancient Fathers, would Naturally Imply, even the *Soul of our Saviour Christ* himself, after his *Death*, and before his *Resurrection*, not to have been quite *Naked* from all Body, but to have had a certain *Subtle* or *Spirituous Clothing*, and it is this of St. *Peter*, Θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξε, Which being understood by those Ancients, of our Saviour Christ's descending into *Hades* or *Hell*, is accordingly thus rendered in the *Vulgar Latin*, *Put to Death In the Flesh, but Quickned in the Spirit. In which (Spirit) also, he went and preached, to those Spirits, that were in Prison, &c.* So that the Word πνεύματι, or *Spirit* here, according to this interpretation, is to be taken, for a *Spirituous Body*; the Sense being this, *That when our Saviour Christ was put to death in the Flesh, or the Fleshly Body; he was Quickned in the Spirit, or a Spirituous Body. In which (Spirituous Body) also, he went and preached to those Spirits that were in Prison, &c.* And doubtless it would be said, by the Asserters of this Interpretation; that the word *Spirit*, could not here be taken for the *Soul* of our Saviour Christ; because this being *Naturally Immortal*, could not properly be said to be *Quickned*, and *Made Alive*. Nor could He, that is, our Saviour Christ's Soul, be so well said, to go, In *this Spirit* neither, that is, *In it self*, the Soul in the Soul, to *preach to the Spirits in Prison*. They would add also, that *Spirit* here, could not be taken for the *Divine Spirit* neither; which was the *Efficient Cause* of the *Vivification* of our Saviour's Body at his Resurrection; because then there would be no direct *Opposition*, betwixt, *Being put to Death in the Flesh*, and, *Quickned in the Spirit*; unless they be taken both alike Materially. As also the following Verse is thus to be understood; That our Saviour Christ, went in that *Spirit*, wherein he *was Quickned, when he was Put to Death In the Flesh, and therein preached to the Spirits in Prison*. By which Spirits in Prison also, would be meant, not *Pure Incorporeal Substances*, or *Naked Souls*, but *Souls* Clothed with *Subtle Spirituous Bodies*; as that word may be often understood elsewhere in Scripture. But thus much we are unquestionably certain of; from the Scripture; That not only *Elias*, whose *Terrestrial Body*, seems to have been, in part at least, Spiritualized, in his *Ascent* in that *Fiery Chariot*, but also *Moses*, appeared Visibly to our Saviour Christ and his Disciples, upon the Mount, and therefore (since Piety will not permit us to think this a meer *Prestigious* thing) in *Real Bodies*; which Bodies also, seem to have been Αὐγοειδῆ, *Luciform* or *Lucid*, like to our Saviour's then *Transfigured* Body.

1 *Pet.* 3. 18, 19.

Of this St. *Austin*, in his 12. Book, *De Gen. ad Lit. c.* 33. *Et Christi quidem Animam venisse usque ad ea loca in quibus peccatores cruciantur, ut eos solvent, quos esse solvendos, occulta nobis sua justitia judicabat, non immeritò creditur.*

Again, there are sundry places of Scripture which affirm that the *Regenerate* and *Renewed* have here in this Life, a certain *Earnest* of their Future *Inheritance*; which is, their *Spiritual* or *Heavenly Body*; as also the *Quickning of their Mortal Bodies* is therein attributed, to the *Efficiency* of the *Spirit Dwelling in them*. Which is a Thing that hath been taken notice of by Some of the *Ancients*, as *Irenæus*; *Nunc autem Partem aliquam Spiritus ejus sumimus, ad Perfectionem & Præparationem Incorruptelæ, paulatim assuescentes Capere & Portare Deum. Quod & Pignus dixit Apostolus; hoc est, Partem ejus Honoris, qui à Deo nobis promissus est——Si ergo Pignus hoc habitans in nobis, jam* L. 5. c. 8.

Spirituales effecit, & absorbetur Mortale ab Immortalitate. Now have we a Part of that Spirit, *for the Preparation and Perfection of Incorruption; we being accustomed by little and little to Receive and Bear God. Which also the Apostle hath called an Earnest*; that is, a *Part of that Honour which is promised to us from God. If therefore, this Earnest* (or Pledge) *dwelling in us, hath made us already Spiritual; the Mortal is also swallowed up by Immortality.* And *Novatian*, *Spiritus Sanctus id agit in nobis, ut ad Æternitatem & ad Resurrectionem Immortalitatis, corpora nostra perducat, dum illa in se assuefacit cum Cælesti Virtute misceri. This is that which the Holy Spirit doth in us, namely to bring and lead on our Bodies to Eternity and the Resurrection of Immortality; whilst in it self it accustometh us, to be mingled with the Heavenly Vertue.* Moreover there are some places also, which seem to imply, that Good Men, shall after *Death*, have a Further *Inchoation* of their *Heavenly Body*, the full Completion whereof, is not to be expected before the *Resurrection* or *Day of Judgment*. We know, that *If our Earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, a House not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens. For in this we groan Earnestly.* And Verse the 5. *He that hath wrought us for the self same thing is God, who also hath given us the Earnest of the Spirit.* Now how these *Preludiums* and *Prelibations* of an *Immortal Body*, can consist with the Souls continuance after Death, in a Perfect Separation from all manner of Body, till the *Day of Judgement*, is not so easily Conceivable.

Lastly, it is not at all to be Doubted, but that *Irenæus*, *Origen*, and those other Ancients, who entertained that Opinion, of Souls being Clothed after Death, with a certain Thin and Subtle Body; suspected it not in the least, to be Inconsistent, with that of the *Future Resurrection:* as it is no way Inconsistent, for one who hath only a *Shirt* or *Wastcoat* on, to put on a *Sute of Cloths*, or Exteriour Upper garment. Which will also seem the less strange, if it be considered, that even here in this Life, our *Body* is as it were *Two Fold, Exteriour* and *Interiour*; we having besides the Grosly-Tangible Bulk of our Outward Body; another *Interiour Spirituous Body*, the *Souls* Immediate *Instrument*, both of *Sense* and *Motion*; which Latter is not put into the Grave with the Other, nor Imprisoned under the Cold Sods. Notwithstanding all which, that hath been here suggested by us; we shall not our selves venture, to determine any thing, in so great a Point; but *Sceptically* leave it *Undecided.*

The *Third* and *Last* thing, in the Forementioned *Philosophick* or *Pythagorick Cabbala*, is concerning those *Beings Superior* to men, commonly called by the Greeks, *Demons*, (which *Philo* tells us are the same with *Angels* amongst the *Jews*, and accordingly are those words *Demons* and *Angels*, by *Hierocles* and *Simplicius*, and other of the latter Pagan Writers, sometimes used indifferently as *Synonymous*) *viz.* That these *Demons* or *Angels*, are not *Pure, Abstract, Incorporeal Substances*, devoid of *Vital Union* with any *Matter*; but that they consist of something *Incorporeal*, and something *Corporeal*, joyned together; so that as *Hierocles* writeth of them, τὸ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῶν ἀσώμα-

τον

τῷ ὀσία, τὸ ὑ κάτω σωματικὴ, *They have a Superiour and an Inferiour Part in them; and their Superiour Part is an Incorporeal Substance; their Inferiour Corporeal.* In a word, that they all as well as men, consist of *Soul* and *Body*, united together, there being only this Difference betwixt them, that the *Souls* of these *Demons* or *Angels*, never descend down to such *Gross* and *Terrestrial* Bodies, as *Humane Souls* do; but are always *Clothed*, either with *Aerial* or *Etherial ones*. And indeed this *Pythagorick Cabbala*, was Universal, concerning all *Understanding* Beings, besides the *Supreme Deity*, or *Trinity* of *Divine Hypostases*; that is, concerning all the *Pagan Inferiour Gods*; that they are no other than *Souls* vitally united to some Bodies, and so made up of *Incorporeal*, and *Corporeal Substance*, Joyned together. For thus *Hierocles* plainly expresseth himself, in the forecited place; ἡ λογικὴ ὀσία πᾶσα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἔστω παρῆλθεν, ὡς μήτε τὸ σῶμα εἶναι αὐτὴν μήτε ἄνευ σώματος, &c. *The Rational Nature* (in General) *was so produced by God, as that it neither is* Body, *nor yet without* Body; *but an Incorporeal Substance, having a Cognate or Congenit Body.* Which same thing was elsewhere also thus declared by him, ἔστι γὰρ πᾶς μὲν P. 178
ὁ λογικὸς διάκοσμος, μετὰ τοῦ συμπεφυκότος αὐτῷ ἀφθάρτου σώματος, εἰκὼν ὅλου τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, *The whole Rational Order, or Rank of* Being, *with its Congenite Immortal* Body, *is the Image of the whole Deity, the Maker thereof.* Where by *Hierocles* his *Rational Nature or Essence*, and by the *Whole Rational Order*, is plainly meant, all *Understanding Beings Created*, of which he acknowledgeth only these *Three Kinds* and *Degrees*, First, the *Immortal Gods*, which are to him the *Animated Stars*; Secondly, *Demons, Angels*, or *Heroes*; and Thirdly, *Men*, called also by him, χαταχθόνιοι δαίμονες, *Terrestrial Demons:* he pronouncing of them all, that they are alike, *Incorporeal Substances*, together with a *Congenite Immortal* Body; and that there is no other *Understanding Nature* than such, besides the *Supreme Deity*, which is *Complete* in it self, without the *Conjunction* of any Body. So that according to *Hierocles*, the Ancient *Pythagorick Cabbala*, acknowledged no such *Entities* at all, as those *Intelligences* of *Aristotle*, and the *Noes* of some *High-flown Platonists*; (that is, perfectly *Unbodied Minds*;) and much less any Rank of *Henades* or *Unities*, Superior to these *Noes*. And indeed such *Particular Created* Beings as these, could neither have *Sense* or *Cognizance* of any Corporeal thing Existing without them; (Sense as *Aristotle* hath observed, Resulting from a *Complication* of *Soul* and *Body*, as *Weaving*, Results from a Complication of the *Weaver* and *Weaving Instruments:*) nor yet could they *Act* upon any Part of the *Corporeal Universe*. So that these *Immoveable* Beings, would be but like *Adamantine Statues*; and things Unconnected with the rest of the World, having no Commerce with any thing at all but the *Deity*; a kind of *Insignificant Metaphysical Gazers*, or *Contemplators*. Whereas the *Deity* though it be not properly ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος, a *Mundane Soul*, such as together with the *Corporeal World*, as its Body, makes up one *Compleat* and *Entire Animal*; yet because the whole world proceeded from it, and perpetually dependeth on it, therefore must it needs take *Cognizance* of all, and *Act* upon all in it; upon which account it hath been styled by these *Pythagoreans*, ψυχὴ ὑπερκόσμιος, (not a *Mundane*,

Mundane, but) a *Supra-Mundane Soul.* Wherefore this *Ancient Pythagorick Cabbala*, ſeems to be agreeable to reaſon alſo, that God ſhould be the only *Incorporeal Being*, in this ſenſe, ſuch *whoſe Eſſence* is Complete and Life Entire within it ſelf, without the *Conjunction* or *Appendage* of any *Body*: but that all other *Incorporeal Subſtances Created*, ſhould be *Compleated* and *Made up*, by a *Vital Union* with *Matter*; ſo that the whole of them, is neither *Corporeal*, nor *Incorporeal*, but a *Complication* of both; and all the *Higheſt* and *Divineſt* things in the Univerſe, next to the *Supreme Deity* are *Animals* conſiſting of *Soul* and *Body* united together. And after this manner, did the Ancient aſſerters of *Incorporeal Subſtance*, as *Unextended*, decline that *Abſurdity* Objected againſt them, of the *Illocality* of all *Finite Created Spirits*, that theſe being *Incorporeal Subſtances*, Vitally Cloth-ed with ſome Body, may by reaſon of the *Locality* and *Mobility* of their Reſpective Bodies, truly be ſaid to be he *Here* and *There*, and to Move from Place to Place.

Wherefore we are here alſo to ſhow, what *Agreement* or *Diſagreement* there is, betwixt this Part of the *Pythagorick Cabbala*, and the *Chriſtian Philoſophy.* And Firſt, it hath been already intimated, that the very ſame *Doctrine*, with this of the Ancient *Pythagoreans*, was plainly aſſerted by *Origen.* Thus in his Firſt Book *Peri Archon. c. 6. Solius Dei*, (ſaith he) *id eſt Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Naturæ id proprium eſt, ut ſine Materiali Subſtantia, & abſque Ullâ Corporeæ Adjectionis Societate, intelligatur ſubſiſtere. It is proper to the Nature of God only, that is of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to ſubſiſt without Material Subſtance; or the Society of any Corporeal Adjection.* Again, *L. 2. c. 2. Materialem Subſtantiam Opinione quidem & Intellectu ſolum Separari, à Naturis Rationalibus, & Pro ipſis, vel Poſt ipſas Effectam videri; ſed nunquam ſine ipſa eas vel Vixiſſe, vel Vivere: ſolius namque Trinitatis Incorporea Vita exiſtere rectè putabitur. Material Subſtance in Rational Natures, is indeed Separable from them, in Conception and Underſtanding, it ſeeming to be made for them, and in Order of Nature after them; but it is not Really and Actually Separable from the ſame; nor did they ever, or can they, live without it, For a Life perfectly Incorporeal, is rightly deemed, to belong to the Trinity only.* So alſo in his Fourth Book, and his *Anacephalæoſis*, *Semper erunt Rationabiles Naturæ, quæ indigent Indumento Corporeo. Semper ergo erit Natura Corporea, cujus Indumentis Uti neceſſe eſt Rationabiles Creaturas. Niſi quis putet ſe poſſe oſtendere, quod Natura Rationabilis abſque Ullo Corpore, vitam degere poſſit. Sed quam difficile id ſit, & quam propè impoſſibile Intellectui noſtro, in Superioribus oſtendimus. There always will be Rational Natures, which ſtand in need of a Corporeal Indument. Wherefore there will be always Corporeal Nature, as a neceſſary Indument or Clothing for theſe Rational Creatures. Unleſs any one could ſhow, that it is poſſible for the Rational Nature to live without a Body. Which how difficult and almoſt Impoſſible it is, to our Underſtanding, hath been already declared.* *Aquinas* Affirmeth, *Origen* in this Doctrine of his, to have followed the Opinion of certain Ancient *Philoſophers*; and undoubtedly it was the Old *Pythagorick Cabbala*, which the Learned *Origen* here adhered to; that ἡ λογικὴ ὀσία, as it is in *Hierocles*,

Hierocles, and πᾶς ὁ λογικὸς διάκοσμος, *The Rational Nature made by God, that is*, all *Created Understanding Beings*, are neither *Body*, nor *yet without Body*; but have always a *Cognate* or *Congenite* Body, as their *Vehicle* or *Indument*. So that *Angels* or *Demons* as well according to *Origen*, as *Hierocles*, are all of them *Incorporeal Substances*, not *Naked* and *Abstract*, but *Clothed* with certain *Subtle Bodies*; or *Animals* compounded and made up of *Soul* and *Body* together.

Wherefore *Huetius* and other learned men, seem not well to have understood *Origen* here, but to have confounded *Two* different *Opinions* together, when they suppose him, to have asserted, *Angels* and all *Understanding Creatures*, not, to *Have Bodies*, but, to *Be Bodies*, and nothing else; and consequently, that there is no *Incorporeal Substance* at all, besides the *Deity*, Whereas *Origen* only affirmeth, that nothing besides the Trinity, could subsist and live alone, *absque ullâ corporeæ adjectionis Societate, without the Society of any Corporeal Adjection*, and that the *Material Nature*, is only a *Necessary Indument*, or *Clothing*, of all *Rational* or *Understanding Creatures*. And in this Sense is it, that an *Incorporeal Life* is said by him, to be proper only to the *Trinity:* because all other *Understanding Beings*, are *Animals*, compounded of *Soul* and *Body* together. But that *Origen* acknowledged, even our *Humane Soul* it self, to be *Incorporeal*, as also that there is *Something* in Angels *Incorporeal*, might be made evident from Sundry Passages in his Writings; as this Particularly in his Sixth Book against *Celsus*, ἡμεῖς ἀσώματον οὐσίαν οὐκ ἴσμεν ἐκπυρουμένην, οὐδ' εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυομένην τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν, ἢ τὴν ἀγγέλων ἢ θρόνων, &c. ὑπόσασιν· *We do not think, an Incorporeal Substance to be Combustible; nor that the Soul of Man can be resolved into Fire; or the Substance of Angels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities*, or *Powers*. Where by the *Substance of Angels*, he doubtless meant the *Souls* of them; *Origen*'s Sense being thus declared by St. *Jerom*; *In Libris* περὶ ἀρχῶν, *Angelos, & Thronos, & Dominationes, & Potestates, & Rectores Mundi & Tenebrarum, & omne Nomen quod nominatur, dicit, Animas esse eorum Corporum, quæ vel Desiderio vel ministerio susceperint*, That in his *Book of Principles he affirmeth, Angels, and Thrones, and Dominions, and Powers, and the Governours of the Darkness of this world, and every Name that is named* (in St. *Paul*) *to be all of them, the Souls of certain Bodies, such as either by their own Desire and Inclination, or the Divine Allotment, they have received.* Now there can be no Question made, but that he who supposed the *Souls* of men to be *Incorporeal*, in a strict *Philosophick Sense*, and such as could not suffer any thing from Fire, did also acknowledge Something *Incorporeal* in *Angels*. And thus doth he somewhere declare himself in that Book *Peri Archon*, *Per Christum creata dixit* (Paulus) *omnia Visibilia & Invisibilia; per quod declaratur, esse etiam in Creaturis quasdam* Invisibiles, *secundum proprietatem suam, Substantias; Sed hæ quamvis ipsæ non sunt Corporeæ, utuntur tamen Corporibus, licet ipsæ sunt Corporeâ Substantiâ meliores. Illa vero Substantia Trinitatis neque Corpus, neque In Corpore, esse credenda est: sed in toto Incorporea. When* Paul *affirmeth all things, Visible and Invisible, to have been Created by Christ, or the* Λόγος, *he intimated that even amongst the Creatures, there are some properly Invisible*

Inviſible Subſtances. Which Inviſible Subſtances Created, though they be not Bodies, yet do they uſe Bodies, themſelves being better than Corporeal Subſtance. But the ſubſtance of the Trinity, is neither Body, nor yet in Body, but altogether Incorporeal. Wherefore *Angelical* and *Humane Souls*, are not as *Huetius* ſuppoſeth, called *Incorporeal* by *Origen*, only as *Subtle Bodies* ſometimes are, by the more Simple and Unskilful; but in a ſtrict *Philoſophick ſenſe*; only he ſuppoſed them to differ from the Deity in this, that though they be not *Bodies*, yet they are always *In* Bodies, or *Clothed* with Bodies: whereas the Deity is in Both ſenſes *Incorporeal*, it having not ſo much as any *Corporeal Indument*. So that there is here no contradiction at all to be found in *Origen*; he conſtantly aſſerting *Angels*, to have ſomething *Incorporeal* In them as their *Superiour Part*, and not in that vulgar ſenſe of a *Subtle Body*, but in the *Philoſophick*; nevertheleſs to Have alſo a *Corporeal Indument* or *Clothing*, as their *Out ſide*, or *Lower Part*: and in that regard only, He calling them *Corporeal*.

It is true indeed, that there were amongſt the *Ancient Fathers*, ſome, who were ſo far from ſuppoſing *Angels* to be altogether *Incorporeal*, that they ran into the other *Extream*, and concluded them to have *Nothing* at all *Incorporeal* in *them*, but to be *meer Bodies*. But theſe either aſſerted, that there was no ſuch thing at all as any *Incorporeal Subſtance*, and that not only *Angels*, and *Humane Souls*, but alſo *God himſelf*, was a *Body*: or at leaſt they concluded, that nothing *Created* was *Incorporeal*; and that God, though Himſelf Incorporeal, yet could Create nothing but Bodies. Theſe are here the Two *Extreams*, One, that *Angels* have nothing *Corporeal* at all belonging to them: The Other, that they are altogether *Corporeal*; or have Nothing Incorporeal in them: a *Middle* betwixt both which, is the *Origenick Hypotheſis*, the ſame with the *Pythagorick*; That in *Angels*, there is a *Complication* of *Incorporeal* and *Corporeal Subſtance* both together, or that they are *Animals* conſiſting of *Soul* and *Body*. We ſhall now make it appear, that the Greater part of the Ancient Fathers, were for neither of the Two fore-mentioned *Extreams*; Either That Angels were wholly *Incorporeal*, or that they were wholly *Corporeal*; but rather for the *Middle Hypotheſis*, That they *Had* Bodies, and yet *Were not* Bodies; But as other *Terreſtrial Animals*, *Spirits* or *Souls*, *Clothed* with *Etherial* or *Aerial* Bodies. And that the Generality of the Ancient and moſt Learned *Fathers*, did not conceive *Angels* to be meer *Unbodied Spirits*; is unqueſtionably Evident from hence, becauſe they agreed with the Greek Philoſophers in that *Conceit*; that Evil *Demons* or *Devils*, were therefore delighted with the *Blood* and *Nidours* of *Sacrifices*, as having their more Groſs, *Aiery*, and *Vaporous* Bodies nouriſhed and refreſhed with thoſe Vapours; which they did as it were *Luxuriate* and *Gluttonize* in. For thus does *Porphyrius* write concerning them, in his Book *De Abſtinentia*, ὅτοι οἱ χαίροντες λοιβῇ τε, κνίσῃ τε, δι᾽ ὧν αὐτῶν, τὸ σωματικὸν ἢ πνευματικὸν παίνεται: ξῆ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀτμοῖς ἢ ἀναθυμιάμασι· *These are they, who take pleaſure in the Incenſe, Fumes*, and *Nidours* of *Sacrifices*; *wherewith their Corporeal and Spirituous Part, is as it were Pinguified: for this Lives and is Nouriſhed by Vapours and Fumigations.* And that before

before *Porphyrius*, many other Pagan Philoſophers, had been of the ſame Opinion, appeareth from this of *Celſus*, χρὴ γὰρ ἴσως ὅτι ἀπιστεῖν ἀνδράσι σοφοῖς, οἳ δή φασι, διότι τῶν μὲν ἀερίων δαιμόνων τὸ πλεῖστον γένος συντετηκὸς, καὶ περιπλωμένον αἵματι καὶ νιάσῃ, &c. *We ought to give Credit to wiſe men, who affirm, that moſt of theſe Lower and Circumterraneous Demons, are delighted with Geniture, Bloud, and Nidours, and ſuch like things, and much gratified therewith: though they be not able to do any thing more in way of recompence, then ſometimes perhaps to cure the* Body; *or to foretel good and evil Fortunes to Men and Cities.* Upon which account himſelf though a zealous Pagan, perſwadeth men, to moderation in the Uſe of theſe Sacrifices, as Principally gratifying the *Inferiour* and *Worſer Demons* only. In like manner *Origen* frequently inſiſteth upon the ſame thing, he affirming that *Devils* were not only delighted, with the *Idolatry* of the *Pagans* in their Sacrifices, but alſo, ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν ἀναθυμιάσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αἱμάτων καὶ ὁλοκαυτωμάτων ἀποφοραῖς τρέφεσθαι τὰ σώματα φιληδονούντων τοῖς τοιούτοις, *That their very* Bodies *were Nouriſhed by the Vapours and Fumes, ariſing from them; and that theſe Evil Demons therefore did as it were Deliciate and Epicurize in them.* And before *Origen*, moſt of the Ancient Fathers, as *Juſtine Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatianus*, *Tertullian*, *&c.* and alſo many others after him, endeavour to diſparage thoſe *Material* and *Bloody Sacrifices*, upon the ſame Account, as things whereby *Evil Demons* were principally Gratified. We ſhall here only cite one paſſage to this purpoſe out of St. *Baſil*, or who ever were the *Author* of that Commentary upon *Iſaiah*, becauſe there is ſomething *Philoſophick* in it; δαίμοσι διὰ τὸ φιλήδονον καὶ ἐμπαθὲς, αἱ θυσίαι φέρουσί τινα ἡδονὴν καὶ χρείαν ἀναθυμιώμεναι, διὰ τῆς καύσεως λεπτυνομένης τῷ αἵματι, καὶ ὅτω διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης λεπτοποιήσεως, εἰς τὴν σύσασιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβανομένης· ὅλοι γὰρ δι' ὅλων τρέφονται τοῖς ἀτμοῖς, καὶ διὰ μασήσεως καὶ κοιλίας, ἀλλ' ὡς αἱ τρίχες πάντων ζώων καὶ ὄνυχες, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα εἰς ὅλην ἑαυτῶν τὴν οὐσίαν, τὴν τροφὴν καταδέχεται, *Sacrifices are things of no ſmall pleaſure and advantage to Demons, becauſe the Blood being evaporated by Fire and ſo attenuated, is taken into the Compages and Subſtances of their* Bodies: *The whole of which is throughout, nouriſhed with Vapours, not by Eating, and* Stomachs, *or ſuch like Organs, but as the Hairs and Nayls of all Animals and whatſoever other things Receive nouriſhment into their whole* Subſtance. And *thus do we ſee it* undeniably manifeſt, that many of the Ancient Fathers, ſuppoſed *Devils* to have Bodies; neither can it at all be doubted, but that they concluded the ſame of *Angels* too; theſe being both of the ſame kind, and differing but as *Good* and *Evil men*. And though they do not affirm this of *Good Angels*, but of *Devils* only, that they were thus Delighted and Nouriſhed with the *Fumes* and *Vapours* of Sacrifices, and that they Epicurized in them; yet was not the reaſon hereof, becauſe they conceived them, to be altogether *Incorporeal*; but to have Pure *Etherial* or *Heavenly* Bodies: it being proper to thoſe *Groſs* and *Vaporous* Bodies of *Demons* only to be Nouriſhed and Refreſhed after that manner. And Now that all theſe *Ancient Fathers*, did not ſuppoſe either *Angels* or *Devils*, to be altogether *Corporeal*, or to have nothing but Body in them, may be concluded from hence, becauſe many of them plainly declared the *Souls* of Men to be *Incorporeal*,

Orig. L. 8. Cont. Celſ. L. 7. p. 334.

C. 1.

and therefore it cannot be imagined, that they ſhould ſo far degrade Angels below Men, as not to acknowledge them, to have any thing at all *Incorporeal.*

But we ſhall now Inſtance in ſome few amongſt many of theſe *Ancients*, who plainly aſſerted both *Devils* and *Angels* to be *Spirits Incorporate*; and not to Be meer B*odies*, but only to *Have* B*odies*; that is, to conſiſt of S*oul* and B*ody*, or *Incorporeal* and *Corporeal Subſtance* joyned together. That Angels themſelves Have Bodies is every where declared by St. *Auſtine*, in his Writings; he affirming, that
In Pſal. 85. the Bodies of Good men after the *Reſurrection*, ſhall be *Qualia ſunt Angelorum Corpora*, Such as are the B*odies* of *Angels*, and that they
In Pſal. 145. ſhall be *Corpora Angelica in* S*ocietate Angelorum*, *Angelical* B*odies*, *fit for Society and Converſe with Angels:* and declaring the difference,
De Gen. ad Lit. L. 3. c. 10. betwixt the B*odies* of *Angels* and of *Devils*, in this manner, *Dæmones antequam tranſgrederentur, Cœleſtia Corpora gerebant, quæ converſa ſint ex pœna in Aeream Qualitatem, ut jam poſſint ab Igne Pati, That though Devils before the Tranſgreſſion had Celeſtial* B*odies as Angels now have, yet might theſe afterwards in way of Puniſhment, be changed into Aerial ones, and ſuch as now may ſuffer by Fire.* Moreover the ſame St. *Auſtin*, ſome where calleth *Good Angels*, by the name of *Animæ Beatæ atque Sanctæ, Happy and Holy Souls.* And though it be true, that in his
L. 2. c. 11. *Retractations* he recalleth and correcteth this; yet was this only a *Scrupuloſity* in that Pious Father, concerning the meer word, becauſe he no where found in Scripture, *Angels* called by the name of Souls: it being far from his meaning even there to deny them, to be *Incorporeal* Spirits, joyned with *Bodies.* And certainly he who every where concludes, *Humane* S*ouls* to be *Incorporeal*, cannot be thought to have ſuppoſed, *Angels* to have nothing at all but *Body* in them. Again *Claudianus Mamertus*, writing againſt *Fauſtus*, who made *Angels* to be meer B*odies*, without *Souls*, or any thing *Incorporeal*, maintaineth in way of Oppoſition; not that they are meer *Incorporeal Spirits*, without B*odies* (which is the other *Extream*) but that they conſiſt of *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal*, *Soul* and B*ody*, Joyned together; he writing thus of the Devils, *Diabolus ex Duplici diverſaque Subſtantia conſtat: & Corporeus eſt & Incorporeus, The Devil conſiſteth of a double and different* S*ubſtance*; he is *Corporeal*, and he is *alſo Incorporeal.* And again
L. 3. of *Angels*, *Patet Beatos Angelos, Utriuſque* S*ubſtantiæ, & Incorporeos eſſe in ea ſui parte, qua ipſis Viſibilis Deus; & in ea itidem Parte Corporeos, qua hominibus ſunt ipſi Viſibiles. It is manifeſt, that the bleſſed Angels, are of a Two-fold* S*ubſtance*; *that they are Incorporeal, in that part of theirs wherein God is Viſible to them, and again Corporeal, in that other Part, wherein themſelves are Viſible to men.*
L. 3. De Trin. Moreover *Fulgentius* writeth concerning A*ngels* in this manner; *Planè ex Duplici eos eſſe* S*ubſtantia aſſerunt Magni & Docti Viri. Id eſt, Ex* S*piritu Incorporeo, quo à Dei contemplatione nunquam recedunt; & ex Corpore per quod ex tempore hominibus apparent. Corpora vero Ætherea, id eſt, Ignea, eos dicunt habere, Dæmones vero Corpus Aereum. Great and learned men affirm, Angels to conſiſt of a Double Subſtance, that is, of a Spirit Incorporeal, whereby they contemplate God; and of a Body whereby they are ſometimes Viſible to men; as alſo that they have*

Etherial

Etherial or Fiery Bodies, but Devils Aereal. And perhaps this might be the meaning of *Joannes Theſſalonicenſis*, in that Dialogue of his, read and approved of in the Seventh Council, and therefore the meaning of that Council it ſelf too, when it is thus declared, νοερὰς μὲν αὐτὰς ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία γινώσκει, τὰ μὴν ἀσωμάτους πάντη καὶ ἀορά-τους, λεπτοσωμάτους δὲ, καὶ ἀεροειδεῖς, ἢ πυροειδεῖς, &c. *That the Catholick Church acknowledges Angels, to be Intellectual, but not altogether Incorporeal and Inviſible; but to have certain Subtle Bodies, either Aiery or Fiery.* For it being there only denied, that they were *Altogether Incorporeal*, one would think the meaning ſhould not be, that they were *Altogether Corporeal*; nor indeed could ſuch an Opinion be faſtened upon the *Catholick Church*; but that they were partly *Incorporeal*, and partly *Corporeal*; this being alſo ſufficient in order to that deſign, which was driven at in that Council. However *Pſellus*, who was a Curious Enquirer into the *Nature* of *Spirits*, declares it not only as his own Opinion, but alſo as agreeable to the Senſe of the *Ancient Fathers*, ὡς δὴ ἀσώματόν τι τὸ δαιμόνιόν ἐστι φῦλον, μετὰ σώματος δέ γε, *That the Demoniack or Angelick kind of Beings, is not altogether Incorporeal, or Bodileſs, but that they are conjoyned with Bodies, or have Cognate Bodies belonging to them.* Who there alſo further declares the Difference, betwixt the *Bodies* of Good *Angels* and of Evil *Demons*, after this manner, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγγελικὸν, αὐγάς τινας ἐξανίσχον P. 33. ξένας, τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐστιν ἀφόρητόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατον· τὸ δαιμόνιον δὲ, εἰ μὲν τοιοῦτον δήποτε ἦν, δὴ οἶδα εἰπεῖν, ἔοικεν δ' ὖν, ἐωσφόρῳ Ἡσαΐᾳ τὸν ἐκπεσόντα καταονομάζοντι· νῦν δὲ ἀλλὰ ζοφῶδες οἷον καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἐστι, καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λυπηρὸν, γυμνωθὲν τοῦ συζύγου φωτός· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀγγελικὸν παντὰπασιν ἐστιν ἄϋλον· διὸ καὶ διὰ πάντα ἐστὶ χωρεῖ διαδύνον καὶ δίιον, καὶ τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτῖνος ὂν ἀπαθέστερον· τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ σωμάτων διαφανῶν ἰοῦσαν, ἀποσβέννυται τὰ χρώματα καὶ ἀλαμπῆ ὡς καὶ κλᾶσιν ὑπομένειν, ἅτε δὴ ἔνυλον ἔχουσαν· τῷ δὲ ὄντι ἐστὶ πρόσαντες, οἷα μηδεμίαν ἔχοντι πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντίθεσιν· τὰ δὲ δαιμόνια σώματα, κἂν ὑπὸ λεπτότητος ἀφανῆ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔνυλά πη, καὶ ἐμπαθῆ, καὶ μάλιθ' ὅσα τὰς ὑπὸ γῆν ὑποδέδυκε τόπους· ταῦτα γὰρ τοσαύτην ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν, ὡς καὶ ἁφαῖς ὑποπίπτειν, καὶ πλεπόμενα ὀδυνᾶσθαι, καὶ πυρὶ περισκληθέντα καίεσθαι· *The Angelical Body ſendeth forth Rays and Splendours, ſuch as would dazle Mortal Eyes, and cannot be born by them. But the Demoniack Body, though it ſeemeth to have been once ſuch alſo, (from* Iſaias *his calling him that fell from Heaven Lucifer) yet is it now Dark and Obſcure, Foul and Squalid, and grievous to behold, it being deprived of its Cognate Light and Beauty. Again the Angelical Body, is ſo devoid of groſs Matter, that it can paſs through any Solid thing, it being indeed more Impaſſible, than the Sunbeams; for though theſe can Permeate Pellucid Bodies, yet are they hindered by Earthy and Opake, and refracted by them; whereas the Angelical Body is ſuch, as that there is no thing ſo Imporous or Solid, that can reſiſt or exclude it. But the Demoniack Bodies, though by reaſon of their Tenuity, they commonly eſcape our ſight, yet have they notwithſtanding Groſs Matter in them, and are Patible, eſpecially thoſe of them, which inhabit the Subterraneous places; for theſe are of ſo Groſs a Conſiſtency and Solidity, as that they ſometimes fall alſo under Touch, and being ſtrucken have a Senſe of Pain, and are capable of being burnt with Fire.* To which purpoſe, the *Thracian* there addeth more afterwards from the

Information of *Marcus* the Monk, a perſon formerly Initiated in the *Diabolick Myſteries*; and of great *Curioſity*, τὸ δ' αἱμάνιον ἄρα πνεῦμα διόλε ὂν κ) φύσιν αἰσθητικὸν κ) πᾶν ἑαυτῦ μέρ@, ἀμέσως ὁρᾷ τε καὶ ἀκέει, κ) τὰ τ' ἀφῆς ὑπομένᾳ πάθη, διαιρέμενον ὀδυνᾶται κ) ἅμ' σωμάτων τὰ σαρκά· ταύτῃ τέτων διενεγκὸν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἅμ' διαιρεθέντων, μόλις ἢ ὀδαμᾶς ὀλᾶται τὸ δ διαιρέμενον εὐθὺς συμφύεται, καθάπερ ἀέρ@ ἢ κ) ὕδατ@ μόρια μεταξύ τιν@ ἐμπίπτοντα σαρκῶν· ἀλλ' εἰ κ) θᾶττον ἢ λόγ@ τετὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συμφύεται, πλὴν ἀνιᾶται κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ γίνεσθαι τὴν διαίρεσιν· *The Demoniack Spirit or Subtle Body, being in every part of it capable of Senſe, does immediately See and Hear, and is alſo Obnoxious to the affections of Touch: inſomuch that being ſuddainly divided or cut in two, it hath a Senſe of Pain, as the Solid Bodies of other Animals have; it differing from them only in this, that thoſe other Bodies, being once diſcontinued, are not eaſily conſolidated together again, whereas the Demoniack Body, being divided, is quickly redintegrated by Coaleſcence, as Air or Water. Nevertheleſs it is not without a Senſe of Pain, at that time, when it is thus divided, &c.* Moreover the ſame *Marcus* affirmeth the Bodies of theſe *Demons* to be *Nouriſhed* alſo, though in a different manner, from ours, τρέφονται οἱ μὲν δι' ἐνπνοῆς, ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρτηρίαις κ) ἐν νεύροις πνεῦμα· οἱ δ δι' ὑγρότητ@, ἀλλ' ὁ σώματι καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σπόγγοι κ) ὀστρακόδερμα, σπῶντες μὲν τ' ἐνδεκομένης ὑγρότητ@ ἔξωθεν· *They are ſome of them Nouriſhed by Inſpiration, as the Spirit contained in the Nerves and Arteries; others by ſucking in the adjacent Moiſture; not as we do by mouths, but as Spunges and Teſtaceous Fiſhes.* And now we may venture to conclude, that this *Opinion* of Angels being not meer *Abſtract Incorporeal Subſtances*, and *Unbodied Minds*, but conſiſting of Something *Incorporeal*, and Something *Corporeal*, that is, of *Soul* or *Spirit*, and *Body* Joyned together, is not *only* more agreeable to *Reaſon*, but hath alſo had more ſuffrages amongſt the Ancient Fathers, and thoſe of greater weight too, than either of thoſe Two other *Extreams*, *viz.* That Angels are meer *Bodies*, and have nothing at all *Incorporeal* in them; or elſe, that they are altogether *Incorporeal*, without any Bodily *Indument or Clothing*.

P. 94.

Notwithſtanding which this latter Opinion hath indeed prevailed moſt in theſe Latter Ages; *Time* being rightly compared to a *River*, which quickly ſinks the more Weighty and *Solid things*, and bears up only the *Lighter* and more *Superficial*. Though there may be other Reaſons given for this alſo, as partly becauſe the Ariſtotelick Philoſophy when generally introduced into Chriſtianity, brought in its *Abſtract Intelligences* along with it; and partly becauſe, ſome Spurious *Platoniſts* talking ſo much of their *Henades* and *Noes*, their *Simple Monads* and *Immoveable Unbodied Minds*, as the Chief of their *Generated* and *Created Gods*; probably ſome Chriſtians might have a mind, to vie their *Angels* with them. And laſtly, becauſe *Angels* are not only called in Scripture *Spirits*, but alſo by Several of the *Ancients* ſaid to be *Incorporeal*; whilſt this in the mean time, was meant only either in reſpect of that *Incorporeal Part*, *Soul* or *Mind*, which they ſuppoſed to be in them, or elſe of the *Tenuity* and *Subtlety* of their *Bodies* or *Vehicles*. For this account does *Pſellus* give *hereof*, κ) τοῖς ἡμετέροις κ) τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, εἰωθὸς ὄζι, τὰ παχύτερα σωμάτων

P. 30. 33.

σωμάτων σωματάδη λέγειν· ὃ ἢ λεπτομερές ὄζι καὶ τῷ ὀφθῆναι διαφυγάνον, καὶ τὴν ἁφὴν ἀσώματον, ἃ μόνον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀξιοῦσι λέγειν· *It is usual both with Christian Writers, and Pagans too, to call the Grosser Bodies Corporeal, and those which by reason of their Subtlety avoid both our Sight and Touch, Incorporeal.* And before *Psellus*, *Joannes Thessalonicensis*, in his Dialogue, approved in the Seventh Council; εἰ δέ τα θεῖα ἀσωμάτους καλεμένους τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ἢ δαίμονας, ἢ ψυχὰς, ὡς μὴ ὄντας ἐκ συμπλοκῆς τῶν ὑλικῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων, καὶ τοιαῦτα σώματα παχέα καὶ ἀντίτυπα, οἷα ἡμεῖς νῦν περικείμεθα, ὅτως αὐτὰς περιγράφουσιν· *If you find Angels, or Demons, or Separate Souls called Sometimes Incorporeal, you must understand this in respect of the Tenuity of their Bodies only; as not consisting of the Grosser Elements, nor being so Solid and Antitypous as those which we are now Imprisoned in.* And before them both, *Origen* in the Proeme of his *Peri Archon*, where citing a passage out of an *Ancient Book*, Intituled, *The Doctrine of Peter*, wherein our Saviour Christ is said to have told his Disciples, That *he was not* δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον, an *Incorporeal Demon*, though rejecting the Authority of that Book; he thus interprets those words; *non idem Sensus ex isto sermone* ἀσωμάτου *indicatur, qui Græcis vel Gentilibus auctoribus ostenditur, quum de Incorporeâ Naturâ à Philosophis disputatur. In hoc enim Libello, Incorporeum Dæmonium dixit, pro eo quod ipse ille quicunque est habitus vel circumscriptio Dæmonici Corporis, non est similis huic nostro Crassiori, vel Visibili Corpori: sed secundum sensum ejus qui composuit illam Scripturam, intelligendum est quod dixit; non esse tale Corpus quale habent Dæmones, quod est naturaliter Subtile, & velut Aura Tenue; & propter hoc vel imputatur à multis vel dicitur Incorporeum; sed habere se Corpus Solidum & Palpabile. The word* ἀσώματον, *or Incorporeal, is not to be taken here, in that sense wherein it is used, by the Greek and Gentile Writers, when they Philosophised concerning the Incorporeal Nature. But a Demon is here said to be Incorporeal, because of the Disposition of the Demoniack Body, not like to this Gross and Visible Body of ours. So that the sense is, as if Christ should have said, I have not such a Body, as the Demons have, which is naturally Subtle, Thin and Soft, as the Air, and therefore is either supposed to be by many, or at least called Incorporeal, but the Body which I now have, is Solid and Palpable.* Where we see plainly that Angels, though supposed to have Bodies, may notwithstanding be called *Incorporeal*, by reason of the *Tenuity* and *Subtlety* of those *Bodies*, comparatively with the *Grossness* and *Solidity* of these our Terrestrial Bodies. But that indeed which now most of all inclineth some to this Perswasion, That *Angels* have nothing at all *Corporeal* hanging about them, is a *Religious regard* to the *Authority* of the *Third Lateran Council*, having passed its Approbation upon this Doctrine; as if the *Seventh Oecumenical* (so called) or *Second Nicene*, wherein the contrary was before owned and allowed, were not of equal force, at least to counterbalance the other.

But though this Doctrine of *Angels*, or all *Created Understanding Beings Superiour* to men, having a *Corporeal Indument* or Clothing, does so exactly agree with the *Old Pythagorick Cabbala*, yet have we reason tothink, that it was not therefore meerly borrowed or derived, from

from thence, by the *Ancient Fathers*; but that they were led into it, by the Scripture it self. For first, the *Historick Phænomena* of Angels in the Scripture, are such, as cannot well be otherwise Salved, than by supposing them to have Bodies; and then not to lay any stress upon those words of the Psalmist, *Who maketh his Angels Spirits, and Ministers a flame of fire* (though with good reason by the Ancient Fathers interpreted to this sense) because they may possibly be understood otherwise, as sometime they are by *Rabbinical* Commentators: nor to insist upon those passages of S. *Paul*, where he speaks of the *Tongues of Angels*, and of the *Voice of an Arch-Angel*, and such like, there are several other Places in Scripture, which seem plainly to confirm this Opinion. As first, that of our Saviour before mentioned to this purpose, *Luke* the 20. the 35. *They who shall be accounted worthy, to obtain that world, and the Resurrection from the dead, neither Marry nor are given in Marriage, neither can they die any more; for they are Equal unto the Angels.* For were *Angels* utterly devoid of all *Bodies*, then would the *Souls of Good men*, in a *State of Separation*, and without any *Resurrection*, be rather Equal *to Angels*, than after a *Resurrection* of *their Bodies*. Wherefore the Natural meaning of these words seems to be this, (as St. *Austin* hath interpreted them) that the *Souls* of Good men, after the Resurrection, shall have *Corpora Angelica*, *Angelical Bodies*, and *Qualia sunt Angelorum Corpora*, *such Bodies as those of Angels are.* Wherein it is supposed, that *Angels* also have *Bodies*, but of a very different kind from those of ours here. Again, that of St. *Jude*, where he writeth thus of the Devils; The *Angels which kept not their First Estate* (or rather according to the Vulgar Latin, *Suum Principatum, Their own Principality*) *but left their Proper Habitation* (or *Dwelling House*) *hath he reserved in everlasting Chains, under darkness, unto the Judgement of the Great Day.* In which words, it is first Implied, that the *Devils* were Created by God *Pure*, as well as the other Angels, but that they kept not τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, Their *own Principality*, That is, their *Lordly Power* and *Dominion* over their *Worser* and *Inferiour part*, they having also a certain *Duplicity* in their Nature, of a *Better* and *Worser Principle*, of a *Superiour* Part, which ought to *Rule* and *Govern*, and of an *Inferiour*, which out to be *Governed*: nor is it indeed otherwise, easily conceivable, how they should be Capable of *Sinning.* And this *Inferiour Part* in *Angels*, seems to have a respect to something that is *Corporeal* or *Bodily* in them also, as well as it hath in men. But then in the next place, St. *Jude* addeth, as the *Immediate Result* and *Natural Consequent* of these Angels *Sinning*, that they thereby *Left* or *Lost*, τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, *Suum Proprium Domicilium*, That is, not only, *their Dwelling Place* at Large, those *Etherial Countries*, and *Heavenly Regions* above, but also their *Proper Dwelling House*, or *Immediate Mansion*; to wit their *Heavenly* Body. For as much as that *Heavenly* Body, which Good men expect after the *Resurrection*, is thus called by St. *Paul*, τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, *Our Habitation, or Dwelling House that is from Heaven.* The *Heavenly* Body is the *Proper House* or *Dwelling*, *Clothing* or *Indument*, both of *Angelical* and *Humane Souls*; and this is that which makes them fit *Inhabitants* for the *Heavenly Regions.* This I say was the *Natural effect* and *Consequent* of these *Angels Sinning*, their *Leaving* or *Loosing*, their *Pure Heavenly*

De Gen. ad Lit. L. 3.

Heavenly Body, which became thereupon forthwith *Obſcured* and *Incraſſated*; the Bodies of *Spirits Incorporate*, always bearing a *Correſpondent Purity* or *Impurity* to the different diſpoſition of their *Mind* or *Soul*. But then again, in the laſt place, that which was thus in Part, the *Natural Reſult* of their *Sin*, was alſo by the Juſt Judgment of God, converted into their *Puniſhment*; For their *Etherial Bodies*, being thus changed into Groſs, *Aerial*, *Feculent*, and *Vaporous* ones, themſelves were Immediately hereupon, as St. *Peter* in the Parallel Place expreſſeth it, ταρταρώσαντες; *Caſt down into Tartarus*, and there Impriſoned, or Reſerved in *Chains* Under *Darkneſs*, until the Judgment of the Great Day. Where it is obſervable that the word ταρταρῶσαν, uſed by St. *Peter*, is the very ſame, that *Apollodorus*, and other *Greek* Writers frequently make uſe of, in a like caſe, when they ſpeak of the *Titan*'s being Caſt down from Heaven: which ſeems to have been Really nothing elſe, but this Fall of *Angels Poetically Mythologized*. And by *Tartarus* here in all probability, is meant this Lower *Caliginous Air*, or *Atmoſphere* of the *Earth*, according to that of St. *Auſtin*, concerning theſe Angels, *Poſt Peccatum in hanc ſunt detruſi Caliginem, ubi tamen & Aer, That after their Sin, they were thruſt down down into the Miſty darkneſs of this Lower Air.* And here are they, as it were *Chained* and *Fettered* alſo, by that ſame Weight of their Groſs and *heavy* Bodies, which firſt ſunk them down hither, this not ſuffering them to reaſcend up, or return back to thoſe *Bright Etherial* Regions above. And being thus for the preſent *Impriſoned* in this *Lower Tartarus*, or *Caliginous Air* or *Atmoſphere*, they are indeed here Kept and Reſerved in Cuſtody, unto the *Judgment of the Great Day*, and *General Aſſizes:* however they may notwithſtanding in the mean time, ſeem to *Domineer* and Lord it for a while here. And Laſtly our Saviours, *Go ye Curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, ſeems to be a clear Confirmation of Devils being Bodied; becauſe Firſt to Allegorize this *Fire* into nothing but *Remorſe of Conſcience*, would indanger the rendering of other Points of our Religion uncertain alſo; but to ſay that *Incorporeal Subſtances Ununited to Bodies*, can be tormented with *Fire*, is as much as in us lieth, to expoſe *Chriſtianity* and the Scripture, to the Scorn and Contempt of all *Philoſophers*, and *Philoſophick Wits*. Wherefore *Pſellus* laies no ſmall ſtreſs upon this Place, ἐμὶ μὲν οὖδ' ὑπ' τῆ Σωτῆρος λόγων πεπεισμένος ταῦτα, περὶ πολαζήσεσθαι φασκόντων τὰς δαίμονας· ὃ πῶς ὅιον παθεῖν ἀσωμάτους ὄντας; τὸ γὰρ ἀσώματον ἀμήχανον παθεῖν ὑπὸ σώματος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ σώμασιν αὐτὰς τὴν πόλασιν ὑποδέχεσθαι πεφυκόσι πάσχειν· *I am alſo convinced of this, That Demons have Bodies, from the words of our Saviour affirming, That they ſhall be Puniſhed with Fire: which how could it be, were they altogether Incorporeal? it being Impoſſible for that which is both it ſelf Incorporeal, and Vitally Ununited to any Body, to ſuffer from a Body. Wherefore of neceſſity it muſt be granted, by us Chriſtians, that Devils ſhall receive Puniſhment of Senſe and Pain hereafter, in Bodies capable of Suffering.*

De Gen. ad Lit. L. 3. c. 10.

P. 37.

Now if *Angels* in general, that is, all *Created Beings* Superiour to men, be *Subſtances Incorporeal*, or *Souls* Vitally United to *Bodies*; though not always the ſame, but ſometimes of one kind and ſometimes

times of another; and never quite Separate from all *Body*; it may ſeem probable from hence, that though there be other *Incorporeal Subſtances* beſides the *Deity*, yet *Vita Incorporea*, *a Life perfectly Incorporeal* in the forementioned *Origenick Senſe*, or *Sine Corporeæ Adjectionis Societate Vivere*, *to Live altogether without the Society of any Corporeal Adjection*, is a Privilege properly belonging to the *Holy Trinity* only; and conſequently therefore, that Humane Souls when by Death, they are Deveſted of theſe Groſs Earthly Bodies, they do not then Live and Act Compleatly, without the *Conjunction* of any Body, and ſo continue till the *Reſurrection* or Day *of Judgment*: this Being a priviledge which not ſo much as the Angels themſelves, and therefore no Created *Finite Being*, is capable of; the *Imperfection* of whoſe *Nature* neceſſarily requires the *Conjunction* of ſome Body with them, to make them up Complete; without which it is unconceivable, how they ſhould either have *Senſe* or *Imagination*. And Thus doth *Origen* Conſentaneouſly to his own Principles, Conclude, ἡ τῇ ἑαυτῆς φύσει ἀσώματός καὶ ἀόρατος ψυχὴ, ἐν παντὶ σωματικῷ τόπῳ τυγχάνουσα, δέεται σώματος οἰκείου τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου· ὅπερ ὅπου μὲν φορεῖ, ἀπενδυσαμένη περίττον ἀναγκαῖον μὲν, πέριασον δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα· ὅπου δὲ ἐπενδυσαμένη ὧν περίττον εἶχε, δεομένῳ κρείττονος εἰδύματος εἰς τοὺς καθαρωτέρους καὶ αἰθερίους καὶ οὐρανίους τόπους. *Our Soul, which in its own Nature is Incorporeal and Inviſible, in whatſoever Corporeal place it Exiſteth; doth always ſtand in need of a Body, ſuitable to the Nature of that place reſpectively. Which Body it ſometimes beareth, having Put Off that which before was neceſſary, but is now Superfluous, for the Following State; and ſometimes again Putting On ſomething, to what before it had, now ſtanding in need of ſome better Clothing, to fit it for thoſe more Pure Etherial and Heavenly places.* But in what there follows, we conceive that *Origen*'s ſenſe having not been rightly underſtood, his words have been altered and perverted, and that the whole place ought to be read thus; Καὶ ἐνεδύσατο μὲν ὅτε τὴν τῇδε γένεσιν ἐρχομένη, τὸ χρήσιμον πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ ὑστέρᾳ τοῦ κυόσης, ἕως ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ· ἐνεδύσατο δὲ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνο, ὃ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον τοῦ ὅτε γῆς μέλλοντι διαζῆν· εἶτα πάλιν οὕτως τινὸς σκήνους, καὶ ὅτε εἰς οἰκίας ἀναγκαίας τε τοῦ σκήνους, καταλύεσθαι μέν φασιν οἱ λόγοι τὸν ὅτε ἔγγον οἰκίαν τοῦ σκήνους, τὸ δὲ σκῆνος ἐπενδύσασθαι οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, τὸ μὲν φθαρτὸν ἐνδύσασθαι αὐτὸ ἀφθαρσίαν· The Senſe whereof is this, *The Soul deſcending hither into Generation, Put on firſt, that Body which was uſeful for it whilſt to continue in the Womb; and then again afterward, ſuch a Body as was neceſſary for it, to Live here upon the Earth in. Again it having here a Two fold kind of* Body, *the one of which is called* σκῆνος by St. *Paul*; (being a more *Subtle* Body, which it had before) *the other the Superinduced Earthly Houſe, neceſſarily ſubſervient to this Schenos here; the Scripture* Oracles *affirm, that the Earthly Houſe of this Schenos, ſhall be corrupted or diſſolved, but the Schenos it ſelf, Superindue or Put On a Houſe not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens: The ſame declaring that the Corruptible ſhall put on Incorruption, and the Mortal Immortality.* Where it is plain, that *Origen* takes that σκῆνος in St. *Paul* (2 *Cor.* 5. 1.) for a *Subtle* Body, which the Soul had before its *Terrene Nativity*,

Cont. Celſ. L. 7. p. 353.

Nativity, and which Continues with it after death; but in good men will at last *Superindue*, or *Put on* (without Death) the Clothing of *Immortality*. Neither can there be a better *Commentary* upon this place of *Origen*, than those *Excerpta* out of *Methodius* the Martyr in *Photius*, though seeming to be Vitiated also; where, as we conceive, the sense of *Origen* and his Followers, is first contained in those words, ἕτερον τὸ σκῆνος, καὶ τὸ σκήνος ἡ οἰκία, καὶ ἕτερον ἡμεῖς ὄντες τὸ σκῆνος, *That in St. Paul the* τὸ σκῆνος *is One thing*; and the *Earthly House of this* σκῆνος *Another thing*; and We, *that is, our Souls a Third thing, distinct from both.* And then it is further declared in this that follows, τὸ ζωῆς καταλυθείσης τὸ ἀκυμόρως τὴν πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔξοαν οἴκησιν αἱ ψυχαὶ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἕως ἂν ἀνακαινοποιηθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἄφθαρτον ἀναλάβωμεν τὴν οἰκίαν· ὅθεν καὶ στενάζομεν μὴ θέλοντες τὸ σῶμα ἀπεκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ λοιπῷ ἐπενδύσασθαι ζωήν· τὸ γὰρ οἰκητήριον τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ὃ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἡ ἀθανασία· *That this short Life of our Earthly Body being destroyed, our Soul shall then have before the Resurrection, a dwelling from God; until we shall at last, receive it renewed, restored, and so made an Incorruptible House. Wherefore in this we groan, desirous not to put off, all* Body, *but to put on Life or Immortality upon the* Body *which we shall then have. For that House which is from Heaven, That we desire to put on, is Immortallity.* Moreover that the Soul is not altogether Naked after Death, the same *Origen* endeavours to confirm further from that of our Saviour concerning the Rich Man and *Lazarus*, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κολαζόμενος πλούσιος, καὶ ὁ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ πένης ἀναπαυόμενος, πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ σωτῆρος, καὶ πρὸ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, δηλοῦσιν ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ σώματι χρῆται ἡ ψυχή. *The Rich man Punished, and the Poor man refreshed in* Abraham's *bosome, before, the Coming of our Saviour, and before the end of the world, and therefore before the Resurrection, plainly teaches, that even now also after Death, the Soul useth a* Body. He thinketh the same also to be further proved from the *Visible Apparition* of *Samuel's* Ghost, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σαμουὴλ φαινόμενος, ὡς δῆλόν ἐστιν ὁρατὸς ὤν, παρίστησιν ὅτι σῶμα περιέκειτο, Samuel *also visibly appearing after Death, maketh it manifest, that his Soul was then clothed with a* Body. To which he adds in *Photius*, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅμα τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ χῆμα, ὁμοιοῦται τῷ παχεῖ καὶ γηίνῳ σώματι, &c. *That the Exteriour Form and Figure of the Souls* Body *after Death, doth resemble that of the Gross Terrestrial* Body *here in this Life. All the Histories of Apparitions, making Ghosts or the Souls of the Dead, to appear in the same Form, which their* Bodies *had before.* This therefore, as was observed, is that which *Origen* understands, by τὸ σκῆνος in St. *Paul*; not this Gross *Terrestial* Body, but a certain *Middle* Body betwixt it, and the *Heavenly*, which the Soul after Death, carries away with it. Now this Opinion of the Learned *Origens*, was never reckoned up by the Ancient Fathers, or his greatest Adversaries, in the *Catalogue* of his *Errours*; nor does *Methodius* the Martyr, who was so great an *Anti-Origenist*, where he mentions this *Origenick Opinion* in *Photius*, seem to tax it otherwise, then as *Platonically Implying*, the *Soul* to be *Incorporeal*. *Methodius* himself on the contrary contending, not that the *Soul Hath a* Body conjoyned with it after Death, as a distinct thing from it; but that it self *Is a* Body; ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἄδεται ἀσώματος ὤν, αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ὅλων, σώματα νοερὰ ὑπάρχουσαι, εἰς λόγῳ θεωρητὰ μέλη διανεμήσονται,

Thus Origen *plainly in his Fifth Book,* (*p.* 244.) *That there is* διαφορὰ ἐπιγείου οἰκίας ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶ τὸ σκῆνος καταλυομένης, καὶ σκήνους, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ὄντες δίκαιοι στενάζουσι βαρούμενοι, μὴ ἀπεκδύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ σκήνει ἐπενδύσασθαι· *A difference, betwixt the Earthly House, in which The* σκῆνος *is, that will be dissolved; and the* σκῆνος *it self, wherein good men groan, being burdened, not that they would put it off, but put on Immortality upon it.*

κενὸς μηνῦσαι, ταύτην λαβεῖν τὴν διατύπωσιν· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἅιδῃ, γλῶσσαν, καὶ δάκτυλον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέλη ἱστορεῖσθαι ἔχειν· οὐχ ὡς σώματος ἑτέρου συνυπάρχοντος αὐταῖς ἀϊδίου· ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐταὶ φύσει αἱ ψυχαὶ πάντως ἀποχυμνωθεῖσαι περιβλήματος τοιαῦται κατ' τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπάρχουσι, *God is alone is praiſed as Incorporeal and Inviſible: but Souls are made by him, (who is the Father of all things) Intellectual* Bodies, *ornamentally branched out* (as it were) *into Members diſtinguiſhable by Reaſon, and having the ſame Form and* Signature, *with the outward* Body. *Whence is it, that in Hades* (or Hell) *we Read of a Tongue, and a Finger, and other Members, not as if there then were another Inviſible* Body *Coexiſting with theſe Souls, but becauſe the Souls themſelves are in their own Nature (when ſtrip'd naked of all Clothing) according to their very Eſſence ſuch.* We ſay therefore; if one of theſe two Opinions muſt needs be entertained, that either the *Soul* it ſelf *Is a* Body, or elſe that it *Hath a* Body after Death; the Latter of them which was *Origens*, ought certainly much to be preferr'd before the Former, whether held in *Tertullian*'s ſenſe, that all *Subſtance*, and conſequently God himſelf, is Body; or elſe in that of *Methodius*, that all *Created Subſtance* is ſuch; God alone being *Incorporeal.*

But we have already ſhowed, that *Origen* was not Singular in this Opinion, *Irenæus* before him having aſſerted the ſame thing, that Souls after Death, are *Adapted to certain* Bodies, (where the word in the Greek probably was περισταλῆναι) which have the ſame *Character* with theſe *Terreſtrial ones*; and *Philoponus* after him, who was no *Pagan* but *Chriſtian Philoſopher*, Dogmatizing in like manner. We might here add, that *Joannes Theſſalonicenſis*, in that Dialogue of his, read in the Seventh Synod, ſeemeth to have been of the ſame Perſwaſion alſo, when he affirmeth of *Souls*, as well as *Angels* and *Demons*, that they were, ὁρᾶσθαι πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἀϊδῶς πλεονάκις, τῷ εἴδει τῆς οἰκείων αὐτῶν σωμάτων, *Often ſeen by many Senſibly, in the Form of their own* Bodies. However it is a thing, which *Pſellus* took for granted, where ſpeaking of Devils, Inſinuating their Temptations into mens Souls, by affecting immediately the *Phantaſtick Spirit*, he writeth after this manner, ὁ λέγων, πόρρωθεν μὲν ἂν ἰσχυρᾶς δεῖται κραυγῆς, ἀγχοῦ δὲ γενόμενος, εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἀκούοντος οὖς ψιθυρίζων ὑποφωνεῖ· καὶ εἰ ἐνῆν αὐτῷ συνεῖναι πνεύματι τὸ ψυχῆς, οὐδενὸς ἂν ἐδεήθη φύσαι, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ κατὰ βούλησιν λόγος ἀψόφῳ κινήσει πρὸς τὸ δεχόμενον ἐγινόμενος, ὅ φασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐξιούσαις τῶν σωμάτων εἶναι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ταύτας ἀπλήκτους ὁμιλεῖν ἀλλήλαις· *When one man ſpeaks to another from afar off, he muſt* (if he would be heard) *make a loud cry or noiſe, whereas if he ſtood near to him, he might ſoftly whiſper into his ear. But could he immediately approach to the Spirit* (or *Subtle Body of the Soul,*) *he ſhould not then need ſo much as to make a Whiſper, but might ſilently and without noiſe, communicate whatſoever thoughts of his own to him, by Motions made thereupon. And this is ſaid to be the way, that Souls, going out of theſe Bodies converſe together; they communicating their thoughts to one another without any Noiſe.* For *Pſellus* here plainly ſuppoſeth, *Souls after Death*, to have πνεῦμα, that is, a certain *Subtle Body*, adhering to them, by Motions upon which, they may ſilently converſe with each other. It is true indeed, that St. *Auſtin* in his Twelfth Book *De Geneſi ad Literam*, does not himſelf cloſe with this Opinion,

P. 94.

De Geneſi ad Literam c 32.

on, of the *Souls Having* a Body after Death, but much leſs of its *Being a Body:* nevertheleſs does he ſeem to leave every man to his own *Liberty* therein, in theſe words; *Si autem Quæritur, dum Anima de Corpore exierit, Utrum ad aliqua loca Corporalia feratur, an ad Incorporalia Corporalibus ſimilia; an verò nec ad ipſa, ſed ad illud quod & Corporibus & Similitudinibus Corporum eſt Excellentius; Citò quidem reſponderim; ad Corporalia loca eam vel non ferri niſi cum aliquo Corpore, vel non localiter ferri. Jam utrum habeat aliquod Corpus, Oſtendat qui Poteſt; Ego autem non puto. Spiritalem enim arbitror eſſe non Corporalem, ad ſpiritalia vero pro meritis fertur, aut ad Loca Pœnalia ſimilia Corporibus. But if it be demanded, when the Soul goes out of this Body, whether it be carried into any Corporal Places, or to Incorporals like to Corporals, or elſe to neither, but to that which is more excellent than both Bodies, and the likeneſſes of Bodies; the Anſwer is ready; that it cannot be carried to Corporal Places, or not Locally carried any whither, without a Body. Now whether the Soul have ſome Body, when it goes out of this Body, let them that can ſhow: but for my part, I think otherwiſe. For I ſuppoſe the Soul to be Spiritual and not Corporal, and that after Death it is either carried to Spiritual things, or elſe to Penal Places like to Bodies, ſuch as have been repreſented to ſome in Extaſies, &c.* Where St. *Auſtin* himſelf, ſeems to think, the Puniſhment of *Souls* after *Death*, and before the *Reſurrection*, to be *Phantaſtical*, or only in *Imagination.* Whereas there could not be then ſo much as *Phantaſtick Puniſhments* neither, nor any *Imagination* at all in Souls, without a Body; if that Doctrine of *Ariſtotle's* be true, that *Phancy* or *Imagination*, is nothing elſe but a *Weaker Senſe*; that is, a thing which reſults from a *Complication* of *Soul* and *Body* both together. But it is obſervable that in the forecited place, that which St *Auſtin* chiefly oppoſed, was the *Souls Being a Body*, as *Tertullian*, *Methodius*, and others had aſſerted; but as for its *Having a Body*, he ſaith only this, *Oſtendat qui poteſt, Let him that can ſhew it*; He granting in the mean time, that the *Soul cannot* be *Locally carried* any whither at all after Death, nor indeed be in any place, without a Body. However the ſame St. *Auſtin*, as he elſewhere condemneth, the Opinion of thoſe, who would take the *Fire* of *Hell Metaphorically*, acknowledging it to be *Real* and *Corporeal*; ſo does he ſomewhere think it not improbable, but after *Death*, and before the *Reſurrection*, the *Souls* of men may ſuffer, from a certain *Fire*, for the conſuming and burning up of their droſs, *Poſt iſtius ſanè Corporis Mortem, donec ad illum Veniatur, qui poſt Reſurrectionem Corporum futurus eſt Damnationis & Remunerationis Ultimus Dies; Si hoc temporis Intervallo, Ejuſmodi Ignem dicuntur perpeti quem non ſentiant illi, qui non habuerint tales mores & amores in hujus Corporis Vitâ, ut Eorum Ligna, & Fœnum, & Stipula Conſumantur: alii vero ſentiunt qui ejuſmodi ſecum ædificia portaverunt, &c. non redarguo, quia forſitan Verum eſt. If in this Interval of Time, betwixt the Death of the Body, and the Reſurrection or Day of Judgment, the Souls of the Dead be ſaid to ſuffer ſuch a Fire as can do no Execution, upon thoſe who have no Wood, Hay, nor Stuble to burn up; but ſhall be felt by ſuch as have made ſuch Buildings or Superſtructures, &c. I reprehend it not, becauſe perhaps it is True.* The Opinion here mentioned, is thus Expreſſed by *Origen*, in his Fifth

De Civ. D. Lib. 21. c. 26.

Book against *Celsus*, which very place St. *Austin* seems to have had
C. Celf. L. 5. 240. respect to, ὁ συνιδὼν ὅτι ὥζπερ Ἑλλήνων τισὶν ἔδοξε, τὸ πῦρ καθάρσιον ἐπάγεται τῷ κόζμῳ· εἰκὸς δ' ὅτι καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν δεομένων διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς δίκης καὶ ἰατρείου μὲν καὶ ὁ κατακαιόμενος τὰς μὴ ἔχοντας ὕλην δεομένην ἀναλύεσθαι ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πυρός· καιόμενος δ' καὶ κατακαιόμενος τὰς ἐν τῇ διὰ τῶν πράξεων καὶ λόγων καὶ νοημάτων τροπικῶς λεγομένῃ οἰκοδομῇ ξύλα, χόρτον, ἢ καλάμην οἰκοδομήσαντας· Celsus *did not understand, That this Fire as well according to the Hebrews and Christians, as to some of the Greeks, will be Purgatory to the World; as also to every one of those persons, who stand in need of such Punishment and Remedy by Fire; which Fire can do no Execution upon those, who have no combustible Matter in them, but will be felt by such as in the Moral structure, of their Thoughts, Words, and Actions, have built up Wood, Hay, and Stuble.* Now since Souls cannot suffer from Fire, nor any thing else in way of *Sense* or *Pain*, without being *Vitally United* to some *Body*, we may conclude, that St. *Austin* when he wrote this, was not altogether abhorrent, from Souls *having Bodies* after Death.

Hitherto have we declared, How the *Ancient Asserters* of *Incorporeal Substance*, as *Unextended*, did repel the Assaults of *Atheists* and *Corporealists* made against it; but especially, How they quitted themselves of that *Absurdity*, of the *Illocality* and *Immobility* of *Finite Created Spirits*, by Supposing them always to be *Vitally United* to some Bodies, and consequently, by the *Locality* of those their respective Bodies, determined to *Here* and *There:* according to that of
C. Celf. L. 5. 244. *Origen*, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν δέεται σώματος, διὰ τὰς τοπικὰς μεταβάσεις, *Our Soul stands in need of a Body, in order to Local Motions.* We shall in the next place declare, what *Grounds of Reason* there were, which induced those Ancients, to assert and maintain a thing so repugnant to *Sense* and *Imagination*, and consequently to all *Vulgar Apprehension*, as a *Substance* in it self *Unextended*, *Indistant*, and *Indivisible*, or Devoid of *Magnitude* and *Parts*. Wherein we shall only represent the Sense of these *Ancient Incorporealists*, so far as we can, to the best advantage, in order to their Vindication, against *Atheists* and *Materialists*; our selves in the mean time, not asserting any thing; but leaving every one that can, to make his own Judgment; and so either to close with this, or that other following *Hypothesis*, of *Extended Incorporeals*.

Now it is here observable, That it was a thing formerly taken for granted on both sides, as well by the *Asserters*, as the *Deniers* of *Incorporeal Substance*, That there is but *One kind* of *Extension* only; and Consequently that whatsoever hath *Magnitude* and *Parts*, or One Thing Without Another, is not only *Intellectually* and *Logically*, but also *Really* and *Physically Divisible* or *Discerpible*, as likewise *Antitypous* and *Impenetrable*; so that it cannot Coexist with a *Body*, in the same Place, from whence it follows, that whatsoever *Arguments* do evince, That there is some other Substance besides *Body*, the same do therefore Demonstrate; according to the Sense of these Ancients, (as well *Corporealists* as *Incorporealists*) that there is *Something Unextended*; it being supposed by them both alike, that whatsoever is

Extended

Extended, is *Body*. Nevertheleſs we ſhall here principally propound ſuch Conſiderations of theirs, as tend directly to Prove, That there is ſomething *Unextendedly Incorporeal*: And that an *Unextended Deity* is no *Impoſſible Idea*; to wit from hence, becauſe there is ſomething *Unextended* even in our very Selves. Where not to repeat the forementioned Ratiocinacion of *Simplicius*, That *whatſoever can Act and Reflect upon its Whole Self*, cannot poſſibly be Extended, nor have Parts Diſtant from one another; *Plotinus* firſt argues after this manner, τί τοίνυν φήσουσιν, οἱ τὴν ψυχὴν σῶμα εἶναι λέγοντες, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ ἑκάστου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι, πότερον ἕκαστον ψυχὴν, οἷα δὴ καὶ ἡ ὅλη; καὶ πάλιν τοῦ μέρους τὸ μέρος; ὀφθὲν ἄρα τὸ μέγεθος συνεβάλλετο τῇ οὐσίᾳ αὐτῆς· καίτοι ἔσῃ ποσοῦ τινος ὄντος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλον πολλαχοῦ, ὅπερ σώμασι παρεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπάρχειν· εἰ δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν, ὃ ψυχὴν φήσουσιν, ἐξ ἀψύχων ψυχὴ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξει· *What then will they ſay, who contend, that the Soul is a Body (or Extended?) whether or no will they grant concerning every Part of the Soul in the ſame Body* (as that of it which is in the Foot, and that in the Hand, and that in the Brain, *&c.*) *and again every Part of thoſe Parts, that each of them is Soul, ſuch as the Whole? If this be conſented to, then is it plain, that Magnitude or ſuch a Quantity, would confer nothing at all, to the Eſſence of the Soul, as it would do, were it an Extended Thing: but the Whole, would be in many Parts or Places; which is a thing that cannot poſſibly belong to Body; That the ſame Whole, ſhould be in more; and That a Part, ſhould be, what the whole is. But if they will not grant, every Part of their Extended Soul, to be Soul, then according to them muſt the Soul be Made up, and Compounded of Soul-leſs Things.* P. 466. Which Argument is elſe where again thus propounded by him, εἰ δὲ ἕκαστον ζωὴν ἔχοι, καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ· εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς αὐτῷ ζωὴν ἔχοντος ἡ σύνοδος πεποίηκε ζωήν, ἄτοπον· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον συμφόρησιν σωμάτων ζωὴν ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ νοῦν γεννᾶν τὰ ἀνόητα· *If every one of the Parts of this Extended Soul, or Mind, have Life in it, then would any one of them alone be ſufficient. But to ſay, that though none of the Parts alone have Life in them, yet the Conjunction of them altogether, maketh Life, is abſurd; it being impoſſible, that Life and Soul ſhould reſult from a Congeries of Lifeleſs and Souleſs things; or that Mindleſs things put together, ſhould beget Mind.* En. 4. L. 7. c. 3. The ſum of this Argumentation is this, That *either every part of an Extended Soul is Soul, and of an Extended Mind, Mind; or not.* Now *if no Part of a Soul, as ſuppoſed to be Extended*, alone be Soul or have *Life* and *Mind* in it, then is it certain that the *Whole* reſulting from all the *Parts*, could have no *Life* nor *Mind*; becauſe *Nothing can* (Cauſally) *come from Nothing.* It is true indeed, that Corporeal *Qualities* and *Forms*, according to the *Atomick Phyſiology*, reſult from a *Compoſition* and *Contexture* of *Atoms* or *Parts*, each of which taken alone by themſelves, have nothing of that *Quality* or *Form* in them,

——Ne ex Albis Alba rearis;
Aut ea quæ Nigrant, nigro de Semine nata.

You are not to think, that White things are made out of White principles, nor Black things out of Black; but the Reaſon of the difference here

here is plain, becauſe theſe *Qualities* and *Forms* are not *Entities Really* diſtinct from the *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion* of Parts, but only ſuch a Compoſition of them, as cauſe different *Phancies* in us; but *Life* and *Underſtanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*, are Entities Really diſtinct from *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion* of Parts, they are neither meer *Phancies*, nor *Syllables* of things, but *Simple* and *Uncompounded* Realities. But if every ſuppoſed *Part* of a *Soul* be *Soul*, and of a *Mind*, *Mind*; then would all the reſt of it beſides any One *Part*, be *Superfluous:* or indeed every ſuppoſed *Part* thereof, would be the *Same with the Whole*; from whence it follows, that it could not be *Extended*, or have any *Real Parts* at all, ſince no *Part* of an *Extended* thing, can poſſibly be the *Same with the Whole.*

Again the ſame Philoſopher endeavours further to prove, that the *Humane Soul* it ſelf, is *Unextended* and *Indiviſible*, from its *Energies* and *Operations*, and that as well thoſe of *Senſation* as of *Intellection*, Firſt therefore from *External Senſations*, he Reaſons in this manner,

P. 461. ἐτι μέλλ ἀιαθάνεαθαί τινος ἓν αὐτὸ δ'εῖ εἶναι, καὶ τᾷ αὐτᾷ παντὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεαθαι· καὶ εἰ διὰ πολλῶν ἀιαθητηρίων πλείω τὰ εἰσιόντα, ἢ πολλαὶ ἰδέαι ἓν ποίοτητες, κἂν δι ἑνὸς ποικίλον, οἷον πρόσωπον· ὃ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἑινὸς ἄλλο δ' ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ ταυτὸν ὁμῶ πάντων· καὶ εἰ τὸ μὲν δι ὀμμάτων τὸ δ' δι ἀκοῆς, ἓν τι δ'εῖ εἶναι εἰς ὃ ἀμφω· ἢ πῶς ἂν ἔιποι ὅτι ἕτερα ταῦτα, μὴ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμῶ τᾷ ἀιαθήσιων ἐληλύθοιν· *That which percieveth in us, muſt of neceſſity be One thing, and by One and the ſame Indiviſible, perceive all; and that whether they be more things, entring through ſeveral Organs of Senſe, as the many Qualities of one Subſtance; or One Various and Multiform thing, entring through the ſame Organ; as the Countenance or Picture of a man. For it is not One thing in us, that perceives the Noſe, another thing the Eyes, and another thing the Mouth; but it is one and the ſelf ſame thing, that perceiveth all. And when one thing enters through the Eye, another through the Ear, theſe alſo muſt of neceſſity come all at laſt to one Indiviſible, or elſe they could not be compared together, nor one of them affirmed to be different from another? The ſeveral Sentiments of them meeting no where together in One. He concludes therefore, that this One thing in us, that ſenſibly perceives all things, may be reſembled to the Centre of a Circle, and the ſeveral Senſes, to Lines drawn from the Circumference, which all meet in that one Centre. Wherefore that which perceives and apprehends all things in us, muſt needs be Really One, and the very ſame;* that is, *Unextended and Indiviſible.* Which *Argument*, is yet further purſued by him, more particularly thus. *If that which ſenſibly perceiveth in us, be Extended, ſo as to have Diſtant Parts, one without another, then one of theſe Three things muſt needs be affirmed; That either Every Part of this Extended Subſtance of the Soul perceives a Part of the Object only; or every Part of it the Whole Object, or elſe all comes to ſome One Point,* which alone *perceives, both the ſeveral Parts of the Object, and the Whole*, all the other, being but as *Circumferential Lines* leading to this Center. Now of the Former of thoſe Three *Plotinus* thus; μεγέθ ὄνῖι τότῳ, ζυμμεριζοῖτο ἂν· ὥςε ἄλλο ἄλλε μέρος, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ὅλε τᾶ ἀιαθητᾶ ἀντιλημψιν ἔχειν· ὥςπερ ἂν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἄλλε· σὺ δ' ἄλλε ἀΐαθοιο· *If the Soul be a Magnitude, then muſt it be divided together with the Senſible Object, ſo that one Part of the Soul muſt*

must perceive one Part of the Object, and another, another; and nothing in It, the Whole Sensible: just as if I should *have the sense of one thing, and you of another.* Whereas it is plain by our *Internal Sense*, That it is One and the Self same thing in us, which perceives, both the *Parts* and the *Whole.* And of the Second, he writeth in this manner, εἰ ὃ ὁτιοῦν παντὸς αἰσθήσεται. εἰς ἄπειρα διαιρεῖσθαι τὸ μεγέθος πεφυκότος, ἀπείρους ἂν αἰσθήσεις καθ' ἕκαστον αἰσθητὸν συμβήσεται γίνεσθαι ἑκάστῳ οἷον τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπείρους ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονεύοντι ἡμῶν εἰκόνας· *But if every Part of the Extended Soul, perceive the Whole Sensible Object, since Magnitude is Infinitely Divisible, there must be in every man Infinite Sensations, and Images of one and the same Object.* Whereas we are Intimately Conscious to our selves, That we have but only One Sensation of One Object at the same time. And as for the *Third* and Last *Part* of the *Disjunction*, That what Sensibly Perceives in every one, is but One Single Point, either *Mathematical* or *Physical.* It is certain first that a *Mathematical Point*, having neither Longitude, Latitude, nor Profundity, is no Body nor Substance, but only a Notion of our own *Mind*, or a *Mode* of *Conceiving* in us. And then as for a *Physical Point* or *Minimum*, a *Body* so Little that there cannot possibly be any Less, *Plotinus* asserting the Infinite *Divisibility* of Body, here explodes the thing it self. However he further intimates, that If there were any such *Physical Minimum*, or Absolutely Least Body or *Extensum*, this could not possibly receive upon it a Distinct *Representation* and *Delineation*, of all the several Parts of a Whole Visible Object at once, as of the Eyes, Nose, Mouth, *&c.* in a man's *Face* or *Picture*; or of the *Particularities* of an Edifice: nor could such a *Parvitude* or *Atom* as this, be the Cause of all *Animal Motions.* And this was one of *Aristotl's* Arguments, whereby he would prove *Unextended Incorporeals*, πῶς τῷ ἀμερεῖ τὸ μεριστόν· *If the Soul were Indivisible as a Point, how could it Perceive, that which is Divisible?* that is, take notice of all the Distinct Parts of any *Extended Object*, and have a Description of the whole of them at once upon it self? The Sum of the whole Argumentation is this, That If the Soul be an *Extended Substance*, then must it of necessity be either a *Physical Point* or *Minimum*, the Least *Extensum* that can possibly be, (if there be any such Least, and Body or Extension be not *Infinitely Divisible*) or else it must consist of more such *Physical Points*, joyned together. As for the former of these, it hath been already declared to be Impossible, that one Single *Atom*, or *Smallest Point* of *Extension*, should be able distinctly to perceive all the variety of things: to which might be added, That to suppose every Soul to be but one *Physical Minimum*, or *Smallest Extensum*, is to imply such an Essential Differemee in Matter or Extension, as that some of the *Points* thereof, should be *Naturally* devoid of all *Life*, *Sense*, and *Understanding*, and others again Naturally *Sensitive* and *Rational.* Which Absurdity though it should be admitted, yet would it be utterly Unconceivable, how there should come to be, One such *Sensitive* and *Rational* Atom in every man and no more, and how this should constantly remain the same, from Infancy to Old-Age, whilst other Parts of Matter Transpire perpetually. But as for the Latter; If Souls be Extended Substances, consisting of *More Points*, one without another; all Concurring in every *Sensation*,

ſation, then muſt every one of thoſe *Points*, either Perceive a *Point* and *Part* of the *Object* only, or elſe the *Whole*. Now if every Point of the *Extended Soul*, Perceive only a *Point* of the *Object*, then is there no *One Thing* in us, that *Perceives the Whole*; or which can compare one Part with another. But if every *Point* of the *Extended Soul*, Perceive the *Whole Object* at once, conſiſting of many *Parts*, then would there be *Innumerable Perceptions* of the ſame Object in every Senſation; as many, as there are *Points* in the *Extended Soul*. And from both thoſe Suppoſitions, it would alike follow, that no man is *One Single Percipient* or *Perſon*, but that there are Innumerable diſtinct *Percipients* and *Perſons* in every man. Neither can there be any other Suppoſition made, beſides thoſe Three forementioned; as That the whole *Extended Soul*, ſhould Perceive both the *Whole Senſible Object*, and All its ſeveral *Parts*, no Part of this *Soul* in the mean time having any Perception at all by it ſelf; becauſe the *Whole* of an *Extended Being*, is nothing but *All the Parts* taken together; and if none of thoſe *Parts* have any *Life*, *Senſe*, or *Perception* in them, it is Impoſſible, that there ſhould be any in the *Whole*. But in very truth, to ſay that the *Whole Soul* Perceiveth all, and no Part of it any thing; is to acknowledge it, not to be *Extended*, but to be *Indiviſible*; which is the Thing that *Plotinus* contends for.

And that Philoſopher here further inſiſts upon *Internal Senſations* alſo, and that Συμπάθεια, or Ὁμοπάθεια, That *Sympathy*, or *Homopathy*, which is in all *Animals*, to the ſame purpoſe: It being One and the Same thing in them, which Perceives *Pain*, in the moſt diſtant Extremities of the Body; as in the Sole of the Foot, and in the Crown of the Head, and which moves one Part to ſuccour and relieve another labouring under it, which could not poſſibly be by *Traduction* of all, to one Phyſical Point, as the Centre, for divers Reaſons. P. 462. Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ διάδοσιν ἔχ οἷόντε τὼ ἀιαθησιν τὸ τοιότο γίνεσθαι, μὴ ὄ σώματος ὄγκος ὄντος, ἄλλο παθόντος, ἄλλο γνῶσιν ἔχειν (παντὸς γὰρ μεγέθους τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ ὃ ἄλλο ἔστι) ὃ δὴ τοιοῦτον τίθεσθαι τὸ αἰσθανόμενον, ὅλον πανταχοῦ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι· τοῦτο ὃ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ὄντων ἢ σώματι ποιεῖν προσήκει· *Since therefore theſe Sympathetick Senſes, cannot poſſibly be made by Traduction, at laſt to One thing; and Body being Bulkie or Out-ſwelling Extenſion, One Part thereof Suffering, another cannot Perceive it, (for in all Magnitude, This is One thing, and That Another) it followeth, that what Perceives in us, muſt be every where, and in all the parts of the Body, One and the Same thing with it ſelf. Which therefore cannot be it ſelf Body, but muſt of neceſſity be ſome other Entity or Subſtance Incorporeal.* The Concluſion is, that in Men and Animals, there is *One thing Indiviſibly* the Same, that *Comprehendeth the Whole Outſide of them*, Perceiveth both the *Parts*, and the Whole of Senſible Objects, and all tranſmitted through ſeveral Senſes; Sympathizeth with all the Diſtant Parts of the Body; and Acteth entirely upon all. And this is properly called, *I My Self*, not the *Extended Bulk* of the Body, which is not *One* but *Many Subſtances*, but an *Unextended* and *Indiviſible Unity*, wherein all Lines Meet, and Concentre, not as a *Mathematical Point*, or Leaſt *Extenſum*; But as one *Self-Active*, *Living*, *Power*, *Subſtantial*, or *Inſide-Being*, that Containeth, Holdeth, and *Connecteth* all together.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, the forementioned Philoſopher endeavours yet further to prove, the *Human Soul* to be *Unextended* and Devoid of *Magnitude*, and *Indiviſible*, from its *Rational Energies* or *Operations*, its νοητῶν νοήσεις, and ἀμεγέθων ἀντιλήψις, *Intellections of Intelligibles*, and *Apprehenſions* of things *Devoid of Magnitude*, πῶς γὰρ μέγεθος ὂν τὸ μὴ μέγεθος νοήσει; ἢ τῷ μεριστῷ τὸ μὴ μεριστόν; *For how could the Soul* (ſaith he) *if it were a Magnitude, Underſtand that which hath no Magnitude? and with that which is Diviſible, Conceive what is Indiviſible?* Now it is certain, that we have *Notions* of many things which are ἀφάντασα, altogether *Unimaginable*, and therefore have nothing of *Length, Breadth*, and *Thickneſs* in them, as Vertue, Vice, *&c.* ἀμέγεθες ὄ οἶμαι ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ δίκαιον, ἢ ἡ τούτων ἄρα νόησις· ὥστε ἢ περιόντα ἢ τῷ ἀμερεῖ αὐτῆς ὑποδέξεται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν ἀμερεῖ κείσεται· *Juſtice and Honeſty, and the like, are things Devoid of Magnitude, and therefore muſt the Intellections of them, needs be ſuch too. So that the Soul muſt receive theſe, by what is Indiviſible, and Lodge them in that which is Indiviſible.* We have alſo a *Notion* not only of meer *Latitude* or *Breadth, Indiviſible* as to Thickneſs; and of *Longitude* or a *Line*, Indiviſible both as to *Breadth*, and *Thickneſs*; but alſo of a *Mathematical Point*, that is every way Indiviſible, as to *Length, Breadth*, and *Thickneſs*. We have a *Conception* of the *Intenſion of Powers* and Vertues, wherein there is nothing of *Extenſion* or *Magnitude*. And indeed all the *Abſtract Eſſences* of things, (or the αὐτοέκαστα) which are the Firſt *Objects* of Intellection, are *Indiviſible*: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν ὕλῃ εἰδῶν τὰς νοήσεις φήσουσιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χωριζομένων γε γίνονται τῶν ἐκ χωρίζοντος, ὁ γὰρ μετὰ σαρκῶν, &c. *And though we apprehend Forms that are in Matter too, yet do we Apprehend them as Separated and Abſtracted from the ſame; there being nothing of Fleſh in our Conception of a Man, &c.* Nay, the *Soul* Conceives *Extended* things themſelves, *Unextendedly* and *Indiviſibly*; for as the *Diſtance* of a whole *Hemiſphere* is contracted into a narrow Compaſs in the Pupil of the Eye, ſo are all Diſtances yet more contracted in the Soul it ſelf, and there Underſtood *Indiſtantly*; For the *Thought* of a Mile *Diſtance*, or of Ten thouſand Miles, or Semidiameters of the Earth, takes up no more *Room* in the Soul, nor *Stretches* it any more, than does the Thought of a *Foot* or *Inch*, or indeed of a *Mathematical Point*. Were that which perceiveth in us a *Magnitude*, then could it not be, ἴσον παντὶ αἰσθητῷ, *Equal to every ſenſible*, and alike perceive, both *Leſſer* and *Greater* Magnitudes, than it ſelf: but leaſt of all could it perceive, ſuch things as have no *Magnitude* at all. And this was the other Part of *Ariſtotle's Argumentation*, to Prove the *Soul* and *Mind* to be *Unextended* and *Indiviſible*, πῶς γὰρ νοήσει τὸ ἄμερες μερεστῷ; *For how could it perceive, that which is Indiviſible, by what is Diviſible?* He having before Demanded, How, *is could apprehend things Diviſible*, and of a Great *Extenſion*, by a *meer Point* or *Abſolute Parvitude*. Where the Soul, or that which Perceives and Underſtands, is according to *Ariſtotle*, neither *Diviſible*, as a *Continued Quantity*, nor yet *Indiviſible*, either as a *Mathematical*, or as a *Phyſical Point*, and *Abſolute Parvitude*; but as that which hath in it ſelf, no Out-Swelling Diſtance, nor Relation to any Place, otherwiſe than

Plot. p. 463.

as it is Vitally United to a Body; which, (where ever it be,) it always *Sympathizes* with, and *Acts* upon.

Besides which, these *Ancient Asserters* of *Unextended Incorporeals*, would in all probability confirm that Opinion from hence; Because we can not only Conceive *Extension* without *Cogitation*, and again *Cogitation* without *Extension*; from whence it may be Inferred, that they are *Entities Really Distinct*, and *Separable* from one another, (we having no other *Rule*, to Judge of the *Real Distinction* and *Separability* of things then from our *Conceptions*) but also are not able to Conceive *Cogitation* with *Extension*. We cannot conceive a *Thought*, to be of such a certain *Lengh*, *Breadth*, and *Thickness*, *Mensurable* by *Inches* and *Feet*, and by *Solid Measures*. We cannot Conceive *Half*, or a *Third Part*, or a *Twentieth Part* of a *Thought*, much less of the *Thought* of an *Indivisible Thing*; neither can we Conceive every *Thought* to be of some certain Determinate *Figure*, either *Round* or *Angular*; Spherical, Cubical, or Cylindrical, or the like. Whereas if whatsoever is *Unextended*, be *Nothing*, *Thoughts* must either be meer *Non-Entities*, or else *Extended* too, into *Length*, *Breadth* and *Thickness*; *Divisible* into *Parts*; and *Mensurable*; and also (where Finite,) of a certain *Figure*. And consequently all *Verities* in us (they being but *Complex Axiomatical Thoughts*) must of necessity be *Long*, *Broad*, and *Thick*, and either *Spherically* or *Angularly Figurate*. And the same must be affirmed, of *Volitions likewise*, and *Appetites* or *Passions*, as *Fear* and *Hope*, *Love* and *Hatred*, *Grief* and *Joy*; and of all other things belonging to *Cogitative Beings*, (*Souls* and *Minds*) as *Knowledge* and *Ignorance*, *Wisdom* and *Folly*, *Vertue* and *Vice*, *Justice* and *Injustice*, *&c.* that these are either all of them *Absolute Non-Entities*; or Else *Extended* into *Three Dimensions* of *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Profundity*; and *Mensurable* not only by *Inches* and *Feet*, but also by Solid *Measures*, as *Pints* and *Quarts*: and last of all (where they are Finite as in men) *Figurate*. But if this be *Absurd*, and these things belonging to *Soul* and *Mind*, (though doubtless as great Realities at least, as the things which belong to *Bodies*) be *Unextended*, then must the *Substances* of *Souls* and Minds themselves be *Unextended* also. Thus *Plotinus* of Mind, Νοῦς ὁ διαστὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, *Mind is not Distant from it self*: and indeed were it so, it could not be *One thing*, (as it is) but *Many*; every Conceivable Part of *Distant* and *Extended* Substance, being a *Substance* by it self. And the same is to be said of the *Humane Soul*, though it *Act* upon *Distant Parts* of that Body, which it is united to, that it self notwithstanding, is not *Scattered* out into *Distance*, nor *Dispersed* into *Multiplicity*, nor *Infinitely Divisible*; because then it would not be *One Single Substance*, or *Monade*, but a *Heap of Substances*. *Soul* is no more *Divisible*, than *Life*; of which the forementioned Philosopher thus, ἆραγε τὴν ζωὴν μερίζεις; ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ πᾶν ἦν ζωὴ, τὸ μέρος ζωὴ ἂν εἴη, *Will you divide a Life into two? then the whole of it being but a Life, the half thereof, cannot be a Life.* Lastly, if *Soul* and *Mind*, and the things belonging to them, as *Life* and *Cogitation*, *Understanding* and *Wisdom*, *&c.* be Out-spread into Distance, having one Part without another, then can there be no Good Reason given, why they should not be, as well

Really

Really and *Physically*, as *Intellectually Divisible*; and One Part of them *Separable* from another: since as *Plotinus*, παντὸς μεγέθος τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ δ' ἄλλο, *In all Magnitude or Extension, This is One thing, and That Another.* At least no *Theist* ought to deny, but that the *Divine Power*, could Cleave, or Divide a *Thought*, together with the *Soul* wherein it is into Many Pieces; and remove them to the Greatest Distances from one another, (for as much as this implies no manner of Contradiction, and whatsoever is Conceivable by us, may be done by Infinite Power) in which case, neither of them alone, would be *Soul* or *Mind*, *Life* or *Thought*, but all put together, make up one entire *Mind*, *Soul*, *Life*, and *Thought*.

Wherefore, the Sense of the Ancient *Incorporealists*, seems to have been as follows. That there are in *Nature*, *Two Kinds* of *Substances specifically* Differing from one another. The *First* Οὐσιοι, *Bulks* or *Tumours*, a meer *Passive Thing*. The *Second* Δυνάμεις, *Self-Active Powers* or *Vertues*, or φύσις ἐνεργητικὴ, the *Energetick Nature*. The Former of these, is nothing else but *Magnitude* or *Extension*, not as an *Abstract Notion* of the Mind, but as a *Thing* Really Existing without it. For when it is called, *Res Extensa*, the meaning is not, as if the *Res* were *One thing*, and the *Extension* thereof *Another*, but that it is *Extension*, or *Distance*, *Really Existing*, or the Thing thereof (without the Mind) and not the *Notion*. Now this in the Nature of it, is Nothing but *Aliud Extra Aliud*, *One thing without Another*, and therefore perfect *Alterity*, *Disunity*, and *Divisibility*. So that no *Extensum* whatsoever, of any Sensible Bigness, is Truly and Really, *One Substance*, but a *Multitude* or Heap of *Substances*, as *Many* as there are *Parts* into which it is *Divisible*. Moreover one Part of this *Magnitude*, *always Standing Without another*, it is an *Essential Property* thereof to be *Antitypous* or *Impenetrable*, that is, to Justle or Shoulder out, all other *Extended Substance* from *Penetrating* into it, and *Co-Existing* with it, so as to Possess and take up the same Room or Space. One yard of Distance, or of Length, Breadth, and Thickness, cannot possibly be added to another, without making the Whole *Extension* Double to what it was before, since one of them must of necessity stand without the other. One Magnitude cannot *Imbibe* or *Swallow* up another, nor can there be any *Penetration* of *Dimensions*. Moreover *Magnitude* or *Extension* as such, is meer *Outside* or *Outwardness*, it hath nothing *Within*, no Self-*Active Power* or Vertue, all its *Activity*, being either Keeping out or Hindering, any other *Extended Thing*, from *Penetrating* into it: (which yet it doth meerly by its being *Extended*, and therefore not so much by any *Physical Efficiency*, as a *Logical Necessity*,) or else *Local Motion*, to which it is also but *Passive*; no *Body* or *Extension* as such, being able to Move it self, or *Act* upon it self.

Wherefore were there no other *Substance* in the World besides this *Magnitude* or *Extension*, there could be no *Motion* or *Action* at all in it; no *Life*, *Cogitation*, Consciousness, No *Intellection*, *Appetite* or *Volition* (which things do yet make up the Greatest part of the Universe) but all would be a dead *Heap* or *Lump*: nor could any one Sub-

ſtance, *Penetrate* another, and *Co-Exiſt* in the ſame Place with it. From whence it follows of neceſſity, that beſides this *Outſide* Bulky *Extenſion*, and *Tumourous Magnitude*, there muſt be another kind of *Entity*, whoſe *Eſſential Attribute* or *Character*, is *Life*, *Self-Activity*, or *Cogitation*. Which firſt, that it is not a meer *Mode* or *Accident* of *Magnitude* and *Extenſion*, is plain from hence, becauſe *Cogitation* may be as well *Conceived* without *Extenſion*, as *Extenſion* without *Cogitation*; whereas no *Mode* of any thing can be Conceived without that whereof it is a *Mode*. And ſince there is unqueſtionably, much more of *Entity* in *Life* and *Cogitation*, than there is in meer *Extenſion* or *Magnitude*, which is the Loweſt of all Being, and next to *Nothing*; it muſt needs be Imputed, to the meer *Deluſion* and *Impoſture* of *Imagination*, that men are ſo prone to think, this *Extenſion* or *Magnitude*, to be the only Subſtance, and all other things beſides, the meer *Accidents* thereof, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it. For though that *Secondary* and *Participated Life*, (as it is called) in the *Bodies of Animals*, be indeed a meer *Accident*, and ſuch as may be Preſent or Abſent without the Deſtruction of its Subject; yet can there be no Reaſon given, why the *Primary* and *Original Life* it ſelf, ſhould not be as well a *Subſtantial Thing*, as meer *Extenſion* and *Magnitude*. Again that *Extenſion* and *Life*, or *Cogitation*, are not *Two Inadequate Conceptions* neither, of one and the ſelf ſame *Subſtance*, conſidered brokenly and by piecemeal; as if either all *Extenſion* had *Life* and *Cogitation* Eſſentially belonging to it, (as the *Hylozoiſts* conclude) or at leaſt all *Life* and *Cogitation* had *Extenſion*; and conſequently all *Souls* and *Minds*, and even the *Deity* it ſelf were, either *Extended Life and Cogitation*; or *Living and Thinking Extenſion* (there being nothing in Nature Unextended; but *Extenſion* the only *Entity*, ſo that whatſoever is devoid thereof, is *ipſo facto*, *Abſolutely Nothing*.) This, I ſay, will alſo appear from hence, becauſe as hath been already declared, we cannot Conceive a *Life* or *Mind* or *Thought*, nor any thing at all belonging to a *Cogitative Being* as ſuch (as *Wiſdom*, *Folly*, *Vertue*, *Vice*, *&c.*) to be *Extended* into *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thickneſs*, and to be *Menſurable* by Inches, Feet, and Yards. From whence it may be concluded, that *Extenſion*, and *Life* or *Cogitation*, are no *Inadequate Conceptions* of One and the ſelf ſame thing, ſince they cannot be Complicated together into one, but that they are diſtinct *Subſtances* from each other. *Lives* and *Minds*, are ſuch *Tight* and *Compact Things* in themſelves, and have ſuch a *Self-Unity* in their Nature, as that they cannot be lodged, in that which is wholly *Scattered* out from it ſelf into *Diſtance*, and *Diſperſed* into Infinite *Multiplicity*; nor be ſpread all over upon the ſame as coextended with it. Nor is it conceivable, how all the ſeveral Parts of an *Extended Magnitude*, ſhould Joyntly concur and contribute, to the Production of *One* and the ſame *Single* and *Indiviſible Cogitation*; or how that whole *Heap* or Bundle of things, ſhould be *One Thinker*. A *Thinker*, is a *Monade*, or one *Single Subſtance*, and not a *Heap* of *Subſtances*: whereas no Body or *Extended thing*, is *One*, but *Many Subſtances*, every Conceivable or Smalleſt part thereof, being a Real *Subſtance* by it ſelf.

But this will yet further appear, if we conſider, what kind of *Acti-*

on

on Cogitation is. The *Action* of an *Extended Thing* as such, is nothing but *Local Motion*, Change of Distance, or Translation from Place to Place, a meer Outside and Superficial thing; but it is certain, that *Cogitation*, (*Phancy*, *Intellection*, and *Volition*) are no *Local* Motions; nor the meer *Fridging* up and and down, of the Parts of an Extended Substance, changing their *Place* and *Distance*; but it is Unquestionably, an *Internal Energie*; that is, such an *Energie* as is *Within* the very *Substance* or Essence, of that which *Thinketh*; or in the *Inside* of it. From which Two kinds of *Energies*, we may now conclude, that there are also Two kinds of *Entity* or *Substance* in Nature; the *One meer Outside*, and which hath Nothing *Within it*; the Other such a kind of *Entity*, as hath an *Internal Energie*; Acteth *From it self*, and *Within it self*, and *Upon it self*; an *Inside Thing*, whose Action is *Within* the very *Essence* or Substance thereof. It being plain, that the *Cogitative* or *Thinking Nature*, is such a thing, as hath an *Essential Inside* or *Profundity*. Now this *Inside* of *Cogitative Beings*, wherein they thus Act or *Think* Internally within themselves, cannot have any *Length*, *Breadth*, or *Thickness* in it, because if it had, it would be again a meer *Outside thing*. Wherefore had all *Cogitative Beings*, (Souls and Minds) *Extension* and *Magnitude* never so much belonging to them, as some suppose them to have, yet could this for all that, be Nothing but the meer *Outside* of their Being, besides which, they must of necessity have also, an *Unextended Inside*, that hath no *Outswelling Tumour*, and is not *Scattered* into *Distance*, nor *Dispersed* into *Multiplicity*, which therefore could not possibly Exist a *Part* in a *Part*, of the supposed *Extension*, as if one *Half* of a *Mind* or *Thought*, were in One Half of that *Extension*, and another in another; but must of necessity be All *Undividedly*, both in the *Whole of it*, and in every *Part*. For had every *Twentieth* or *Hundredth* Part of this *Extensum*, not the Whole of a *Life* or *Mind* in it, but only the *Twentieth* or *Hundredth Part* thereof, then could none of them have any true *Life* or *Mind* at all, nor consequently the Whole have any. Nor indeed is it otherwise conceivable, how a whole Quantity of Extended Substance should be *One thing*, and have One *Personality*, one *I My Self* in it all, were there not *One Indivisible thing*, Presiding over it, which *Held it* all together, and *Diffused* it self thorough all. And thus do we see, how this *Whole in the Whole and in every Part* (do men what they can) will like a Ghost still haunt them, and follow them every where. But now it is Impossible, that One and the self same *Substance*, should be both *Extended* and *Unextended*. Wherefore in this *Hypothesis* of *Extended Understanding Spirits*, having One *Part* without Another, there is an Undiscerned *Complication* of *Two Distinct Substances*, *Extended* and *Unextended*, or *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal*, both together; and a *Confusion* of them into One. Where notwithstanding, we must acknowledge, that there is so much of Truth aimed at; as that all *Finite Incorporeal Substances*, are always Naturally united to *Some Bodies*, so that the Whole of these *Created Animals*, is Compleated and Made up of Both these together, an *Extended Inside*, and an *Unextended Outside*; both of them Substances indeed Really distinct, but yet *Vitally United*, each to other.

The

The Sum of all is, That there are *Two kinds* of *Subſtances* in *Nature*, the Firſt *Extenſion* or *Magnitude*, Really Exiſting without the Mind, which is a thing that hath no *Self-Unity* at all in it; but is *Infinite Alterity* and *Diviſibility*, as it is alſo meer *Outſide* and *Outwardneſs*, it having nothing *Within*; nor any other *Action* belonging to it, but only *Locally to Move*, when it is Moved. The *Second*, *Life* and *Mind*; or the Self Active *Cogitative Nature*, an *Inſide Being*, whoſe *Action* is not *Local Motion*, but an *Internal Energy*, *Within* the *Subſtance* or *Eſſence* of the *Thinker* himſelf, or in the *Inſide* of him; which therefore (though *Unextended*, yet) hath a certain *Inward Receſs*, Βάθος, or *Eſſential Profundity*. And this is a thing which can Act all of it Entirely, upon either a Greater or Leſſer Quantity of *Extended Subſtance* or Body, and its Several Parts, Penetrating into it, and *Coexiſting* in the ſame Place with it. Wherefore it is not to be looked upon, either as a *Mathematical*, or as a *Phyſical Point*, as an *Abſolute Parvitude* or the *Leaſt Extenſum* poſſible; it having not only ſuch an *Eſſential Inſide*, *Bathos*, or *Profundity* in it, wherein it *Acteth* and *Thinketh* within it ſelf, but alſo a certain *Amplitude* of *Active Power ad Extra*, or a *Sphere of Activity* upon Body. Upon which account, it was before affirmed by *Plotinus*, that an *Unextended Incorporeal*, is a thing *Bigger* than *Body*; becauſe Body cannot Exiſt otherwiſe, than a Point of it in a Point of Space, whereas this *One and the ſame Indiviſible*, can at once both comprehend a Whole *Extenſum* within it, and be All of it in every Part thereof. And Laſtly, all Finite *Incorporeals*, are always Naturally United to ſome Body or other; from both which together, is Compleated and Made up, in every Created Underſtanding Being, one entire *Animal*, conſiſting of *Soul* and *Body*, and having Something Incorporeal, and ſomething *Corporeal* in it; an *Unextended Inſide*, and an Extended Outſide; by means whereof, it is determined to *Here* and *There*, and Capable of moving *Locally*, or *Changing Place*.

Thus have we repreſented the ſenſe of the Ancient *Unextended Incorporealiſts* to the beſt advantage that we could; in way of Anſwer to the premiſed *Atheiſtick Argument*, againſt *Incorporeal Subſtance*; and in order to the Vindication of them from the Contempt of Atheiſts; And we do affirm, that the forementioned Argumentations of theirs, do evince, That there is ſome other *Subſtance* beſides *Body*, which therefore according to the Principles of theſe Atheiſts themſelves, muſt be acknowledged to be *Unextended*, it being concluded by them that whatſoever is *Extended* is *Body*. But whether they do alſo, abſolutely prove, that there is, ὐσία ἀμεγέθης, ἀδιάστατος, ἀμερὴς, and ἀδιαίρετος, *A Subſtance Devoid of Magnitude*, *Indiſtant*, *Without Parts*, *and Indiviſible*; this we ſhall leave others to make a Judgment of. However it is certain that Atheiſts who maintain the contrary, muſt needs aſſert, that every *Thought*, and whatſoever belongeth to Soul, Mind, (as Knowledge, Virtue, *&c.*) is not only *Mentally* and *Mathematically Diviſible*, ſo that there may be *Half*, a *Third* Part, or a *Quarter* of a *Thought*, and the Reſt, ſuppoſed; but alſo *Phyſically Separable*, or *Diſcerpible*, together

gether with the Soul wherein it is. They must also deny, that there is any *Internal Energy* at all, or any other Action besides that Outside *Superficial Action*, of *Local Motion*, and Consequently make all Cogitation nothing but *Local Motion*, or Translation. And Lastly, they must maintain, that no Substance can Co-exist with any other *Substance* (as Soul with Body) otherwise than by *Juxta-Position* only, and by Possessing the Pores, or filling up the Intervals thereof; as a Net with the water.

And this is the First Answer to the forementioned *Atheistick Argument*, against *Incorporeal Substance*. That though whatsoever is *Extended* be Body, yet Every thing is not *Extended*, but that *Life* and *Mind* or *Cogitation*, are an *Unextended*, Indistant and Indivisible *Nature*. But as we have already intimated, There are other Learned Asserters of *Incorporeal Substance*, who lest, *God* and *Spirits*, being thus made *Unextended*; should quite Vanish into Nothing; Answer that *Atheistick Argumentation* after a different manner; by granting to these Atheists, that Proposition, that *whatsoever Is*, is *Extended*; and what is *Unextended* is *Nothing*; but then denying that other of theirs, That *whatsoever* is *Extended* is *Body*: They asserting, Another *Extension*, *Specifically* Differing from that of Bodies. For whereas *Corporeal Extension*, is not only *Impenetrable*, so as that no one Part thereof, can Enter into another, but also both *Mentally* and *Really Divisible*; one Part being in its Nature Separable from another; they affirm, that there is another *Incorporeal Extension*, which is both *Penetrable*, and also Indiscerpible; so that no One Part thereof, can possibly be *Separated* from another, or the *whole*; and that to such an *Incorporeal Extension*, as this, belongeth *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, the Deity having such an *Infinite Extension*, but all Created Spirits, a Finite and Limited one: which also is in them supposed to be *Contractible* and *Dilatable*. Now it is not our part here, to oppose *Theists*, but *Atheists*: wherefore we shall leave these *Two Sorts* of *Incorporealists* to dispute it out friendly amongst themselves; and indeed therefore with the more *Moderation*, *Equanimity*, and *Toleration* of Dissent Mutually; because it seemeth, that Some are in a manner Fatally Inclined, to think one way in this Controversie, and Some another. And what ever the Truth of the Case be, it must be acknowledged, that this Latter *Hypothesis*, may be very useful and Serviceable to retain some in Theism, who can by no means admit, of a *Deity*, or Any thing else, *Unextended*. Though perhaps, there will not be wanting others also; who would go in a middle way betwixt these Two, or Compound them together; by supposing the *Deity* to be indeed altogether *Unextended*, and all of it Every where; but *Finite Incorporeals* or *Created Spirits*, to have an *Unextended Inside*, a *Life* or *Mind*, Diffusing it self into a certain *Amplitude of Outward Extension*, whereby they are Determined to a Place; yet so as to be all in every Part thereof; which *Outward Extension*, is therefore not to be *Accounted Body*, because *Penetrable*, *Contractable*, and *Dilatable*; and because no one Part thereof is *Separable* from the rest, by the Rushing or Incursion of any Corporeal thing upon them. And thus is the

Atheist

Atheiſts Argument, againſt Incorporeal Subſtance, Anſwered Two manner of ways; Firſt, That there *Is Something Unextended*; and Secondly, That If *there were* none, yet muſt *there of neceſſity* be, a *Subſtance otherwiſe Extended* than *Body is*, ſo as to be neither *Antitypous* nor *Diſcerpible*. And Our ſelves would not be Underſtood here, Dogmatically to Aſſert any thing in this Point, ſave only what all *Incorporealiſts* do agree in; To wit, That beſides *Body*, which is *Impenetrably* and *Diviſibly Extended*, there is in Nature another *Subſtance*, that is both *Penetrable* of Body and *Indiſcerpible*; or which doth not Conſiſt, of *Parts Separable from one another*. And that there is at leaſt, ſuch a Subſtance as this, is unqueſtionably manifeſt, from what hath been already declared.

But the *Atheiſt* will in the next place, give an Account of the *Original* of this *Errour* (as He calls it) of *Incorporeal Subſtance*, and Undertake to ſhow, from what *Miſtake* it proceeded; which is yet another *Pretended Confutation* thereof. Namely, that it ſprung Partly from the *Abuſe* of *Abſtract Names* and *Notions*, Men making *Subſtances* of them, and Partly from the *Scholaſtick Eſſences*, Diſtinct from the Things themſelves, and ſaid to be *Eternal*. From both which Deluſions and Dotages together, the *Atheiſt* conceives, that Men have been firſt of all much Confirmed in the *Belief* of *Ghoſts* and *Spirits*, *Demons* and *Devils*, *Inviſible Beings* called by ſeveral Names. Which Belief had alſo another *Original*, mens *Miſtaking* their own *Phancies* for *Realities*. The Chief of all which affrightful *Ghoſts* and *Spectres*, according to theſe *Atheiſts* is the *Deity*, the *Oberon*, or *Prince* of *Fairies* and *Phancies*. But then whereas men by their Natural Reaſon, could not conceive otherwiſe, of theſe *Ghoſts* and *Spirits*, then that they were a kind of *Thin*, *Aerial Bodies*; their Underſtandings have been ſo *Enchanted* by theſe *Abſtract Names* (which are indeed the *Names of Nothing*) and thoſe *Separate Eſſences* and *Quiddities* of *Scholaſticks*, as that they have made *Incorporeal Subſtances* of them. The *Atheiſtick Concluſion* is; That they who aſſert an *Incorporeal Deity*, do Really but make a *Scholaſtick Separate Eſſence*, or the meer *Abſtract Notion of an Accident*, a *Subſtantial Thing*, and a *Ghoſt* or *Spirit*, preſiding over the whole world.

To which our Reply in General firſt of all is, That all this, is Nothing but *Idle Romantick Fiction*, The Belief of a *Deity* and *Subſtance Incorporeal*, ſtanding upon none of thoſe *Imaginary Foundations*. And then as for that *Impudent Atheiſtick Pretence*, That the *Deity* is *Nothing* but a *Figment* or *Creature* of Men's *Fear* and *Imagination*, and therefore the *Prince* of *Fairies* and *Phancies*. This hath been already Sufficiently Confuted, in our *Anſwer* to the Firſt *Atheiſtick Argumentation*. Where we have alſo over and above ſhew'd, that there is not only a *Natural Prolepſis* or *Anticipation* of a God in the Minds of Men, but alſo that the *Belief* thereof, is Supported by the ſtrongeſt and moſt Subſtantial Reaſon; His *Exiſtence* Being indeed Demonſtrable, with *Mathematical Evidence*, to ſuch as are capable; and not blinded with Prejudice, nor *Enchanted* by the Witchcraft of Vice, and Wickedneſs, to the *Debauching* of their Underſtandings. It hath been

From P. 654. to 663.

been alſo ſhewed, that the Opinion of other *Ghoſts* and *Spirits* beſides the *Deity*, Sprung not meerly from *Fear* and *Phancy* neither, as *Childrens Bugbears*, but from *Real Phænomena*; *True Senſible Apparitions*, with the *Hiſtories* of them in all Ages, without which the Belief of ſuch things could never have held up ſo Generally and Conſtantly in the World. As likewiſe that there is no Repugnancy at all to Reaſon, but that there may be as well, *Aerial* and *Etherial*, as there are *Terreſtrial Animals*; and that the *Dull and Earthy Stupidity* of mens Minds, is the Only thing which makes them, ſo prone to think, that there is no *Underſtanding Nature*, Superior to Mankind; but that in the world, all is *Dead* about Us; and to diſbelieve the *Exiſtence* of any thing, which themſelves Cannot, either *See* or *Feel*. Aſſuredly, The *Deity* is no *Phancy*; but the Greateſt *Reality* in the world, and that without which, there could be *Nothing* at all *Real*; it being the only *Neceſſary Exiſtent*; and Conſequently Atheiſm is either meer *Sottiſhneſs*, or elſe a ſtrange kind of *Irreligious Fanaticiſm*.

We now further add, that the *Belief* of *Ghoſts* and *Spirits Incorporeal*, and conſequently of an *Incorporeal Deity*, ſprung neither from any Ridiculous Miſtake of the *Abſtract Names* and *Notions* of meer *Accidents*, for *Subſtances*, nor from the Scholaſtick *Eſſences*, ſaid to be *Eternal*. For as for the Latter, none of thoſe Scholaſticks ever Dream'd, that there was any *Univerſal Man*, or *Univerſal Horſe*, Exiſting alone by it ſelf, and Separate from all Singulars; nor that the *Abſtract Metaphyſical Eſſences* of men, after they were Dead, Subſiſting by themſelves, did Walk up and down amongſt Graves, in *Airy Bodies*. It being abſolutely impoſſible, that the *Real Eſſence* of any thing ſhould be *Separable* from the thing it ſelf, or *Eternal*, when that is not ſo. And were the *Eſſences* of all things, look'd upon by theſe *Scholaſticks*, as *Subſtances Incorporeal*, then muſt they have made all things, (even Body it ſelf,) to be Ghoſts, and Spirits, and Incorporeal; and *Accidents* alſo, (they having their Eſſences too) to be *Subſtantial*. But in very Truth, theſe *Scholaſtick Eſſences*, ſaid to be *Eternal*, are nothing but the *Intelligible Eſſences* of things, or their Natures as *Conceivable*, and *Objects* of the Mind. And in this Senſe, is it an acknowledged *Truth*, that the *Eſſences* of things, (as for example of a *Sphere*, or *Triangle*) are *Eternal*, and ſuch as were never *Made*, becauſe there could not otherwiſe be, *Eternal Verities* concerning them. So that the True meaning of theſe *Eternal Eſſences*, is indeed no other than this, *That Knowledge is Eternal*; or that there is an *Eternal Mind*, that comprehendeth the *Intelligible Natures* and *Ideas* of all things, whether Actually exiſting, or Poſſible only; their Neceſſary relations to one another, and all the *Immutable Verities* belonging to them. Wherefore though theſe *Eternal Eſſences* themſelves, be no *Ghoſts* nor *Spirits*, nor *Subſtances Incorporeal*, they being nothing but *Objective Entities* of the Mind, or *Noemata*, and *Ideas*; yet does it plainly follow, from the Neceſſary Suppoſition of them (as was before declared) That there is *One Eternal Unmade Mind*, and Perfect *Incorporeal Deity*, a Real and *Subſtantial Ghoſt* or *Spirit*, which comprehending *It ſelf*, and all the Extent of its own Power, the *Poſſibilities* of things, and their *Intelligible Natures*, together with an *Exem-*

plar or *Platform* of the whole World; Produced the ſame accordingly.

But our *Atheiſtick Argumentator*, yet further urges, That thoſe *Scholaſticks* and *Metaphyſicians*, who becauſe *Life* or *Cogitation*, can be conſidered alone *Abſtractly*, without the *Conſideration* of *Body*, therefore conclude it not to be the *Accident* or *Action* of a *Body*, but a *Subſtance* by it ſelf, (and which alſo after men are Dead, can Walk amongſt the Graves) that theſe, (I ſay) do ſo far Abuſe, thoſe *Abſtract Names* and *Notions* (of meer *Accidents*, as plainly to make *Subſtances Incorporeal* of them. To which therefore we Reply alſo, That were the *Abſtract Notions* of *Accidents* in General, made *Incorporeal Subſtances*, by thoſe Philoſophers aimed at; then muſt they have ſuppoſed all the *Qualities* or *Affections* of Bodies, ſuch as *Whiteneſs* and *Blackneſs*, *Heat* and *Cold*, and the like, to have been *Subſtances Incorporeal* alſo; a thing yet never heard, or thought of. But the Caſe is far otherwiſe, as to *Conſcious Life*, or *Cogitation*, though it be an *Abſtract* alſo; becauſe this, is no *Accident of Body*, as the *Atheiſt* (Serving his own *Hypotheſis*,) ſecurely takes it for granted, nor indeed, of any thing elſe; but an *Eſſential Attribute*, of another *Subſtance*, diſtinct from Body, (or *Incorporeal*;) after the ſame manner, as *Extenſion* or *Magnitude*, is *the Eſſential Attribute of Body*, and not a meer *Accident*.

And now having ſo copiouſly Confuted, all the moſt Conſiderable *Atheiſtick Grounds*, we are neceſſitated to diſpatch thoſe that follow, being of leſſer Moment, with all poſſible Brevity and Compendiouſneſs. The *Four* next, which are the *Fifth*, *Sixth*, *Seventh*, and *Eighth*, *Atheiſtick Argumentations*, pretend to no more than only this, to diſprove a *Corporeal Deity*; or from the Suppoſition, That there is no other *Subſtance* in the World beſides Body, to infer the *Impoſſibility* of *a God*, that is, of an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, the *Maker* and *Governour* of the Whole World: all Which therefore ſignifie nothing at all, to the Aſſerters of a Deity *Incorporeal*, who are the only *Genuine Theiſts*. Nevertheleſs, though none but *Stoicks*, and ſuch other *Corporealiſts*, as are notwithſtanding *Theiſts*, be directly concerned in an Anſwer to them; yet ſhall we firſt, ſo far conſider the *Principles* of the *Atheiſtick Corporealiſm*, contained in thoſe Two Heads, the *Fifth* and *Sixth*, as from the Abſolute *Impoſſibility* of theſe *Hypotheſes* to Demonſtrate, a Neceſſity of *Incorporeal Subſtance*; from whence a *Deity* will alſo follow.

Here therefore, are there *Two Atheiſtick Hypotheſes*, founded upon the Suppoſition; That *All* is *Body*; The Firſt, in the way of *Qualities*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, which we call the *Hylopathian*; The Second in the way of *Unqualified Atoms*; which is the *Atomick*, *Corporealiſm* and *Atheiſm*. The Former of theſe, was the moſt Ancient, and the Firſt *Sciography*, or *Rude Delineation* of Atheiſm. For *Ariſtotle* tells us, That the moſt *Ancient Atheiſts*, were thoſe who ſuppoſed, *Matter* or *Body*, that is *Bulkie Extenſion*, to be the only *Subſtance*, and *Unmade thing*, that out of which all things

things were Made, and into which all things are again Reſolved; Whatſoever is elſe in the world, being nothing, but the *Paſſions*, *Qualities*, and *Accidents* thereof, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, or *Producible* out of *Nothing*, and *Reducible to Nothing* again. From whence the Neceſſary Conſequence is, That there is no *Eternal Unmade Life* or *Underſtanding*; or that *Mind*, is no *God*, or *Principle* in the Univerſe, but Eſſentially a *Creature*.

And this *Hylopathian Atheiſm*, which ſuppoſeth whatſoever is in the Univerſe, to be either the Subſtance of *Matter* and *Bulk*, or elſe the *Qualities* and *Accidents* thereof, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, hath been called alſo by us *Anaximandrian*. Though we deny not, but that there might be formerly, ſome Difference amongſt the Atheiſts of this Kind; nor are we ignorant, that *Simplicius* and others, conceive *Anaximander*, to have aſſerted beſides Matter, *Qualities* alſo *Eternal* and *Unmade*, or an *Homœomery*, and *Similar Atomology*, juſt in the ſame manner as *Anaxagoras* afterwards did, ſave only, that He would not acknowledge any *Unmade Mind* or *Life*; *Anaximander* ſuppoſing all *Life* and *Underſtanding* whatſoever, all *Soul* and *Mind*, to have Riſen up, and been Generated from a Fortuitous *Commixture* of thoſe *Similar Atoms*, or the *Qualities* of *Heat* and *Cold*, *Moiſt* and *Dry*, and the like, Contempered together. And we confeſs, that there is ſome probability for this Opinion. Notwithſtanding which, becauſe there is no Abſolute certainty thereof, and becauſe all theſe Ancient Atheiſts agreed in this, that *Life* and *Underſtanding*, are either *Firſt* and *Primary*, or elſe *Secondary Qualities* of Body, *Generable* and *Corruptible*; Therefore did we not think fit, to *Multiply Forms* of Atheiſm, but rather to make but one kind of *Atheiſm*, of all this, calling it indifferently, *Hylopathian*, or *Anaximandrian*.

The *Second Atheiſtick Hypotheſis*, is that *Form of Atheiſm* deſcribed Under the *Sixth Head*, which likewiſe ſuppoſing *Body* to be the only *Subſtance*; and the *Principles thereof*, devoid of *Life* and *Underſtanding*; does reject all Real *Qualities*, according to the Vulgar Notion of them, and Generate all things whatſoever, beſides Matter meerly from the Combinations, of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, or the *Contextures* of *Unqualified Atoms*, *Life* and *Underſtanding* not excepted: Which therefore according to them being no *Simple Primitive* and *Primordial* thing, but *Secondary*, *Compounded* and *Derivative*, the meer *Creature* of *Matter* and *Motion*, could not poſſibly be a God or *Firſt Principle* in the Univerſe. This is that *Atomick Atheiſm*, called Democritical; *Leucippus* and *Democritus* being the Firſt Founders thereof. For though there was before them, another *Atomology*, which made *Unqualified Atoms*, the *Principles* of all *Bodies*, it ſuppoſing beſides *Body*, *Subſtance Incorporeal*, yet were theſe, as *Laertius* declareth, the Firſt that ever made, ἀρχὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους, *Senſleſs Atoms the Principles of all things whatſoever, even of Life and Underſtanding, Soul and Mind.*

Indeed it cannot be denied, but that from theſe *Two Things* granted, That all is Body, and That the *Principles* of Body, are devoid of

all *Life* and *Underſtanding*, it will follow unavoidably, that there can be, no *Corporeal Deity*. Wherefore the *Stoicks* who profeſſed to acknowledge no other *Subſtance* beſides Body, and yet nevertheleſs, had a ſtrong Perſwaſion of the *Exiſtence* of a *God*, or an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, the *Maker of the whole World*, denied that other Propoſition of the *Atheiſtick Corporealiſts*, that the *Principles* of all *Bodies* were devoid of *Life* and *Underſtanding*, they aſſerting an *Intellectual Fire*, *Eternal* and *Unmade*, the Maker of the whole Mundane Syſtem, Which *Poſtulatum*, of a *Living Intellectual Body Eternal*, were it granted to theſe Stoicks, yet could not this their Corporeal God notwithſtanding, be *Abſolutely Incorruptible*, as *Origen* often inculcateth, ὁ θεὸς τοῖς Στωικοῖς ὅτι σῶμα, ὃν αἰσθόμενος λέγει αὐτὸν τρεπτὸν, καὶ δὲ ὅλων ἀλλοιωτὸν καὶ μεταβλητὸν, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς δυνάμενον φθαρῆναι, ὥστε τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ φθεῖρον αὐτόν. *God to the Stoicks, is a Body, and therefore Mutable, Alterable, and Changeable, and he would indeed be perfectly Corruptible, were there any other Body to act upon him. Wherefore he is only Happy in this, that he wants a Corrupter or Deſtroyer.* And thus much was therefore rightly urged, by the *Atheiſtick Argumentator*, that no *Corporeal Deity*, could be Abſolutely in its own Nature *Incorruptible*, nor otherwiſe than by *Accident* only *Immortal*, becauſe of its *Diviſibility*. For were there any other Matter without this World, to make Inroads or Incurſions upon it, or to *Diſunite* the Parts thereof, the *Life* and *Unity* of the *Stoical Corporeal God*, muſt needs be Scattered and Deſtroyed. And therefore of this Stoical God, does the ſame *Origen* thus further write, ὁ τῶν Στωικῶν θεὸς, ὅτε σῶμα τυγχάνων, ὁτὲ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν ἔχει τὸν ὅλην οὐσίαν, ὅταν ἡ ἐκπύρωσις ᾖ· ὁτὲ δὲ ὁπὸ μέρος γίνεται αὐτῆς, ὅταν ᾖ διακόσμησις· οὐδὲ γὰρ δεδύνηνται ἔτι τεχνᾶσαι τῷ φυσικῷ τῶν θεὸν ἔννοιαν, ὡς πάντῃ ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἁπλοῦ, καὶ ἀσυνθέτου, καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου· *The God of the Stoicks being a Body, hath ſometimes the whole for its Hegemonick in the Conflagration; and ſometimes only a part of the Mundane Matter. For theſe Men were not able to reach, to a clear Notion of the Deity, as a Being every way Incorruptible, Simple, Uncompounded, and Indiviſible.* Notwithſtanding which, theſe *Stoicks*, were not therefore to be ranked amongſt the Atheiſts, but far to be preferred before them, and accounted only a kind of *Imperfect Theiſts*.

L. 1. C. Celſ. P. 17.

P. 169.

But we ſhall now make it evident, that in both theſe *Atheiſtick Corporealiſms*, (agreeing in thoſe *Two* things, That *Body is the only Subſtance*, and That the *Principles of Body are not Vital*) there is an *Abſolute Impoſſibility*; not only becauſe, as *Ariſtotle* objecteth, they ſuppoſed no *Active Principle*; but alſo becauſe their bringing of Life and Underſtanding (being Real Entities) out of *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter* is alſo the Bringing of *Something* out of Nothing. And indeed the *Atomick Atheiſt*, is here of the two rather the more Abſurd and Unreaſonable, for as much as he diſcarding all Real Qualities, and that for this very Reaſon, becauſe *Nothing can come out of Nothing*, doth himſelf notwithſtanding, produce *Life*, *Senſe*, and *Underſtanding* (Unqueſtionable Realities) out of meer *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*; that is, indeed, *Out of Nothing*. Wherefore there being an *Abſolute Impoſſibility*, of both theſe *Atheiſtick Hypotheſes*, (neither of

of which is able to ſalve the *Phænomenon* of *Life* and *Underſtanding*) from that confeſſed Principle of theirs, that *Matter* as ſuch, hath no *Life* nor *Underſtanding* belonging to it, it follows unavoydably, that there muſt be ſome other *Subſtance* beſides *Body* or *Matter*, which is Eſſentially *Vital* and *Intellectual*: Οὐ γὰρ πάντα χρῆται ἐπακτῷ ζωῇ, *Becauſe all things cannot poſſibly have a Peregrine, Adventitious and Borrowed Life*, but ſomething in the Univerſe, muſt needs have Life Naturally and Originally. All Life cannot be meerly *Accidental*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, producible out of nothing and *Reducible to Nothing* again, but there muſt of Neceſſity be, ſome *Subſtantial Life*, Which Point (That all Life, is not a meer *Accident*, but that there is Life Subſtantial) hath been of late with much Reaſon and Judgment, inſiſted upon, and Urged by the Writer *Of the Life of Nature*. Neither muſt there be only, ſuch a *Subſtantial Life*, as is Naturally *Immortal* for the future, but alſo ſuch as is *Eternal*, and was never Made; all other *Lives* and *Minds* whatſoever, (none of which could poſſibly be Generated out of *Matter*) being derived from this *Eternal Unmade Fountain*, of *Life* and *Underſtanding*.

Which thing, the Hylozoick Atheiſts being well aware of; namely, that there muſt of Neceſſity be, both *Subſtantial* and *Eternal Unmade Life*; but ſuppoſing alſo *Matter* to be the only Subſtance; thought themſelves neceſſitated, to attribute to all Matter as ſuch, *Life* and *Underſtanding*, though not *Animaliſh* and *Conſcious*, but *Natural* only: they conceiving, that from the *Modification* thereof alone by *Organization*, all other *Animaliſh Life*, not only the *Senſitive* in *Brutes*, but alſo the Rational in Men, was derived. But this *Hylozoick Atheiſm*, thus bringing all *Conſcious* and *Reflexive Life* or *Animality*, out of a Suppoſed *Senſleſs Stupid* and *Inconſcious Life* of Nature, in *Matter*, and that meerly from a different *Accidental Modification* thereof, or *Contexture* of Parts, does again plainly bring *Something out of Nothing*, which is an Abſolute Impoſſibility. Moreover this *Hylozoick Atheiſm*, was long ſince and in the firſt Emerſion thereof Solidly Confuted by the *Atomick Atheiſts*, after this manner; If *Matter* as ſuch, had *Life*, *Perception*, and *Underſtanding* belonging to it, then of Neceſſity muſt every *Atom* or *Smalleſt Particle* thereof, be a *Diſtinct Percipient* by it ſelf; from whence it will follow, that there could not poſſibly be, any ſuch *Men* and *Animals* as now are, Compounded out of them, but every Man and Animal, would be a *Heap* of *Innumerable Percipients*, and have Innumerable *Perceptions* and *Intellections*; whereas it is plain, that there is but one *Life* and *Underſtanding*, one *Soul* or *Mind*, one *Perceiver* or *Thinker* in every one. And to ſay, that theſe innumerable *Particles* of *Matter*, Do all *Confederate* together; that is, to make every Man and Animal, to be a *Multitude* or *Common-wealth* of *Percipients* and Perſons as it were clubbing together; is a thing ſo *Abſurd* and Ridiculous, that one would wonder, the *Hylozoiſts* ſhould not rather chuſe, to recant that their *Fundamental Errour*, of the Life of *Matter*, than endeavour to ſeek Shelter and Sanctuary for the ſame, under ſuch a *Pretence*. For though Voluntary *Agents* and *Perſons*, may Many of them, reſign up their wills to One, and by that means, have all but as it were One

Artificial

Artificial Will, yet can they not poſſibly reſign up their *Senſe* and *Underſtanding* too, ſo as to have all but one Artificial Life, Senſe, and Underſtanding: much leſs could this be done, by Senſeleſs *Atoms*, or *Particles of Matter* ſuppoſed, to be devoid of all *Conſciouſneſs* or *Animality*. Beſides which, there have been other *Arguments* already ſuggeſted, which do ſufficiently Evince, that *Senſe* and *Underſtanding* cannot poſſibly belong to Matter any way, either *Originally* or *Secondarily*, to which more may be added elſe where.

And now from theſe Two things, That *Life* and *Underſtanding* do not *Eſſentially* belong to *Matter* as ſuch, and that they cannot be Generated out of *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter*, it is Demonſtratively Certain, that there muſt be ſome other *Subſtance*, beſides *Body* or *Matter*. However, the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheiſts* taking it for granted, that the Firſt *Principles* of *Body*, are devoid of all *Life* and *Underſtanding*, muſt either acknowledge a Neceſſity, of ſome other *Subſtance* beſides *Body*, or elſe deny the Truth of that Axiom, ſo much made uſe of by themſelves, That *Nothing can come out of Nothing*. And this was our *Second Undertaking*, to ſhew that from the very *Principles* of the *Atheiſtick Corporealiſm*, repreſented in the *Fifth* and *Sixth* Heads, *Incorporeal Subſtance* is, againſt thoſe Atheiſts themſelves Demonſtrable.

Our *Third* and *Laſt* was this, That there being undeniably *Subſtance Incorporeal*, the Two next following *Atheiſtick Argumentations*, built upon the contrary Suppoſition, are therefore altogether *Inſignificant* alſo, and do no Execution at all. The firſt of which (being the Seventh) Impugning only, ſuch a *Soul of the World*, as is *Generated* out of *Matter*, is not properly Directed againſt Theiſm neither, but only ſuch a Form of Atheiſm (ſometime before mentioned) as indeed cometh neareſt to Theiſm. Which though concluding all things to have ſprung Originally, from Senſleſs Matter, *Night* and *Chaos*; yet ſuppoſes things from thence to have aſcended *Gradually*, to higher and higher perfection; Firſt, *Inanimate Bodies*, as the *Elements*, then Birds and other Brute Animals (according to the forementioned Ariſtophanick Tradition, with which agreeth this of *Lucretius*,

Principio Genus Alituum, variæque Volucres.)

Afterward Men; and in the laſt place Gods; and that not only the Animated Stars, but *Jupiter* or a *Soul* of the world, Generated alſo out of *Night* and *Chaos*, as well as all other things. We grant indeed, that the True and Real Theiſts amongſt the Ancient Pagans alſo, held the *World's Animation*, and whoſoever denied the ſame, were therefore accompted *Abſolute Atheiſts*. But the *World's Animation*, in a larger Senſe, ſignifies no more than this, That all things are not Dead about us, but that there is a *Living Sentient* and *Underſtanding Nature Eternal*, that firſt *Framed* the World, and ſtill Preſideth over it: and it is certain, that in this Senſe, all *Theiſts* whatſoever, muſt hold the *World's Animation*. But the Generality of Pagan Theiſts held the

World's

World's Animation alſo in a ſtricter Senſe; as if the World were Truly and Properly an *Animal*, and therefore a *God*, Compleated and made up, of *Soul and Body together*, as other Animals are. Which *Soul* of this great *World-Animal*, was to ſome of them the *Higheſt* or *Supreme Deity*, but to others only a *Secondary God*, they ſuppoſing an *Abſtract Mind Superiour* to it. But God's being the *Soul of the World* in this Latter *Paganick* Senſe, and the World's being an *Animal* or a *God*; are things Abſolutely diſclaimed and renounced by us. However this Seventh *Atheiſtick Argument*, is not directed againſt the *Soul* of the world in the Senſe of the *Paganick Theiſts* neither, this being, as they think, already Confuted, but in the Senſe of the *Atheiſtick Theogoniſts*; not an *Eternal Unmade Soul* or *Mind*, but a *Native* and *Generated* One only, ſuch as reſulted from the *Diſpoſition* of *Matter*, and *Contexture* of *Atoms*, the *Offspring of Night and Chaos*: the Atheiſts here pretending, after their Confutation of the True and Genuine Theiſm, to take away all *Shadows* thereof alſo, and ſo to free Men from all manner of *Fear*, of being obnoxious to any Underſtanding Being, Superiour to themſelves. Wherefore we might here omit the Confutation of this *Argument*, without any detriment at all, to the *Cauſe of Theiſm*. Nevertheleſs becauſe this in General, is an *Atheiſtick Aſſertion*, That there is no *Life* and *Underſtanding*, preſiding over the Whole World, we ſhall briefly examine the Suppoſed Grounds thereof, which alone will be a ſufficient Confutation of it. The *Firſt* of them therefore is this, that there is no other *Subſtance* in the world beſides Body; The Second, That the Principles of Bodies, are devoid of all *Life* and *Underſtanding*; and the *Laſt*, That *Life* and *Underſtanding* are but *Accidents of Bodies* reſulting from ſuch a Compoſition or Contexture of *Atoms*, as produceth ſoft Fleſh, Blood, and Brains, in Bodies Organized, and of Humane Form. From all which, the Concluſion is, that there can be no *Life* and *Underſtanding* in the Whole, becauſe it is not of *Humane Form*, and *Organized*, and hath no *Blood*, and *Brains*. But neither is Body, the only Subſtance, Nor are *Life* and *Underſtanding Accidents* reſulting from any *Modification* of *Dead* and *Lifeleſs Matter*; Nor is *Blood* or *Brains*, that which *Underſtandeth* in us; but an *Incorporeal Soul* or Mind, Vitally united to a *Terreſtrial Organized Body*; which will then underſtand with far greater advantage, when it comes to be Clothed with a *Pure*, *Spiritual* and *Heavenly* One. But there is in the Univerſe alſo, a higher kind of *Intellectual Animals*, which though conſiſting of *Soul* and *Body* likewiſe, yet have neither Fleſh, nor Blood, nor *Brains*, nor *Parts* ſo *Organized* as ours are. And the moſt Perfect Mind and Intellect of all, is not the *Soul* of any *Body*, but Complete in it ſelf, without ſuch *Vital Union* and *Sympathy* with *Matter*. We conclude therefore, that this Paſſage of a Modern Writer; *We Worms, cannot conceive how, God can Underſtand without Brains*; is *Vox Pecudis*, the *Language and Philoſophy*, rather of Worms or Brute Animals, then of Men.

The next, which is the *Eighth Atheiſtick Argumentation*, is briefly this, that whereas the *Deity* by Theiſts is generally ſuppoſed, to be a *Living Being Perfectly Happy*; and *Immortal* or *Incorruptible*; there can

can be no such *Living Being Immortal*, and Consequently, none *Perfectly Happy*. Because all *Living Beings* whatsoever, are *Concretions of Atoms*, which as they were at first *Generated*, so are they again liable to *Death* and *Corruption*; Life being no *Simple Primitive Nature*, nor *Substantial thing*, but a meer *Accidental Modification* of *Compounded Bodies* only, which upon the Disunion of their Parts, or the Disordering of their Contexture, vanisheth again into Nothing. And there being no Life Immortal, *Happiness* must needs be a meer *Insignificant Word*, and but a *Romantick Fiction*. Where first, This is well, that the Atheists will confess, that according to their Principles, there can be no such thing at all, as *Happiness*; because no Security of *Future Permanency*; all *Life* perpetually coming *Out of Nothing*, and whirling back into *Nothing* again. But this *Atheistick Argument*, is likewise Founded, upon the *Former Errour*; That Body is the Only Substance, the First Principles whereof are devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*; whereas it is certain, that *Life* cannot possibly result, from any *Composition* of *Dead and Lifeless things*; and therefore must needs be a *Simple* and *Primitive Nature*. It is true indeed, that the Participated Life, in the Bodies of Animals (which yet is but improperly called Life, it being Nothing, but their being *Actuated*, by a *Living Soul*) is a meer *Accidental thing*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*; since that Body which is now, Vitally united to a Living Soul, may be Disunited again from it, and thereby become a *Dead* and *Lifeless Carcase*: but the *Primary or Original Life* it self is *Substantial*, nor can there be any *Dead Carcase* of a *Humane Soul*. That which hath *Life Essentially* belonging to the *Substance* of it, must needs be *Naturally Immortal*, because no *Substance* can of it self *Perish*, or *Vanish into Nothing*. Besides which, there must be also, some, not only *Substantial*, but also *Eternal Unmade Life*, whose *Existence* is *Necessary*, and which is *Absolutely Unannihilable* by any thing else; which therefore must needs have, *Perfect Security* of its own future Happiness; And this is an *Incorporeal Deity*. And this is a *Brief Confutation*, *of the Eigth Atheistick Argument*.

BUt the *Democritick Atheist* proceeds, endeavouring further to Disprove a *God*, from the *Phænomena* of *Motion* and *Cogitation*; in the *Three* following *Argumentations*. First therefore, whereas *Theists*, commonly bring an Argument from *Motion*, to Prove a *God*, or First *Unmoved Mover*, the *Atheists* contend on the contrary; that from the very *Nature of Motion*, the Impossibility of any such *First Unmoved Mover*, is clearly Demonstrable. For, it being an Axiom of undoubted Truth, concerning Motion, That, *Whatsoever is Moved, is Moved by some other thing*; Or, That *Nothing can Move it self*; it follows from thence Unavoydably, That there is No *Æternum Immobile*, No *Eternal Unmoved Mover*; but on the contrary, that there was *Æternum Motum*, an *Eternal Moved*; Or, That One thing was Moved by Another, from Eternity Infinitely, Without any *First Mover* or *Cause*,

Cauſe, Becauſe, as *Nothing could move it ſelf*; So could nothing ever *Move Another*, but what was it ſelf before *Moved*, by Something elſe.

To which we Reply; That this Axiom, Whatſoever *is Moved, is Moved by Another, and not by It ſelf*, was by *Ariſtotle*, and thoſe other Philoſophers, who made ſo much uſe thereof, reſtrained to the *Local Motion of Bodies* only; That *no Body Locally Moved*, was ever Moved Originally from it ſelf, but from ſomething elſe. Now it will not at all follow from hence, That therefore *Nihil Movetur niſi à Moto, That No Body was ever Moved but by ſome other Body*, that was alſo before Moved, by Something elſe; or, That of neceſſity, One *Body was moved by another Body*, and that by *another*, and ſo backwards, *Infinitely*, without any *Firſt Unmoved* or *Self-Moving* and *Self-Active Mover*; as the Democritick Atheiſt fondly Conceits. For the Motion of Bodies might proceed (as Unqueſtionably it did) from ſomething elſe, which is not Body, and was not Before *Moved*. Moreover the *Democritick Atheiſt*, here alſo without any Ground imagines, That were there but One *Puſh* once given to the world, and no more; this Motion would from thence forward, always continue in it, one Body ſtill moving another, to all Eternity. For though this be indeed a Part of the *Carteſian Hypotheſis*, that according to the Laws *of Nature*, A Body Moving, will as well continue in Motion, as a Body Reſting in Reſt, until that Motion be Communicated and Transferred to ſome other Body; yet is the Caſe different here, Where it is ſuppoſed, not only one Puſh to have been given to the world at firſt, but alſo the ſame *Quantity* of *Motion* or *Agitation*, to be conſtantly Conſerved and Maintained. But to let this paſs, becauſe it is ſomething a Subtle Point; and not ſo rightly Underſtood by many of the *Carteſians themſelves*. We ſay, that it is a thing Utterly *Impoſſible*, That One Body ſhould be *Moved* by Another *Infinitely*, without any firſt *Cauſe* or *Mover*, which was *Self Active*; and that not from the Authority of *Ariſtotle* only, Pronouncing ὅτε δυνατὸν ὅδεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τ κινήσεως ἰέναι εἰς ἄπειρον, &c. *That in the Cauſes of Motion, there could not Poſſibly be an Infinite Progreſs*; but from the Reaſon there ſubjoyned by *Ariſtotle*, Becauſe, εἰπερ μηδὲν ἔστι τὸ πρῶτον, ὅλως αἴτιον ὐδὲν ἔστι, *If there were no Firſt Unmoved Mover, there could be no Cauſe of Motion at all*. For were all the *Motion*, that is in the World, a *Paſſion*, from ſomething elſe, and yet no *Firſt Unmoved Active Mover*; then muſt it be a *Paſſion* from no *Agent*, or without an *Action*; and Conſequently proceed from Nothing, and either *Cauſe it ſelf*, or be *Made without a Cauſe*. Now the Ground of the Atheiſts Errour here, is only from hence, becauſe He taketh it for granted, That there is no other *Subſtance* beſides *Body*, nor any other Action but *Local Motion*; from whence it comes to paſs, that to Him, this Propoſition, No *Body can Move it ſelf*, is one and the ſame with this, *Nothing can Act* from It ſelf, or be *Self-Active*.

And thus is the Atheiſtick Pretended Demonſtration againſt a *God*, or *Firſt Cauſe*, from *Motion*, abundantly Confuted; we having made it Manifeſt, that there is no *Conſequence* at all in this Argument;

That because No Body can Move it Self, therefore there can be no First *Unmoved Mover*; as also having discovered, the *Ground* of the Atheists *Errour* here, their taking it for granted, that there is *Nothing* but *Body*; and lastly having plainly showed, that it implies a Contradiction, there should be *Action* and *Motion* in the World, and yet *Nothing Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*: So that it is Demonstratively certain from *Motion*, that there is a *First Cause* or *Unmoved Mover*. We shall now further add, That from the Principle acknowledged by the *Democritick Atheists* themselves, That *No Body can move it self*, it follows also undeniably, that there is some Other *Substance besides Body*, something *Incorporeal*, which is *Self-Moving* and *Self-Active*, and was the *First Unmoved Mover* of the *Heavens* or *World*. For if no *Body* from *Eternity*, was Ever able to Move it self, and yet there must of necessity be some *Active Cause* of that *Motion* which is in the World (since it could not Cause it self) then is there unquestionably, some *Other Substance* besides *Body*, which having a Power of Moving Matter, was the First Cause of Motion, it Self being *Unmoved*.

Moreover it is certain from hence also, That there is another Species of *Action*, distinct from *Local Motion*, and such as is not *Heterochinesie*, but *Autochinesie* or *Self-Activity*. For since the *Local Motion* of *Body* is Essentially *Heterochinesie*, not Caused by the Substance it self Moving, but by something else Acting upon it, that *Action* by which *Local Motion* is First *Caused*, cannot be it self *Local Motion*, but must be *Autochinesie* or *Self-Activity*, *That which is not a Passion from any other Agent*, but springs from the immediate Agent it self; which Species of Action is called *Cogitation*. All the Local *Motion* that is in the World, was First Caused by some *Cogitative* or *Thinking Being*, which not *Acted* upon by any thing without it, nor at all *Locally Moved*, but only *Mentally*; is the *Immoveable Mover* of the Heaven, or *Vortices*. So that *Cogitation* is in *Order of Nature*, before *Local Motion*, and *Incorporeal* before *Corporeal Substance*, the Former having a *Natural Imperium* upon the Latter. And now have we not only Confuted the *Ninth Atheistick Argument*, from *Motion*, but also *Demonstrated* against the *Democritick Atheists* from their own Principle, that there is an *Incorporeal* and *Cogitative Substance*, the First *Immoveable Mover* of the *Heavens*, and *Vortices*; that is, an *Incorporeal Deity*.

But the *Democritick Atheist*, will yet make a further Attempt, to prove that there can be Nothing *Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, and that no *Thinking Being* could be a *First Cause*; He laying his Foundation in this Principle, That *Nothing taketh its Beginning from it self*, but from the Action of some other Agent without it. From whence he would infer, that *Cogitation* it self is *Heterochinesie*, the *Passion* of the *Thinker*, and the *Action* of something without it; no *Cogitation* ever rising up of it self without a Cause: and that Cogitation is indeed, Nothing but *Local Motion*, or *Mechanism*; and all *Living Understanding Beings Machines*, Moved from without: and then make this Conclusion. That therefore no *Understanding Being* could possibly be a *First Cause*. He further adding also, that no *Understanding*

derſtanding Being as ſuch, can be *Perfectly Happy* neither, as the *Deity* is ſuppoſed to be, becauſe Dependent upon Something without it; and this is the Tenth *Atheiſtick Argumentation.*

Where we ſhall Firſt conſider, that which the *Democritick Atheiſt* makes his *Fundamental Principle*, or *Common Notion* to diſprove all *Autochineſie* or *Self-Activity* by. That *Nothing taketh Beginning from it ſelf*, but *from the Action of ſome other thing without it.* Which Axiom, if it be Underſtood of *Subſtantial Things*, then is it indeed acknowledged by us to be unqueſtionably true, it being the ſame with this, *That No Subſtance which once was not, could ever poſſibly cauſe it ſelf or bring it ſelf into Being; but muſt take its Beginning from the Action of ſomething elſe*; but then it will make Nothing at all againſt Theiſm. As it is likewiſe True, That No *Action* whatſoever, (and therefore no *Cogitation*,) *taketh Beginning from it ſelf*, or cauſeth it *ſelf to be*, but is always produced by ſome *Subſtantial Agent*, but this will no way advantage the Atheiſt neither. Wherefore if he would direct his Force againſt *Theiſm*, he ought to underſtand this Propoſition thus, That No *Action* whatſoever, taketh Beginning from the *Immediate Agent*, (which is the Subject of it) but from the *Action* of ſome other thing without it; or, That Nothing *can Move or Act* otherwiſe, then as it is *Moved* and *Acted* upon, by ſomething elſe. But this is only to beg the *Queſtion*, or to Prove the thing in Diſpute, Identically, That Nothing is *Self-Active*, becauſe Nothing *can Act* from it ſelf. Whereas it is in the mean time, undeniably certain, That there could not poſſibly be any *Motion* or *Action* at all in the Univerſe, were there not ſomething *Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, for as much as otherwiſe all that Motion or Action would be a *Paſſion* from *Nothing*, and be *Made without a Cauſe.*

And whereas the *Atheiſts* would further prove, that no *Cogitation*, *Taketh its Beginning* from the *Thinker*, but always from the *Action* of ſome other thing without it, after this manner; Becauſe it is not Conceivable, why This *Cogitation*, rather then that, ſhould ſtart up at any time, were there not ſome *Cauſe* for it, without the *Thinker.* Here in the firſt place we freely grant, that our Humane Cogitations, are indeed commonly Occaſioned, by the *Incurſions* of *Senſible Objects* upon us; as alſo, that the *Concatenations* of thoſe *Thoughts* and *Phantaſms* in us, which are diſtinguiſhed from *Senſations*, (whether we be aſleep or awake) do many times depend upon *Corporeal* and *Mechanical Cauſes* in the Brain. Notwithſtanding which, that all our *Cogitations*, are *Obtruded*, and *Impoſed* upon us from without; and that there is no *Tranſition* in our *Thoughts* at any time, but ſuch as had been before in *Senſe*; (which the Democritick Atheiſt averrs) this is a Thing, which we abſolutely deny. For, had we no *Maſtery* at all over our *Thoughts*, but they were all like Tennis Balls, Bandied, and Struck upon us, as it were by Rackets from without; then could we not ſteadily and conſtantly carry on any *Deſigns* and *Purpoſes* of Life. But on the contrary that of *Ariſtotle*'s, is moſt true, (as will be elſewhere further *Proved*) that Man and all *Rational Beings*, are in ſome ſenſe, ἀρχὴ πράξεων, a *Principle of Actions*, ſubordinate to the Deity;

which they could not poſſibly be, were they not alſo, a *Principle* of *Cogitations*, and had ſome Command over them; but theſe were all as much determined, by Cauſes without, as the *Motions* of the Weathercock are. The *Rational Soul* is it ſelf an *Active* and *Bubling Fountain* of *Thoughts*; that perpetual and Reſtleſs Deſire, which is as *Natural* and Eſſential to us, as our very *Life*, Continually Raiſing up and Protruding, New and New Ones, in us; which are as it were Offered to us. Beſides which, we have alſo, a further *Self Recollective Power*, and a Power of *Determining* and *Fixing* our Mind and Intention, upon ſome certain Objects, and of Ranging our Thoughts accordingly. But the Atheiſt is here alſo to be taught, yet a Further *Leſſon*; that an Abſolutely *Perfect Mind*, (ſuch as the *Deity* is ſuppoſed to be,) doth not (as *Ariſtotle* writeth of it) ὁτὲ μὲν νοεῖν ὁτὲ δ᾽ οὐ νοεῖν, *Sometimes Underſtand, and ſometime not Underſtand*; it being Ignorant of Nothing, nor Syllogizing about any thing; but comprehending all *Intelligibles*, with their Relations and Verities at once, within it ſelf; and its *Eſſence* and *Energie*, being the ſame. Which Notion, if it be above the Dull Capacity of *Atheiſts*, who meaſure all *Perfection* by their own *Scantling*, this is a thing, that We cannot help.

But as for that Prodigious Paradox of Atheiſts, that *Cogitation* it ſelf, is nothing but *Local Motion* or *Mechaniſm*, we could not have thought it poſſible that ever any man ſhould have given entertainment to ſuch a Conceit; but that this was rather, a meer Slander raiſed upon Atheiſts; were it not certain from the Records of Antiquity, That whereas the old *Religious Atomiſts*, did upon Good Reaſon, reduce all *Corporeal Action* (as Generation, Augmentation, and alteration) to *Local Motion*, or *Tranſlation* from place to place; (there being no other *Motion* beſides this Conceivable in Bodies) the ancient *Atheizers* of that *Philoſophy* (*Leucippus* and *Democritus*) not contented herewith, did Really carry the buſineſs ſtill on further, ſo as to make *Cogitation* it ſelf alſo; Nothing but *Local Motion*. As it is alſo certain, that a Modern Atheiſtick Pretender to Wit, hath publickly owned this ſame Concluſion, That *Mind is Nothing elſe but Local Motion in the Organick parts of Mans Body*. Theſe men have been ſometimes indeed a little Troubled, with the *Phancy*, *Apparition*, or *Seeming* of *Cogitation*, that is The *Conſciouſneſs* of it, as knowing not well what to make thereof; but then they put it off again, and ſatisfie themſelves worſhipfully with this, that *Phancy* is but *Phancy*, but the *Reality* of *Cogitation*, nothing but Local Motion; as if there were not as much Reality in *Phancy* and *Conſciouſneſs*, as there is in *Local Motion*. That which inclined theſe men ſo much, to this Opinion, was only becauſe, they were Senſible and Aware of this, that if there were any other *Action*, beſides *Local Motion* admitted, there muſt needs be ſome other *Subſtance* acknowledged, beſides *Body*. *Carteſius* indeed undertook to defend Brute Animals, to be Nothing elſe but *Machines*, but then he ſuppoſed that there was Nothing at all of *Cogitation*, in them, and Conſequently nothing of true *Animality* or *Life*, no more, than is in Artificial *Automaton*, as a Wooden *Eagle*, or the like; Nevertheleſs, this was juſtly thought to be Paradox enough.

But

But that *Cogitation* it ſelf, ſhould be *Local Motion*, and *Men* nothing but *Machines*; this is ſuch a *Paradox*, as none but either a Stupid and Beſotted, or elſe an *Enthuſiaſtick*, Bigotical, or Fanatick Atheiſt, could poſſibly give entertainment to. Nor are ſuch men as theſe, fit to be Diſputed with, any more than a *Machine* is.

But whereas the *Atheiſtick Objecter*, adds alſo over and above, in the laſt place, that no *Underſtanding Being* can be *Perfectly Happy* neither, and therefore not a *God*, becauſe Eſſentially *Dependent* upon ſomething elſe without it; This is all one as if he ſhould ſay, That there is no ſuch thing as *Happineſs* at all in *Nature*; Becauſe it is certain, that without *Conſciouſneſs* or *Underſtanding* nothing can be *Happy* (ſince it could not have any *Fruition* of it ſelf) and if no *Underſtanding Being* can be *Happy* neither, then muſt the Concluſion needs be, that of the *Cyrenaicks*, that εὐθυμονία ἀνύπαρκτον, *Happineſs is a meer Chimera*, a *Phantaſtick Notion* or *Fiction* of *Mens Minds*; a thing which hath no *Exiſtence in Nature*. Theſe are the men, who afterwards Argue from *Intereſſe* alſo againſt a *God* and *Religion*. Notwithſtanding that they confeſs their own Principles to be ſo far, from promiſing *Happineſs* to any, as that they abſolutely Cut off, all Hopes thereof. It may be further obſerved alſo in the laſt place, that there is another of the Atheiſts Dark Myſteries here likewiſe couched, That there is no *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in Nature, one above another; the whole Univerſe from top to bottom, being Nothing but One and the ſame *Senſleſs Matter*, diverſly *Modified*. As alſo, that *Underſtanding* as ſuch, rather ſpeaks *Imperfection*; it being but a meer *Whiſling*, *Evanid*, and *Phantaſtick thing*; ſo that the moſt abſolutely Perfect, of all things in the Univerſe, is *Grave*, *Solid*, and *Subſtantial Senſleſs Matter*: of which more afterwards. And thus is the Tenth Atheiſtick Argumentation alſo Confuted.

But the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheiſts*, will make yet a further *Aſſault*, from the *Nature of Knowledge*, *Underſtanding*, after this manner; If the World were Made by a *God*, or an *Antecedent* Mind and Underſtanding, having in it ſelf an *Exemplar* or *Platform* thereof, before it was made, then muſt there be *Actual Knowledge*, both in order of Nature, and Time, before *Things*; whereas *Things* which are the *Objects* of *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, are unqueſtionably in order of Nature before *Knowledge*; this being but the *Signature* of them, and a *Paſſion* from them. Now the only *Things*, are *Singular Senſibles* or Bodies. From whence it follows, that *Mind* is the *Youngeſt* and moſt *Creaturely* Thing in the world; or that the *World* was before *Knowledge* and the *Conception* of any Mind; and no *Knowledge* or *Mind*, before the world as its *Cauſe*. Which is the *Eleventh Atheiſtick Argumentation*.

But we have Prevented our ſelves here in the *Anſwer* to this *Argument*, (which would make all *Knowledge*, *Mind*, and *Underſtanding Junior* to the *World*, and the very *Creature* of *Senſibles*,) having already Fully Confuted it; and clearly Proved, That *Singular Bodies*, are not the only *Things*, and *Objects* of the Mind, but that it containeth

taineth its *Immediate Intelligibles within it ſelf*; which *Intelligibles* alſo are Eternal, and That Mind is no *Phantaſtick Image* of *Senſibles*, nor the *Stamp* and *Signature* of them, but Archetypal to them; the Firſt *Mind* being That of a Perfect Being, comprehending it ſelf, and the Extent of its own Omnipotence, or the *Poſſibilities* of all things. So that *Knowledg* is Older than all *Senſible things*; *Mind Senior* to the World, and the *Architect* thereof. Wherefore we ſhall refer the Reader for an Anſwer to this Argument, to *Page* 729. and ſo onwards, where the *Exiſtence of a God*, (that is, a *Mind before the World*) is Demonſtrated alſo, from this very Topick, *viz.* the *Nature of Knowledge and Underſtanding*.

We ſhall in this place only add; that as the *Atheiſts* can no way Salve the *Phænomenon* of *Motion*, ſo can they much leſs that of *Cogitation*, or *Life* and *Underſtanding*. To make which yet the more Evident, we ſhall briefly repreſent, a *Syllabus* or *Catalogue* of the many *Atheiſtick Hallucinations* or *Delirations*, concerning it. As Firſt, That *Senſleſs* Matter being the only *Subſtance*, and all things elſe but *Accidental Modifications* thereof; *Life* and *Mind* is all a meer *Accidental Thing*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, *Producible* out of *Nothing*, and *Reducible* to *Nothing* again; and that there is no *Subſtantial Life or Mind* any where. In Oppoſition to which, we have before proved, That there muſt of neceſſity be ſome *Subſtantial Life*, and that Humane Souls being Lives Subſtantial, and not meer *Accidental Modifications* of Matter, they are conſequently in their own Nature Immortal, ſince No *Subſtance* of it ſelf ever vaniſheth into *Nothing*.

Again the *Democriticks*, and other *Atheiſts* conclude, that *Life* and Mind, are no *Simple* and *Primitive Natures*, but *Secondary* and *Compounded things*; they reſulting from certain *Concretions* and *Contextures* of Matter, and either the *Commixtures* and *Contemperations* of *Qualities*, or elſe the *Combinations* of thoſe *Simple Elements* of *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*; and ſo being Made up, of that which hath Nothing of *Life* or *Mind* in it. For as *Fleſh* is not Made, out of *Fleſhy Particles*, nor Bone out of *Bony*, (as *Anaxagoras* of old dreamed) ſo may Life as they conceive, be as well Made out of *Lifeleſs Principles*, and *Mind* out of that which hath no *Mind* or *Underſtanding* at all in it: juſt as *Syllables* Pronounceable, do reſult from *Combinations of Letters*, ſome of which are *Mutes*, and cannot by themſelves be Pronounced at all, others but *Semi-Vocal*. And from hence do theſe Atheiſts Infer, that there could be no *Eternal Unmade Life* or *Mind*, nor any that is *Immortal* or *Incorruptible*; ſince upon the Diſſolution of that *Compages* or *Contexture* of Matter, from whence they *Reſult*, they muſt needs *Vaniſh into Nothing*. Wherefore according to them, there hath probably, ſometime heretofore been, no *Life* nor *Underſtanding* at all in the Univerſe, and there may Poſſibly be None again. From whence the *Concluſion* is, That *Mind* and *Underſtanding*, is no *God*, or *Principle* in the *Univerſe*; it being Eſſentially *Factitious*, *Native* and *Corruptible*; or as they expreſs it in *Plato*, θνητὸς ἐκ θνητῶν, *Mortal from Mortal things*: as alſo, That the *Souls* of men, cannot ſubſiſt Separately, after Death,

Death, and walk up and down in *Airy Bodies*; no more than the *Form* of a *House* or *Tree*, after the Diſſolution thereof, can ſubſiſt by it ſelf Separately, or appear in ſome other Body. But all this *Foolery* of *Atheiſts*, hath been already Confuted, we having before ſhewed, that *Life* and *Underſtanding* are Active *Powers*, *Vigours*, and *Perfections*, that could never poſſibly reſult from meer *Paſſive Bulk*, or *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter*, however *Modified* and *Compounded*; becauſe *Nothing* can come *Effectively* from *Nothing*. Neither is there any Conſequence at all in this, that becauſe Fleſh is not made out of Fleſhy Principles, nor Bone out of Bony, Red out of Red things, nor Green out of Green; therefore *Life* and *Underſtanding*, may as well be Compounded, out of things *Dead* and *Senſleſs*: becauſe theſe are no *Syllables* or *Complexions*, as the others are, nor can either the *Qualities* of Heat and Cold, Moiſt and Dry; or elſe *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, however *Combined* together, as *Letters* Spell them out, and make them up; but they are *Simple* and *Primitive things*. And accordingly it hath been proved, that there muſt of neceſſity be, ſome *Eternal Unmade Life* and *Mind*: For though there be no neceſſity that there ſhould be any *Eternal Unmade Red*, or *Green*, becauſe *Red* and *Green* may be Made out of things not Red nor Green, they and all other *Corporeal Qualities* (ſo called) being but ſeveral *Contextures* of *Matter*, or *Combinations*, of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, cauſing thoſe ſeveral *Phancies* in us: and though there be no neceſſity, that there ſhould be *Eternal Motion*, becauſe if there were once no *Motion* at all in *Matter*, but all Bodies Reſted, yet might Motion have been Produced by a Self-*Moving* or Self *Active Principle*; And Laſtly, though there be no neceſſity that there ſhould be *Eternal Unmade Matter* or *Body* neither, becauſe had there been once no *Body* at all, yet might it be *Made* or *Produced* by a *Perfect Omnipotent Incorporeal Being*: nevertheleſs is there an *Abſolute* Neceſſity, that there ſhould be *Eternal Unmade Life*, and *Mind*, becauſe were there once no *Life* nor *Mind* at all, theſe could never have been produced out of *Matter* altogether *Lifeleſs* and *Mindleſs*. And though the *Form of a Houſe* cannot poſſibly Exiſt Separately from the Matter and Subſtance thereof, it being a Meer *Accidental Thing*, reſulting from ſuch a Compages of Stone, Timber and Morter, yet are Humane Souls and Minds, no ſuch *Accidental Forms* of Compounded Matter, but Active *Subſtantial* things, that may therefore ſubſiſt Separately from theſe *Bodies*, and Enliven other Bodies of a different Contexture. And however ſome that are no Atheiſts, be over prone to conceive, *Life*, *Senſe*, *Cogitation*, and *Conſciouſneſs* in Brutes, to be *Generated* out of *Dead*, *Senſleſs*, and *Unthinking Matter*, (they being diſpoſed thereunto by certain Miſtaken Principles, and ill Methods of Philoſophy) nevertheleſs is this unqueſtionably in it ſelf, a *Seed* of *Atheiſm*; becauſe if any *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Conſciouſneſs*, may be Produced out of *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter*, then can no Philoſophy hinder, but that all might have been ſo.

But the *Democritick Atheiſts*, will yet venture further to deny, that there is any thing in Nature *Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, but that whatſoever

whatsoever *Moveth* and *Acteth*, was before *Moved* by *something else*, and *Made to Act* thereby; and again, that from some other thing; and So backward Infinitely; from whence it would follow, that there is no *First in the Order of Causes*, but an *Endless Retro-Infinity*. But as this is all one, as to Affirm, that there is no such thing at all as *Life* in the World, but that the Universe is a *Compages* of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, so has this *Infinity* in the *Order* of *Causes* been already exploded for an *Absolute Impossibility*.

Nevertheless the *Atheists* will here advance yet an *Higher Paradox*; That all *Action* whatsoever, and therefore *Cogitation*, *Phancy*, and *Consciousness* it self, is Really Nothing else but *Local Motion*; and Consequently not only Brute-Animals, but also Men themselves meer *Machins*, Which is an equal, either Sottishness or Impudence, as to assert, a *Triangle* to be a *Square*, or a *Sphere*, a *Cube*, *Number* to be *Figure*, or any thing else to be any thing: and it is Really all one as to affirm, that there is indeed no such thing in our selves, as *Cogitation*: there being no other *Action* in Nature, but *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*.

Furthermore the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, Universally agree in this, that not only *Sensations*, but also all the *Cogitations* of the *Mind*, are the meer *Passions* of the *Thinker*, and the *Actions* of *Bodies* Existing without, upon him: though they do not all declare themselves, after the same manner herein. For First, the *Democriticks* conclude, that *Sense* is Caused by certain Grosser *Corporeal Effluvia*, streaming from the Surfaces of Bodies Continually, and entering through the *Nerves*; But that all other *Cogitations of the Mind*, and mens either sleeping or waking *Imaginations*, proceed from another sort of *Simulachra*, *Idols* and *Images*, of a more Fine and Subtle Contexture, coming into the Brain, not through those open Tubes, or Channels of the Nerves, but immediately through all the smaller Pores of the Body: so that, as we never have *sense* of Any thing, but by means of those *Grosser Corporeal Images*, obtruding themselves upon the *Nerves*; so have we not the least *Cogitation* at any Time in our *Mind* neither, which was not *Caused* by those *Finer Corporeal Images*, and *Exuvious Membranes*, or *Effluvia*, rushing upon the *Brain*, or *Contexture of the Soul*. Λεύκιππος ἢ Δημόκριτος τὰς Αἰσθήσεις ἢ τὰς Νόησιν Εἰδώλων ἔξωθεν προϊόντων· μηδενὶ γὰρ ὑπαρχάλλειν μηδετέρως χωρὶς τοῦ προσπίπτοντος, Leucippus *and* Democritus *determined, that as well Noesis as Aisthesis, Mental Cogitation as External Sensation, was Caused by certain Corporeal Idols, coming from Bodies without; since neither Sensation nor Cogitation, could otherwise possibly be produced.* And thus does *Laertius* also represent the sense of these *Atheistick Philosophers*, that the *Effluvia* from Bodies called *Idols*, were the only Causes, τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν κινημάτων ἢ βλαμμάτων ἑκάστων ἢ ἠθῶν ἢ παθῶν, *Of all the Motions, Passions, and Affections, and even the very Volitions of the Soul.* So that as we could not have the least *Sensation*, *Imagination*, nor *Conception*, of any thing otherwise than from those *Corporeal Effluvia*, rushing upon us from Bodies without, and begetting the same in us, at such a time; so neither could we have

have any *Paſſion*, *Appetite*, or *Volition*, which we were not in like manner, *Corporeally Paſſive* to. And this was the Ground of the *Democritick Fate*, or *Neceſſity* of all *Humane Actions*, maintained by them, in oppoſition to the τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, or *Liberty of Will*, which cannot be conceived without *Self-Activity*, and ſomething of *Contingency*. They ſuppoſing *Humane Volitions* alſo, as well as all the other *Cogitations*, to be *Mechanically Cauſed* and Neceſſitated, from thoſe *Effluvious Images* of Bodies, coming in upon the *Willers*. And however *Epicurus* ſometime pretended to Aſſert *Liberty of Will*, againſt *Democritus*, yet forgetting himſelf, did he alſo here ſecurely Philoſophize, after the very ſame manner,

Nunc age quæ moveant Animum res, accipe paucis;
Quæ veniunt veniant in Mentem, percipe paucis.
Principiò hoc dico Rerum Simulachra vagari, &c.

Lucret. L. 4. p. 358. 368.

But others there were amongſt the *Ancient Atomiſts*, who could not conceive *Senſations* themſelves, to be thus Cauſed by Corporeal *Effluvia*, or *Exuvious Membranes*, ſtreaming from Bodies Continually, and that for Divers Reaſons alledged by them; but only by a *Preſſure* from them upon the *Optick Nerve* by Reaſon of a *Tenſion* of the Intermedious Air or Æther (being that which is called *Light*) whereby the diſtant Object is *Touched* and *Felt*, οἷον διὰ βακτηρίας, *as it were by a Staff*. Which *Hypotheſis* concerning the *Corporeal Part* of *Senſe*, is indeed much more Ingenious, and agreeable to Reaſon than the Former. But the *Atheizers* of this *Atomology*, as they ſuppoſed *Senſe* to be Nothing elſe but ſuch a *Preſſure* from Bodies without, ſo did they conclude *Imagination* and *Mental Cogitation*, to be but the *Reliques* and *Remainders* of thoſe *Motions* of *Senſe* formerly Made, and Conſerved afterwards in the Brain (like the *Tremulous Vibrations* of a Clock or Bell, after the ſtriking of the Hammer, or the Rouling of the Waves, after that the Wind is ceaſed) Melting, Fading, and Decaying inſenſibly by degrees. So that according to theſe, *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, is Nothing but *Fading* and *Decaying Senſe*; and all our *Volitions* but Mechanick Motions cauſed from the *Actions* or Truſions of Bodies upon us. Now though it be true, that in *Senſation*, there is alwayes a *Paſſion Antecedent*, made upon the Body of the Sentient from without; yet is not *Senſation* it ſelf this very *Paſſion*, but a *Perception* of that *Paſſion*; much leſs can Mental *Conceptions* be ſaid to be the Action of *Bodies* without, and the meer *Paſſion of the Thinker*; and leaſt of all *Volitions* ſuch, there being plainly here, ſomething ἐφ' ἡμῖν, *In our own Power*, (by means whereof, we become a *Principle of Actions*, accordingly deſerving *Commendation* or *Blame*,) that is, ſomething of *Self-Activity*.

Again according to the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheiſts*, all *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding* is Really the ſame thing with *Senſe*: the Difference between theſe Two, to ſome of them being only this, That what is commonly called *Senſe*, is *Primary and Original Knowledge*, and *Knowledge* but *Secondary*, or *Fading* and *Decaying* Senſe: but to others, that Senſe is Cauſed by thoſe more *Vigorous Idols*, or Effluvia

via from Bodies, intromitted through the *Nerves*; but *Understanding* and *Knowledge*, by those more *Weak* and *Thin*, *Umbratile* and *Evanid* ones, that penetrate the other smaller Pores of the Body: so that both ways, *Understanding* and *Knowledge*, will be but a *Weaker Sense*. Now from this Doctrine of the *Atheistick Atomists*, that all *Conception* and *Cogitation* of the *Mind* whatsoever, is Nothing else but *Sense* and *Passion* from *Bodies* without, this Absurdity first of all follows unavoidably, that there cannot possibly be, any *Errour*, or False *Judgment*, because it is certain, that all *Passion* is True *Passion*, and all *Sense* or *Seeming*, and *Appearance*, True *Seeming* and *Appearance*. Wherefore though some *Sense* and *Passion*, may be more *Obscure* than other, yet can there be none *False*; it self being the very *Essence* of *Truth*. And thus *Protagoras*, one of these *Atheistick Atomists*, having First asserted, That *Knowledge is Nothing else but Sense*, did thereupon admit this as a *Necessary Consequence*, That πᾶσα δόξα ἀληθὴς, *Every Opinion is True*; because it is Nothing but *Seeming* and *Appearance*, and every *Seeming and Appearance is truly such: and because it is not possible, for any one to Opine that which is Not, or to Think otherwise than he Suffers.* Wherefore *Epicurus* being Sensible of this Inconvenience, endeavoured to Salve this *Phænomenon* of *Errour* and *False Opinion* or *Judgement*, consistently with his own *Principles*, after this manner, That though all *Knowledge* be *Sense* and all *Sense True*, yet may *Errour* arise notwithstanding, *Ex Animi Opinatu*, From *the Opination of the Mind, adding something of its own, over and above, to the Passion and Phansie of Sense.* But herein he shamefully contradicts himself; For if the *Mind* in *Judging*, and *Opining*, can *Superadd* any thing of its own, over and above, to what it *Suffers*, then is it not a meer *Passive Thing*, but must needs have a *Self Active Power* of its own, and consequently will prove also *Incorporeal*, because no *Body can Act otherwise*, than it *Suffers*, or is *Made* to *Act* by something else without it. We conclude therefore, That since there is such a thing as *Errour*, or *False Judgement*, all *Cogitations* of the Mind cannot be meer *Passions*; but there must be something of *Self-Activity* in the Soul it Self, by means whereof, it can give its *Assent*, to things not clearly *Perceived*, and so *Err*.

Again from this *Atheistick Opinion*, That all *Knowledge* is Nothing else but *Sense*, either *Primary* or *Secundary*, it follows also; That there is no *Absolute Truth* nor *Falshood*, and that *Knowledge* is of a Private *Nature*, *Relative*, and *Phantastical* only, or meer *Seeming*; that is, Nothing but *Opinion:* because *Sense* is plainly, *Seeming*, *Phantasie*, and *Appearance*; a *Private thing* and *Relative* to the *Sentient* only. And here also did *Protagoras*, according to his wonted Freedom, admit this *Consequence*, That *Knowledge* being *Sense*, there was no *Absoluteness* at all therein, and That nothing was *True* otherwise, than τούτῳ ᾧ τινὶ, *To this and to that man so Thinking*; That every man did, but τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον δοξάζειν, *Opine only his Own things*; That πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, *Every man was the Measure of Things, and Truth to himself*; and Lastly, τὸ φαινόμενον ἑκάστῳ τούτῳ εἶναι ᾧ φαίνεται, *That whatsoever Seemed to every one, was True to him to whom it Seemed.* Neither could *Democritus* himself, though a man of more discretion than *Protagoras*, dissemble this Consequence from

from the ſame Principle aſſerted by him, that Underſtanding is *Phantaſtical*, and *Knowledge* but *Opinion*; he owning it ſometimes before he was aware, as in theſe words of his, γινώσκειν χρὴ ἄνθρωπον τῷδε τῷ κανόνι, ὅτι αἰτίης ἀπήλακται· *We ought to Know Man, according to this Rule, That he is ſuch a thing, as hath Nothing to do with Abſolute Truth*; and again, αἰτίη (or ἐτεῇ) οὐδὲν ἴσμεν περὶ οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἐπιρυσμίη ἑκάστοισιν ἡ δόξις· *We know nothing Abſolutely, concerning any thing; and all our Knowledge is Opinion.* Agreeably to which, he determined, that mens *Knowledge* was diverſified by the Temper of their Bodies, and the Things without them. And *Ariſtotle* Judiciouſly obſerving both theſe Doctrines, That there is no Errour or Falſe Judgment, but every Opinion True; and again, That Nothing is Abſolutely True but Relatively only; to be Really and Fundamentally One and the ſame; imputeth them both together, to *Democritus*, in theſe words of his, οὐδὲν εἶναι ἀληθές· ὅλως ἢ διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν φρόνησιν μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν, τὸ φαινόμενον κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀληθὲς εἶναι, Democritus *held, that there was Nothing Abſolutely True: but becauſe he thought Knowledge or Underſtanding, to be Senſe; therefore did he conclude that whatſoever Seemed according to Senſe, muſt of neceſſity be True* (not Abſolutely, but Relatively) *to whom it ſo Seemed.* Theſe Groſs *Abſurdities* did the *Atheiſtick Atomiſts* plunge themſelves into, whilſt they endeavoured to Salve the *Phænomenon* of *Cogitation*, *Mind*; or *Underſtanding*, agreeably to their own *Hypotheſis.* And it is certain, that all of them, *Democritus* himſelf not excepted, were but meer Blunderers in that Atomick Phyſiology, which they ſo much pretended to, and never rightly Underſtood the Same. For as much as that with Equal Clearneſs teaches theſe *Two things* at once, That Senſe indeed is *Phantaſtical* and *Relative* to the *Sentient*; But that there is a Higher Faculty, of *Underſtanding* and *Reaſon* in us, which thus diſcovers the *Phantaſtry of Senſe*, and reaches to the *Abſoluteneſs of Truth*; or is the *Criterion* thereof.

But the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheiſts* will further Conclude, that the only *Things* or *Objects* of the *Mind*, are *Singular Senſibles*, or *Bodies Exiſting* without it; which therefore muſt needs be in Order of Nature, before all *Knowledge*, *Mind*, and *Underſtanding* whatſoever; this being but a *Phantaſtick Image* or Repreſentation of them. From whence they Infer, that the *Corporeal World*, and theſe *Senſible things*, could not poſſibly be Made, by any *Mind* or *Underſtanding*; becauſe *Eſſentially Junior* to them, and the very *Image* and *Creature* of them. Thus does *Ariſtotle* Obſerve, concerning both *Democritus* and *Protagoras*, that they did ὑπολαμβάνειν τὰ ὄντα μόνον εἶναι τὰ αἰσθητὰ, *Suppoſe the only Things or Objects of the Mind to be* Senſibles; *and that this was the Reaſon, why they made Knowledge to be* Senſe, *and therefore Relative and* Phantaſtical: But we have already Proved, that *Mind* and *Underſtanding* is not the *Phantaſtick Image* of *Senſibles* or *Bodies*; and that it is in its own Nature not *Ectypal*, but *Archetypal*, and *Architectonical of all.* That it is Senior to the World, and all *Senſible Things*, it not looking abroad, for its Objects any where without, but containing them within it ſelf; The firſt Original Mind, being an Abſolutely perfect Being, Comprehending it ſelf, and the Extent of its

own *Omnipotence*, or all P*oſſibilities of things*, together with the Beſt P*latform* of the whole, and poducing the ſame accordingly.

But it being plain, that there are beſides *Singulars*, other *Objects* of the *Mind Univerſal*; from whence it ſeems to follow, that *Senſibles*, are not the only *Things*; ſome *Modern Atheiſtick* Wits, have therefore invented, this further device to maintain the Cauſe, and carry the Buſineſs on; That *Univerſals* are nothing elſe but *Names* or *Words*, by which *Singular Bodies* are called, and Conſequently, that in all Axioms and Propoſitions, Sententious *Affirmations* and *Negations* (in which the Predicate at leaſt is *Univerſal*) we do but Add or Subſtract, Affirm or Deny, Names of *Singular Bodies*: and that *Reaſon* or S*yllogiſm*, is Nothing but the *Reckoning* or *Computing*, the *Conſequences* of theſe *Names* or *Words*. Neither do they want the Impudence, to Affirm, that beſides thoſe P*aſſions* or *Phanſies*, which we have from things by Senſe; we know Nothing at all of any thing, but only the *Names*, by which it is called. Then which there cannot be a greater S*ottiſhneſs* or *Madneſs*: For if Geometry, were nothing but the *Knowledge* of *Names* by which Singular Bodies are called, as it ſelf could not deſerve that Name of a *Science*; ſo neither could its Truths be the ſame in *Greek* and in *Latine*: and *Geometricians*, in all the ſeveral diſtant Ages and Places of the World, muſt be ſuppoſed to have had, the ſame *Singular Bodies* before them, of which they Affirmed and Denied, thoſe *Univerſal Names*.

In the Laſt place, the *Epicurean* and *Anaximandrian* Atheiſts, agreeably to the *Premiſed Principles*, and the *Tenor* of their *Hypotheſis*, do both of them endeavour to Depreciate and Undervalue, *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding*, as a thing which hath not any *Higher Degree* of *Perfection* or *Entity* in it, than is in *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter*. It being according to them, but a *Paſſion* from *Singular Bodies* Exiſting without, and therefore both *Junior*, and *Inferior* to them; a *Tumult* raiſed in the Brain, by Motions made upon it, from the Objects of Senſe; That which Eſſentially includeth in it, *Dependence* upon Something elſe; at beſt, but a *Thin* and *Evanid Image* of *Senſibles*, or rather an *Image* of thoſe *Images* of *Senſe*; a meer *Whifling* and *Phantaſtick* thing; upon which account they conclude it, not fit to be attributed, to that which is the *Firſt Root* and *Sourſe* of all things, which therefore is to them no other, than *Grave* and *Solid*, *Senſleſs Matter*; the only *Subſtantial*, *Self-Exiſtent*, Independent thing, and Conſequently the moſt *Perfect* and *Divine*. *Life* and *Underſtanding*, *Soul* and *Mind* are to them, no *Simple* and *Primitive Natures*, but *Secondary* and *Derivative*, or *Syllables* and *Complexions* of things, which Sprung up afterwards, from certain *Combinations* of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, or *Contemperations* of *Qualities*; *Contextures* either of *Similar* or *Diſſimilar* Atoms. And as themſelves are *Juniors* to Senſleſs *Matter* and *Motion*, and to thoſe *Inanimate Elements*, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, the *Firſt*, and moſt *Real Productions* of *Nature* and *Chance*; ſo are their *Effects*, and the Things that belong to them, comparatively with thoſe other *Real Things* of *Nature*, but Slight, *Ludicrous*, and *Umbratil*; as *Landskip*

skip in *Picture*, compared with the *Real Prospect*, of High Mountains, and Low Valleys, *Winding* or Meandrous Rivers, Towering Steeples, and the Shady Tops of Trees and Groves: as they are accordingly, commonly disparaged, under those Names of *Notional* and *Artificial*. And thus was the Sence of the *Ancient Atheists* represented by *Plato*; φασὶ τὰ μὲν μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχλω, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα τέχνλω· ἣν δὲ παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσαν, τλὼ πρώτων καὶ μεγάλων γένεσιν ἔργων, πλάττλν καὶ τεκταίνεσθαι πάντα τὰ σμικρότερα, ἃ δὴ τεχνικὰ προσαγορεύομεν· *They say, that the Greatest and most Excellent Things of all, were made by Senseless Nature, and Chance: but all the Smaller and more Inconsiderable, by Art, Mind, and Understanding; which taking from Nature, those First and Greater Things as its Ground-work to Act upon, doth Frame and Fabricate all the other Lesser Things, which are therefore Commonly called Artificial.* And the Mind of these Atheists, is there also further declared, by that Philosopher after this manner. The *First*, *most Real*, *Solid and Substantial things in the whole World, are those Elements, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, made by Senseless Nature and Chance, without any Art, Mind, or Understanding: and next to these the Bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and this Terrestrial Globe, produced out of the foresaid Inanimate Elements, by Unknowing Nature or Chance likewise, without any Art, Mind or God.* The Fortuitous Concourse of *Similar* or *Dissimilar Atoms*, begetting this whole System and *Compages* of Heaven and Earth; τέχνλω δ' ὕστερον ἐκ τούτων ὑστέραν γενομένλω, ἀὐτλὼ ἀνητλὼ ἐκ ἀνητῶν, ὕστερα γεγεννηκέναι παιδιὰς τινὰς ἀληθείας μὲν μετεχούσας, ἀλλ' εἴδωλ' ἄττα ξυγγενῆ ἑαυτῶν, οἷον ἡ γραφικὴ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· *But that afterwards, Art or Mind and Understanding, being Generated also in the last place, out of those same Senseless and Inanimate Bodies or Elements*, (it rising up in certain Smaller *Pieces* of the Universe, and *Particular Concretions* of Matter, called *Animals*) *Mortal from Mortal things, did produce certain other Ludicrous things, which partake little of Truth and Reality; but are meer Images, Umbrages and Imitations, as Picture and Landskip, &c. but above all, those Moral Differences of Just and Unjust, Honest and Dishonest, the meer Figments of Political Art, and Slight Umbratil Things, compared with Good and Evil Natural; that consist in nothing, but Agreement and Disagreement with Sense, and Apppetite:* τὰ μὲν καλὰ φύσει ἄλλα νόμῳ ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ δίκαια οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν φύσει· *For, as for Things Good and Honest, those that are such by Nature, differ from those which are such by Law; but as for Just and Unjust, there is by Nature no such thing at all.* The Upshot and Conclusion of all is, That there is no such *Scale* or *Ladder* in *Nature*, as *Theists* and *Metaphysicians* suppose, no *Degrees* of Real *Perfection* and *Entity* one above another, as of *Life* and *Sense*, above *Inanimate Matter*, of *Reason* and *Understanding* above *Sense*; from whence it would be Inferred, that the *Order* of things in Nature, was in *Way* of *Descent*, from *Higher* and *Greater Perfection*, Downward to *Lesser* and *Lower*, which is indeed to Introduce a God. And that there is no such *Scale or Ladder of Perfection* and *Entity*, they endeavour further to prove from hence, because according to that *Hypothesis*, it would follow, that every the *Smallest* and most *Contemptible Animal*, that could see the Sun, had a Higher degree of *Entity* and *Perfection*

in

in it, than the Sun it self; a thing ridiculously Absurd: or else according to *Cotta*'s Instance; *Idcirco Formicam anteponendam esse huic Pulcherimæ Urbi, quòd in Urbe Sensus sit nullus, in Formica non modo Sensus, sed etiam Mens, Ratio, Memoria. That therefore every Ant or Pismire, were far to be preferred, before this most beautiful City of* Rome; *because in the City, there is no Sense; whereas an Ant hath not only Sense, but also Mind, Reason and Memory*; that is, a certain *Sagacity* superiour to *Sense*. Wherefore they conclude that there is no such *Scale* or *Ladder* in *Nature*, no such *Climbing Stairs* of *Entity* and *Perfection*, one above another, but that the whole *Universe* is *One Flat and Level*, it being indeed all-, Nothing but the same *Uniform Matter*, Under several *Forms*, *Dresses*, and *Disguises*; or *Variegated* by Diversity of *Accidental Modifications*: one of which, is that of such Beings as have *Phancy* in them, commonly called *Animals*; which are but some of Sportful or Wanton Natures, more trimly *Artificial* and *Finer Gamaieus*, or *Pretty Toys*; but by reason of this *Phancy*, they have no *Higher Degree* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in them, than is in Senseless *Matter*: as they will also, be all of them quickly transformed again, into other seemingly dull, *Unthinking* and *Inanimate* Shapes. Hitherto the *Sense* of *Atheists*.

But the Pretended Grounds, of this *Atheistick Doctrine*, (or rather *Madness*) have been already also confuted, over and over again. *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, is not a meer *Passion* from the thing Known, Existing without the *Knower*, because to *Know* and *Understand*, as *Anaxagoras* of old determined, is κρατεῖν, to *Master* and *Conquer* the thing Known, and consequently not meerly to *Suffer* from it, or Passively to Lie Under it, this being κρατεῖσθαι, to be *Mastered* and *Conquered* by it. The Knowledge of *Universal Theoremes* in Sciences, is not from the *Force of the thing Known existing without the Knower*, but from the *Active Power*, and Exerted *Vigour* or *Strength*, of that which *Knows*. Thus *Severinus Boetius*; *Videsne ut in cognoscendo, cuncta Suâ potius Facultate, quàm Eorum quæ Cognoscuntur Utantur? Neque id injuria, nam cum omne Judicium Judicantis Actus existat, necesse est ut suam quisque Operam, non ex Alienâ, sed ex propriâ Potestate perficiat. See you not, how all things in Knowing, use their own Power and Faculty, rather, than that of the thing Known? For since Judgment is the Action of that which Judgeth, every thing must of necessity perform its own Action, by its own Power, Strength, and Faculty, and not by that of another.* Sense it self is not a meer *Passion*; or *Reception* of the *Motion* from Bodies without the *Sentient*, for if it were so, then would a Looking-Glass, and Other Dead things See: but it is a *Perception* of a *Passion*, made upon the *Body* of the *Sentient*, and therefore hath something of the *Souls* own *Self-Activity* in it. But *Understanding* and the *Knowledge* of *Abstract Sciences*, is neither *Primary Sense*, nor yet the *Fading* and *Decaying Remainders*, of the *Motions* thereof, but a *Perception* of another kind, and more *Inward* than that of *Sense*; not *Sympathetical* but *Unpassionate*, the *Noemata* of the Mind, being things distinct from the *Phantasmata* of *Sense* and *Imagination*; which are but a Kind of *Confused Cogitations*. And though the Objects of *Sense* be only *Singular Bodies*, Existing without the *Sentient*, yet are not

Cons L. 5. Pro. 4.

not theſe *Senſibles* therefore, the only *Things* and *Cogitables*; but there are other *Objects* of *Science*, or *Intelligibles*, which the *Mind Containeth* within it *Self*. That *Dark Philoſophy* of ſome, tending ſo directly to Atheiſm, That there is Nothing *in the Mind* or *Underſtanding* which was, not *Firſt* in *Corporeal Senſe*, and derived in way of *Paſſion* from *Matter*, was both *Elegantly* and *Solidly* Confuted by *Boetius* his *Philoſophick Muſe*, after this manner,

Boët Conſ. Lib. M. 4.

Quondam Porticus attulit,
Qui Senſus & Imagines,
Credant Mentibus imprimi;
Mos eſt æquore paginæ,
Preſſas Figere literas.
Nihil motibus explicat,
Notis ſubdita Corporum,
Rerum reddit imagines,
Cernens omnia Notio?
Aut quæ cognita dividit?
Alternumque legens iter,
Nunc decidit in Infima;
Veris falſa redarguit?
Longe Cauſa potentior,
Impreſſas patitur notas.
Et Vires Animi movens,
Cum vel Lux oculos ferit,
Tum Mentis Vigor excitus,
Ad Motus ſimiles vocans,
Obſcuros nimium Senes,
E Corporibus extimis,
Ut quondam Celeri ſtylo
Quæ nullas habeat notas,
Sed Mens ſi propriis vigens
Sed tantum patiens jacet
Caſſaſque in Speculi vicem
Unde hæc ſic animis viget
Quæ vis ſingula proſpicit?
Quæ diviſa recolligit?
Nunc Summis Caput inſerit,
Tum ſeſe referens ſibi
Hæc eſt Efficiens magis
Quam quæ Materiæ modo
Præcedit tamen Excitans
Vivo in corpore Paſſio.
Vel Vox auribus inſtrepit:
Quas intus ſpecies tenet,
Notis applicat exteris.

It is true indeed, that the Νοητὸν, or *Thing Underſtood*, is in order of Nature before the *Intellection* and *Conception* of it, and from hence was it, that the *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts* concluded, that Νοῦς; *Mind* or *Intellect*, was not the very *Firſt* and *Higheſt* Thing in the *Scale* of the *Univerſe*, but that there was another *Divine Hypoſtaſis*, in order of *Nature* before it, called by them Ἓν and Τ' ἀγαθὸν, *One* and *The Good*, as the Νοητὸν or *Intelligible* thereof. But as thoſe Three *Archical Hypoſtaſes* of the *Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans*, are all of them Really but *One* Θεῖον or *Divinity*: And the Firſt of thoſe Three, (Superiour to that which is properly called by them, *Mind* or *Intellect*) is not ſuppoſed therefore to be Ignorant of it ſelf: So is the *Firſt Mind* or *Underſtanding*, no other, than that of a Perfect Being, Infinitely *Good*, *Fecund*, and *Powerful*, and vertually Containing all things; comprehending it ſelf and the Extent of its own *Goodneſs*, *Fecundity*, *Vertue*, and *Power*; that is, all *Poſſibilities* of things, their Relations to one another, and Verities; a *Mind before Senſe*, and *Senſible Things*. An *Omnipotent Underſtanding Being*, which is it ſelf its own *Intelligible*, is the *Firſt Original* of all things. Again, that there muſt of neceſſity be ſome other Subſtance beſides Body or Matter, and which in the *Scale of Nature* is Superiour to it, is evident from hence, becauſe otherwiſe, there could be no *Motion* at all therein, no Body being ever able to move it ſelf. There muſt be ſomething *Self-Active* and *Hylarchical*, ſomething that can Act both from

from it ſelf, and upon Matter, as having a *Natural Imperium*, or Command over it. *Cogitation* is in order of Nature, before *Local Motion*. *Life* and *Underſtanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*, are no *Syllables* or *Complexions* of things, *Secundary* and *Derivative*, which might therefore be made out of things devoid of *Life* and *Underſtanding*; but *Simple*, *Primitive*, and *Uncompounded* Natures: they are no *Qualities* or *Accidental Modifications* of *Matter*, but *Subſtantial Things*. For which Cauſe *Souls* or *Minds* can no more be Generated out of *Matter*, than *Matter* it Self, can be *Generated* out of Something elſe: and therefore are they both alike (in ſome ſenſe) Principles, Naturally Ingenerable and Incorruptible; though both Matter, and all *Imperfect Souls* and *Minds*, were at firſt *Created* by one *Perfect Omnipotent Underſtanding Being*. Moreover Nothing can be more Evident than this, that *Mind* and *Underſtanding* hath a *Higher Degree* of *Entity* or *Perfection* in it, and is a *Greater Reality* in Nature, than meer *Senſleſs Matter* or *Bulkie Extenſion*. And Conſequently the things which belong to *Souls* and *Minds*, to *Rational* and *Intellectual Beings* as ſuch, muſt not have *Leſs*, but *More Reality* in them, than the things which belong to *Inanimate Bodies*. Wherefore the Differences of *Juſt* and *Unjuſt*, *Honeſt* and *Diſhoneſt*, are greater *Realities* in Nature, than the *Differences* of *Hard* and *Soft*, *Hot* and *Cold*, *Moiſt* and *Dry*. He that does not perceive any *Higher Degree* of Perfection, in a *Man*, than in an *Oyſter*, nay than in a *Clod* of *Earth* or *Lump* of *Ice*, in a Piece of *Paſt*, or *Pye-Cruſt*, hath not the Reaſon or Underſtanding of a Man in him. There is unqueſtionably, a *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Nature*, and Degrees of *Perfection* and *Entity*, one above another, as of *Life*, *Senſe*, and *Cogitation*, above Dead, Senſleſs and *Unthinking Matter*; of *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding* above *Senſe*, *&c.* And if the Sun be Nothing but a *Maſs* of Fire, or Inanimate *Subtle Matter* Agitated, then hath the moſt Contemptible Animal, that can ſee the Sun, and hath *Conſciouſneſs* and *Self-enjoyment*, a Higher Degree of *Entity* and *Perfection* in it, than that whole *Fiery Globe*; as alſo than the *Materials*, (Stone, Timber, Brick and Morter) of the moſt Stately Structure, or City. Notwithſtanding which, the Sun in other regards, and as its vaſtly Extended Light and Heat, hath ſo great an Influence, upon the Good of the whole World, Plants and Animals; may be ſaid to be a far more *Noble* and *Uſeful* thing in the Univerſe, than any one *Particular* Animal whatſoever. Wherefore there being plainly a *Scale* or *Ladder of Entity*; the *Order* of Things was unqueſtionably, in way of *Deſcent*, from *Higher* Perfection, Downward to Lower, it being as Impoſſible, for a *Greater Perfection* to be produced from a *Leſſer*, as for *Something* to be Cauſed by *Nothing*. Neither are the *Steps* or *Degrees* of this *Ladder*, (either upward or downward) *Infinite*; but as the *Foot*, *Bottom*, or *Loweſt Round* thereof, is *Stupid* and *Senſleſs Matter*, devoid of all *Life* and *Underſtanding*; ſo is the *Head*, *Top*, and *Summity* of it, a *Perfect Omnipotent Being*, Comprehending it ſelf, and all Poſſibilities of things. A *Perfect* Underſtanding Being, is the *Beginning* and *Head* of the *Scale* of Entity; from whence things *Gradually* Deſcend downward; lower and lower, till they end in *Senſleſs Matter*. Νοῦς πάντων πρεσβύτατος, *Mind is the Oldeſt of all things*, Senior to the Elements,

lements, and the whole Corporeal World; and likewise according to the same Ancient Theists, it is κύριον τῆς φύσεως, by *Nature Lord over all*, or hath a Natural *Imperium* and Dominion over all; it being the most *Hegemonical thing*. And thus was it also affirmed by *Anaxagoras*, Νοῦς βασιλεὺς ἁπάσης τε καὶ γῆς, *that Mind is the Soveraign King of Heaven and Earth.*

We have now made it evident, that the *Epicurean* and *Anaximandrian Atheists*, who derive the Original of all things from *Senseless Matter*, devoid of all Manner of *Life*, can no way Salve the *Phænomenon* of *Cogitation* (*Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*) no more than they can that of *Local Motion*. And the Reason why we have insisted so much upon this Point, is because these Atheists, do not only pretend to Salve this *Phænomenon* of *Cogitation* without a *God*, and so to take away the Argument for a *Deity* from thence; but also to *Demonstrate* the *Impossibility* of its Existence, from the very Nature of *Knowledge*, *Mind*, and *Understanding*. For if *Knowledge*, be in its own Nature, Nothing but a *Passion* from *Singular Bodies* Existing without the *Knower*; and if *Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*, be *Junior* to *Body*, and Generated out of *Senseless Matter*, then could no *Mind* or *Understanding Being*, Possibly be a *God*, that is a *First Principle*, and the *Maker* of all things. And though Modern Writers, take little or no Notice of this, yet did *Plato* anciently, make the very *State* of the *Controversie*, betwixt Theists and Atheists principally to consist in this very thing, *viz.* Whether *Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*, were *Juniors* to *Body*, and Sprung out of Sensless *Matter*, as *Accidental Modifications* thereof, or else were *Substantial* things, and in order of Nature *Before* it. For after the Passages before Cited, he thus concludeth, κινδυνεύει ὁ λέγων ταῦτα, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα, πρῶτα εἶναι πάντων εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτά, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὕστερον· ἔοικε δὲ οὐ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ ὄντως σημαίνειν ταῦτα ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ. Ἆρ' οὖν πρὸς Διὸς οἷον πηγήν τινα ἀνοήτου δόξης ἀνευρήκαμεν ἀνθρώπων, ὁπόσοι περὶ φύσεως ἐφάψαντο ζητημάτων· *These men seem to suppose*, Fire, Water, Air *and Earth, to be the very First things in the Universe, and the Principles of all, calling them only Nature; but Soul and Mind, to have sprung up afterwards out of them. Nay, they do not only Seem to suppose this, but also in Expres Words declare the same. And thus* (*by* Jupiter) *have we discovered, the very Fountain of that* Atheistick *Madness, of the* Ancient Physiologers; *to wit, their making Inanimate Bodies, Senior to Soul and Mind.* And accordingly, that Philosopher addresses himself to the Confutation of *Atheism*, no otherwise than thus, by proving *Soul* not to be *Junior* to *Senseless Body*, or *Inanimate Matter*, and Generated out of it; ὃ πρῶτον γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτιον ἁπάντων, τοῦτο δὲ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον ἀπεφήναντο εἶναι γεγονὸς, οἱ τὴν περὶ ἀσεβῶν ψυχὴν ἀπεργασάμενοι λόγοι· ὃ δὲ ὕστερον πρότερον· ὅθεν ἠμαρτήκασι περὶ θεῶν τὸ ὅλως οὐσίας ψυχὴν ἡνωκέναι κινδυνεύσει μὲν ὀλίγα ξύμπαντες, οἷον τὸ ὂν τυχόντα καὶ δύναμιν ἔχειν· περὶ τε ἄλλων αὐτῆς πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσεως, ὡς ἐν πρώτοις ὄντι, σωμάτων ἐμπροσθεν πάντων γενομένην, καὶ μεταβολῆς πάσης ἀρχήν· *That which is the First Cause of the Generation and Corruption of all Things, the Atheistick Doctrine supposes, not to have been* Pl. L. 10. De Leg.

First Made; but what is indeed the Laſt thing, to be the Firſt, And hence is it, that they erre concerning the Eſſence of the Gods. For they are ignorant what kind of thing Soul is, and what power it hath; as alſo eſpecially concerning its Generation and Production, That it was Firſt of all made before Body, it being that which Governs the Motions, Changes, and Transformations thereof. But if Soul be Firſt in Order of Nature before Body, then muſt thoſe things which are Cognate to Soul, be alſo before the Things which appertain to Body; and ſo Mind and Underſtanding, Art and Law be before Hard and Soft, Heavy and Light: and that which theſe Atheiſts call Nature (the Motion of Inanimate Bodies) Junior to Art and Mind, it being Governed by the ſame. Now that *Soul* is in order of *Nature* before *Body*, this Philoſopher demonſtrates only from the Topick or Head of *Motion*, becauſe it is Impoſſible, that one Body ſhould Move another Infinitely, without any *Firſt Cauſe* or *Mover*; but there muſt of Neceſſity be ſomething *Self-Moving*, and *Self-Active*, or which had a power of Changing it Self, that was the firſt Cauſe of all Local Motion in Bodies. And this being the very *Notion* of *Soul*, that it is ſuch a thing, as can *Move* or *Change* it ſelf (in which alſo the Eſſence of *Life* conſiſteth.) He thus inferreth, ἱκανώτατα δὲ δέδεικται ψυχὴ πάντων πρεσβυτάτη γενομένη τε ἀρχὴ κινήσεως· *It is therefore ſufficiently demonſtrated from hence, that Soul is the Oldeſt of all things in the Corporeal World; it being the Principle of all the Motion, and Generation in it.* And his Concluſion is, ὀρθῶς ἄρα εἰρηκότες ἂν ἦμεν ψυχὴν μὲν πρότερον γεγονέναι σώματος ἡμῖν, σῶμα δὲ δεύτερον, τε καὶ ὕστερον, ψυχῆς ἀρχούσης, ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσιν· *It hath been therefore rightly affirmed by us, that Soul is Older than Body, and was Made Before it, and Body Younger and Junior to Soul; Soul being that which Ruleth, and Body that which is Ruled. From whence it follows that the Things of Soul alſo, are Older than the things of Body; and therefore Cogitation, Intellection, Volition, and Appetite, in order of Nature before Length, Breadth* and *Profundity.* Now it is Evident, that *Plato* in all this Underſtood, not only the *Mundane Soul*, or his *Third Divine Hypoſtaſis*, the Original of that Motion that is in the Heavens and the whole Corporeal Univerſe, but alſo all other Particular *Lives* and *Souls* whatſoever, or that whole *Rank* of *Beings* called *Soul*; he ſuppoſing it all to have been at firſt made, before the Corporeal Syſtem, or at leaſt to have been in order of Nature *Senior* to it, as Superiour and more excellent, (that which Ruleth being Superiour to that which is Ruled) and no *Soul* or *Life* whatſoever, to be Generated out of *Senſleſs Matter.*

Wherefore we muſt needs here condemn that Doctrine of ſome Profeſſed Theiſts and Chriſtians of Latter Times, who *Generate* all *Souls*, not only the *Senſitive* in Brutes, but alſo the *Rational* in Men, out of *Matter.* For as much as hereby, not only that *Argument* for the Exiſtence of a God, from *Souls*, is quite taken away; and nothing could hinder but that *Senſleſs Matter* might be the Original of all things; if *Life* and *Underſtanding*, *Soul* and *Mind* ſprung out of it; but alſo the *Atheiſt* will have an advantage, to prove the *Impoſſibility* of a *God* from hence. Becauſe if *Life* and *Underſtanding*, in their own Nature be *Factitious*, and *Generable* out of *Matter*, then

are

are they no *Subſtantial Things*, but *Accidental* only, from whence it will plainly follow, that no Mind could poſſibly be a *God*, or *Firſt Cauſe* of all things, it being not ſo much as able to Subſiſt by it Self. Moreover if Mind as ſuch, be *Generable*, and *Educible out of Nothing*; then muſt it needs be in its own Nature *Corruptible* alſo, and *Reducible to Nothing* again; whereas the Deity is both an *Unmade* and *Incorruptible Being*. So that there could not poſſibly be according to this *Hypotheſis*, any other *God*, than ſuch a *Jupiter*, or *Soul of the World*, as the *Atheiſtick Theogoniſts* acknowledged, that Sprung out of *Night*, *Chaos*, and *Non-Entity*, and may be again Swallowed up into that *Dark Abyſs*. Senſleſs Matter therefore, being the only *Unmade* and *Incorruptible thing*; and the Fountain of all things, Even of *Life* and *Underſtanding*; it muſt needs be acknowledged to be the Only Real *Numen*.

Neither will the Caſe be much different, as to ſome others; who though indeed they do not profeſſedly Generate, the *Rational*, but only the *Senſitive Soul*, both in Men and Brutes; yet do nevertheleſs maintain, the *Humane Soul* it ſelf, to be but a meer *Blank*, or *White Sheet* of Paper, that hath nothing at all in it, but what was *Scribled* upon it, by the *Objects* of *Senſe*; and Knowledge or Underſtanding to be nothing but the *Reſult* of *Senſe*, and ſo a *Paſſion* from Senſible Bodies exiſting without the Knower. For hereby, as they plainly make *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, to be in its own Nature, *Junior* to *Senſe*, and the very *Creature* of *Senſibles*; ſo do they alſo imply, the *Rational Soul* and *Mind* it ſelf, to be as well *Generated* as the *Senſitive*, wherein it is Vertually Contained: or to be nothing but a Higher *Modification* of *Matter*; agreeably to that Leviathan-*Doctrine*, That men differ no otherwiſe from *Brute Animals*, then only in their *Organization*, and the Uſe of *Speech* or *Words*.

In very truth, Whoever maintaineh, that any *Life* or *Soul*, any *Cogitation* or *Conſciouſneſs*, *Self-Perception* and *Self-Activity*, can ſpring out of Dead, Senſleſs and Unactive Matter, the ſame can never poſſibly have any Rational Aſſurance, but that his own Soul, had alſo a like Original, and Conſequently is *Mortal* and *Corruptible*. For if any *Life* and *Cogitation* can be thus Generated, then is there no Reaſon, but that all Lives may be ſo; they being but Higher Degrees in the ſame Kind: and neither *Life*, nor any thing elſe, can be in its own Nature Indifferent, to be either *Subſtance* or *Accident*, and ſometimes one, ſometimes the other: but either all *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Conſciouſneſs*, is *Accidental*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*; or elſe none at all.

That which hath inclined ſo many, to think the *Senſitive Life* at leaſt, to be nothing but a *Quality* or *Accident* of *Matter*, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* into it, is that ſtrange Protean Transformation of Matter, into ſo many ſeemingly Unaccountable Forms and Shapes, together with the Scholaſtick Opinion threupon, of *Real Qualities*; that is, *Entities* diſtinct from the *Subſtance* of *Body*, and its *Modifications*, but yet Generable out of it, and Corruptible, into

it. They concluding that as *Light*, and *Colours*, *Heat* and *Cold*, *&c.* according to thoſe *Phancies* which we have of them, are *Real Qualities* of Matter, diſtinct from its *Subſtance* and *Modifications*, ſo may *Life*, *Senſe*, and *Cogitation*, be in like manner *Qualities* of *Matter* alſo *Generable* and *Corruptible*. But theſe *Real Qualities* of Body in the Senſe declared, are things that were long ſince juſtly exploded, by the Ancient Atomiſts, and expunged out of the Catalogue of Entities, of whom *Laertius* hath Recorded, that they did ἐκβάλλειν τὰς ποιότητας, *quite caſhier and baniſh Qualities out of their Philoſophy*: they reſolving all Corporeal *Phænomena*, and therefore thoſe of *Heat* and *Cold*, *Light* and *Colours*, *Fire* and *Flame*, *&c.* intelligibly, into nothing but the Different *Modifications* of *Extended Subſtance*, *viz.* More or Leſs *Magnitude* of *Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, *Motion* or *Reſt*, (or the *Combinations* of them) and thoſe different *Phancies* Cauſed in us by them. Indeed there is no other *Entity*, but *Subſtance* and its *Modifications*. Wherefore the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, did moſt ſhamefully contradict themſelves, when pretending to reject and explode, all thoſe Entities of *Real Qualities*, themſelves nevertheleſs, made *Life* and *Underſtanding*: ſuch *Real Qualities* of Matter, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it.

There is nothing in Body or Matter, but Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion or Reſt; now it is Mathematically Certain, that theſe however Combin'd together, can never poſſibly Compound or Make up *Life* or *Cogitation*: which therefore cannot be an *Accident* of *Matter*, but muſt of neceſſity be a *Subſtantial* thing. We ſpeak not here of that *Life* (improperly ſo called) which is in Vulgar Speech attributed to the Bodies of Men and Animals: for it is plainly *Accidental* to a Body, to be *Vitally United* to a *Soul*, or not. Therefore is this Life of the *Compound*, *Corruptible* and *Deſtroyable*, without the *Deſtruction* of any Real Entity; there being nothing *Deſtroyed*, nor Loſt to the Univerſe, in the *Deaths* of Men and Animals, as ſuch; but only a *Diſunion* or *Separation* made, of thoſe Two Subſtances, *Soul* and *Body* one from another. But we ſpeak here of the *Original Life* of the *Soul* it ſelf, that this is *Subſtantial*, neither *Generable* nor *Corruptible*, but only *Creatable* and *Annihilable* by the Deity. And it is ſtrange, that any men ſhould perſwade themſelves, that that which Rules and Commands, in the Bodies of Animals, moving them up and down, and hath Senſe or Perception in it, ſhould not be as Subſtantial, as that Stupid and Senſleſs Matter, that is Ruled by it. Neither can *Matter*, (which is alſo but a meer *Paſſive* thing) *Efficiently* produce *Soul*, any more than *Soul Matter*: no Finite Imperfect Subſtance, being able to produce another Subſtance out of *Nothing*. Much leſs can ſuch a Subſtance as hath a Lower Degree of *Entity* and *Perfection* in it, *Create* that, which hath a *Higher*. There is a *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Entities* and *Perfections* in the Univerſe, one above another, and the Production of things cannot poſſibly be in Way of *Aſcent* from *Lower* to *Higher*, but muſt of neceſſity be in way of *Deſcent* from *Higher* to *Lower*. Now to produce any One *Higher Rank* of Being, from the *Lower*, as Cogitation from Magnitude and Body, is plainly to invert this *Order*, in the *Scale* of the Univerſe, from

Downward

Downwards to *Upwards*; and therefore is it *Atheiſtical*; and by the Same reaſon, that One *Higher Rank* or Degree in this *Scale*, is thus unnaturally Produced from a Lower, may all the reſt be ſo produced alſo. Wherefore we have great reaſon to ſtand upon our Guard here, and to defend this *Poſt* againſt the *Atheiſts*; That no *Life* or *Cogitation*, can either *Materially* or *Efficiently* reſult from *Dead* and *Senſleſs Body*; or that Souls being all *Subſtantial*, and *Immaterial* things, can neither be *Generated* out of Matter, nor Corrupted into the ſame, but only *Created* or *Annihilated* by the *Deity*.

The Grand Objection againſt this *Subſtantiality* of *Souls Senſitive*, as well as *Rational*, is from that Conſequence, which will be from thence inferred, of their *Permanent Subſiſtence* after Death, their Perpetuity, or Immortality. This ſeeming very abſurd, that the Souls of Brutes alſo ſhould be *Immortal*, or ſubſiſt after the *Deaths* of the Reſpective *Animals*: But eſpecially to Two Sorts of Men; Firſt, ſuch as ſcarcely in good earneſt believe, their own Soul's Immortality; and Secondly, ſuch *Religioniſts*, as conclude, that if Irrational or Senſitive Souls, ſubſiſt after Death, then muſt they needs go preſently, either into Heaven or Hell. And *R. Carteſius* was ſo ſenſible of the *Offenſiveneſs* of this *Opinion*, that though he were fully convinced of the neceſſity of this *Diſjunction*, that either *Brutes* have nothing of *Senſe* or *Cogitation* at all, or elſe they muſt have ſome other *Subſtance* in them beſides *Matter*, he choſe rather to make them meer *Senſleſs Machins*, then to allow them *Subſtantial Souls*. Wherein avoiding a *Leſſer Abſurdity* or *Paradox*, he plainly plunged himſelf into a Greater; ſcarcely any thing being more generally received, than the *Senſe* of *Brutes*. Though in truth all thoſe, who deny the *Subſtantiality* of *Senſitive Souls*, and will have *Brutes* to have nothing but *Matter* in them, ought conſequently according to Reaſon, to do as *Carteſius* did, deprive them of all *Senſe*. But on the contrary, if it be evident from the *Phænomena*, that Brutes are not meer *Senſleſs Machins* or *Automata*, and only like *Clocks* or *Watches*, then ought not *Popular Opinion* and *Vulgar Prejudice* ſo far to prevail with us, as to hinder our Aſſent, to that which ſound Reaſon and Philoſophy clearly dictates, that therefore they muſt have ſomething more than *Matter* in them. Neither ought we, when we clearly conceive any thing to be true, as this, That *Life* and *Cogitation* cannot poſſibly riſe, out of *Dead* and *Senſleſs Matter*; to abandon it, or deny our Aſſent thereunto becauſe we find it attended with ſome Difficulty, not eaſily Extricable by us, or cannot free all the Conſequences thereof from ſome Inconvenience or Abſurdity, ſuch as ſeems to be in the *Permanent Subſiſtence* of *Bruiſh Souls*.

For the giving an Account of which notwithſtanding, *Plato* and the Ancient *Pythagoreans*, propoſed this following *Hypotheſis*. That *Souls* as well *Senſitive*, as *Rational*, being all *Subſtantial*, but not *Self-Exiſtent*, (becauſe there is but one Fountain, and Principle of all things) were therefore Produced or Cauſed by the *Deity*. But this; not in the *Generations* of the reſpective Animals; it being indecorous that this Divine *Miraculous Creative* Power, ſhould conſtantly

Iacquey

lacquey by and attend upon Natural *Generations*; as alſo incongruous, that *Souls* ſhould be ſo much *Juniors* to Every Atom of Duſt, that is in the whole World; but either all of them from Eternity; according to thoſe who Denied the *Novity* of the *World*; or rather according to others, who aſſerted the *Coſmogonia*, in the firſt beginning of the World's *Creation*. Wherefore, it being alſo *Natural* to Souls as ſuch, to *Actuate* and *Enliven* ſome Body, or to be as it were *Clothed* therewith, theſe as ſoon as Created, were immediatly *Inveſted* with certain *Thin* and *Subtle Bodies*, or put into *Light Ethereal* or *Aereal Chariots* and *Vehicles*; wherein they ſubſiſt both before their Entrance into other *Groſs Terreſtrial Bodies* and after their *Egreſs* out of them. So that the *Souls* not only of men, but alſo of other Animals, have ſometimes a *Thicker*, and ſometimes a *Thinner Indument* or *Clothing*. And thus do we underſtand *Boetius*, not only of the Rational; but alſo of the other Inferior *Senſitive Souls*, in theſe Verſes of his,

Tu Cauſis Animas paribus Vitaſque Minores,
Provehis, & Levibus ſublimes Curribus aptans,
In Cœlum Terramque ſeris.

Where his *Light Chariots*, which all *Lives* or *Souls* at their very Firſt Creation, by God are placed in; and in which being wafted, they are both together as as it were Sowed into the Groſs *Terreſtrial Matter*; are Thin, *Aereal* and *Ethereal Bodies*. But this is plainly declared by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, after he had ſpoken of the Souls of Demons and Men, in this manner; L. 5 p. 290. ἡ γὰρ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνάγκη πρὸ τῶν θνητῶν σωμάτων, ἀϊδίοις καὶ δυνατοῖς πως χρῆσθαι σώμασιν, ὡς κατ' οὐσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ κινεῖν, *And every Soul, muſt of neceſſity have, before theſe Mortal Bodies, certain Eternal and eaſily moveable Bodies, it being Eſſential to them to move.* There is indeed mention made by the ſame *Proclus*, and others, of an Opinion of ἄλογοι δαίμονες, *Irrational* or *Brutiſh Demons*, or *Demoniack Aereal* Brutes; L. 4 p. 288. of which he ſometime ſpeaks doubtfully, as εἴπερ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἄλογοι δαίμονες, ὡς οἱ Θεουργοὶ, *If there be any Irrational Demons, as the Theurgiſts affirm.* But the Diſpute, Doubt or Controverſie here only was, Whether there were any ſuch *Irrational Demons Immortal* or no. For thus we learn from theſe Words of *Ammonius* upon the *Porphyrian Iſagoge*, οἱ μὲν γάρ φασιν εἶναί τι δαιμονίων ἀλόγων γένος ἀθάνατον, οἱ δὲ φασι καὶ τοῦτον γένος θνητὸν εἶναι, *Some affirm, that there is a certain kind of Irrational Demons Immortal*; but others, that all theſe *Irrational or Brutiſh Demons, are Mortal:* Where by *Irrational Demons Immortal*, ſeem to be underſtood, ſuch as never Deſcend into *Terreſtrial Bodies*, (and theſe are there diſclaimed by *Ammonius*) but the *Mortal* Ones, ſuch as act alſo upon Groſs Terreſtrial Bodies, obnoxious to *Death* and *Corruption*. As if *Ammonius* ſhould have ſaid, There are no other *Brutiſh* or *Irrational Demons*, than only the Souls of ſuch *Brute Animals*, as are here amongſt us, ſometimes acting only *Aereal Bodies*. Thus according to the ancient *Pythagorick Hypotheſis*; There is neither any New *Subſtantial* thing now Made, which was not before, nor yet any Real Entity Deſtroyed into Nothing; not only no Matter, but alſo no *Soul* nor *Life*:

God

God after the First Creation, neither making any *New Substance*, nor yet *Annihilating* any thing made. He then Creating nothing that was not fit to be Conserved in Being, and which could not be well Used and Placed in the Universe; and afterward never Repenting him of what he had before done. And Natural *Generations* and *Corruptions*, being nothing but *Accidental Mutations*, *Concretions* and *Secretions*, or *Anagrammatical Transpositions* of *Præ-* and *Post-Existing* things, the same *Souls* and Lives being sometimes United to one Body, and sometimes to another, Sometimes in *Thicker* and sometimes in *Thinner Clothing*; and sometimes in the *Visible*, sometimes in the *Invisible*: (they having *Aereal* as well as *Terrestrial Vehicles*;) and never any Soul quite naked of all Body. And thus does *Proclus* complain of some as *Spurious Platonists*, οἱ φθείροντες τὸ ὄχημα ἀναγκά- *In Tim. p. 330.*
ζουσι ποτε παντὸς σώματος ἔξω ποιεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, *Who Destroying the Thinner Vehicles of Souls, were therefore necessitated sometimes, to leave them in a State of Separation from all Body; or without any Corporeal Indument.* Which *Cabbala* probably derived from the *Egyptians*, by *Pythagoras*; was before fully represented by us out of *Ovid*, though that Transmigration of Humane Souls there into Ferine Bodies, hath not been by all acknowledged, as a *Genuine* Part thereof. And the same was likewise insisted upon by *Virgil. Georg. L.* 4. as also owned and confirmed by *Macrobius*, for a Great Truth, *Constat secundum veræ rationis Assertionem, quam nec* Cicero *nescit, nec* Virgilius *ignorat, dicendo,* *Somn. Scip. L.* 2. *C.* 12.

Nec Morti esse Locum; ——

Constat inquam, Nihil intrà Vivum Mundum perire, sed eorum quæ interire videntur, solam mutari Speciem. It is manifest according to Reason and True Philosophy, which neither Cicero, *nor* Virgil, *were unacquainted with, (the Latter of these affirming, That there is no place at allleft for Death) I say, it is manifest, that none of those things, that to us seem to die, do absolutely perish, within the Living World, but only their Forms changed.*

Now how extravagant soever this *Hypothesis* seem to be, yet is there no Question, but that a *Pythagorean* would endeavour to find some Countenance and Shelter for it, in the Scripture; especially that place which hath so puzled and *non*-plus'd Interpreters, *Rom.* 8. 19. *For the Earnest expectation of the Creature, waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God. For the Creature was made subject unto Vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope. Because the Creature it self also shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God. For we know, that the whole Creation Groaneth, and Travelleth in pain together; until now. And not only they, but our selves also which have the First Fruits of the Spirit, Groan within Our selves, Waiting for the Adoption, even the Redemption of our Bodies.* Where it is first of all evident, that the Κτίσις, *Creature* or *Creation* Spoken of, is not the very same with the τέκνα or υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the Children or Sons of God*, but something distinct from them. Wherefore in the next place the *Pythagorean* will add, that it must of necessity be understood, either of the *Inanimate Creature only*, or of the *Lower Animal Creation*, or else of both these together.

gether. Now though it be readily acknowledged, that there is a *Proſopopœia* here; yet cannot all thoſe Expreſſions for all that, without difficulty and violence be underſtood, of the *Inanimate Creation* only, or *Senſleſs Matter*. *Viz.* That this hath ἀποκαραδοκίαν, *an Earneſt Expectation* of ſome future Good to it ſelf; That it is now made *Subject* ματαιότητι, *to Vanity*, *Fruſtration* and *Diſappointment* of Deſire; and φθορᾶς, *to Corruption and Death*: And that οὐχ ἑκοῦσα, not *Willingly*, but Reluctantly; And yet ἐπ' ἐλπίδι too, In *Hope* notwithſtanding of ſome further Good to follow afterward; and that it doth in the mean time συστενάζειν and συνωδίνειν *Groan* and *Travel* in Pain together, till it be at length delivered, from the *Bondage of Corruption*, *into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God*. Moreover, in the *Generations* and *Corruptions* of *Senſleſs Bodies*, as of Minerals and *Vegetables*, or when for example, Oyl is turned into Flame, Flame into Smoke; Water into Vapour, Vapour into Snow or Hail; Graſs into Milk, Milk into Blood and Bones; and the like, there is I ſay in all this, no Hurt done to any thing, nor any *Real Entity* deſtroyed, all the *Subſtance* of Matter ſtill remaining intirely the ſame, without the leaſt diminution, and only *Accidental Tranſformations* thereof made. All this, is Really Nothing, but *Local Motion*; and there is no more *Toyl* nor *Labour* to an *Inanimate* Body in *Motion*, than in *Reſt*; it being altogether as Natural for a Body to be Moved by ſomething elſe, as of it ſelf to Reſt. It is all nothing, but *Change* of *Figure*, *Diſtance*, *Site*, and *Magnitude* of Parts, cauſing ſeveral *Senſations*, *Phancies*, and *Apparitions* in us. And they who would have the meaning of this place to be, That all ſuch like *Mutations*, and *Alternate Viciſſitudes* in *Inanimate Bodies*, ſhall at Length quite ceaſe, theſe Groaning in the mean time, and travelling in Pain, to be delivered from the *Toylſome Labour* of ſuch *Reſtleſs Motion*, and to be at *Eaſe* and *Quiet*; by taking away all Motion thus, out of a fond regard, to the Eaſe and Quiet of Senſleſs Matter, they would thereby *ipſo facto Petrifie*, the whole Corporeal Univerſe, and Conſequently the Bodies of Good Men alſo after the Reſurrection, and Congeal all into *Rockie Marble* or *Adamant*. And as vain is that other Conceit of ſome, that the whole Terreſtrial *Globe*, ſhall at laſt be *Vitrified*, or turned into *Tranſparent Cryſtal*, as if it alſo *Groaned* in the mean time for this. For whatſoever Change ſhall be made of the World, In the *New Heaven*, and the *New Earth* to come, it is Reaſonable to think, that it will not be made, for the ſake of the *Senſleſs Matter*, or the *Inanimate Bodies* themſelves, to which all is alike, but only for the Sake of *Men* and *Animals*, the Living *Spectators*, and *Inhabitants* thereof, that it may be fitter, both for their *Uſe* and *Delight*. Neither indeed can thoſe words; For the Creature it *ſelf ſhall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption*, *into the Glorious Liberty of the Children of God*, be underſtood of any other, than *Animals*; for as much as this *Liberty of the Children of God*, here meant, is their being *Cloathed*, inſtead of *Mortal*, with *Immortal Bodies*; of which no other *Creatures* are Capable, but only ſuch as conſiſt of *Soul* and *Body*. And that πᾶσα κτίσις, that *Whole Creation*, which is ſaid afterwards to *Groan* and *Travel in Pain*, together, may be well underſtood, of all That of the Creation, which *Can Groan*, or

be

be *Senſible* of Evil or Miſery. Wherefore the *Pythagorean* would interpret this place, of the *Lower Animal Creation* only, which is Senſible of Good and Evil; That as this, was Unwillingly, or againſt its own Inclination (after the *Fall* of man, or *Lapſe* of Souls) made ſubject to *Vanity*, and the *Bondage* of *Corruption*, Pain, Miſery and Death, in thoſe Groſs Terreſtrial Bodies: In the manifeſtation of the *Sons of God*, when they in ſtead of theſe Mortal *Bodies*, ſhall be clothed with *Celeſtial* and *Immortal ones*, then ſhall this *Creature* alſo have its certain ſhare in the Felicity of that Glorious Time, and partake in ſome Meaſure of ſuch a Liberty, by being Freed in like manner from theſe their *Groſs Terreſtrial Bodies*, and now living only in *Thin Aerial* and *Immortal* ones: and ſo a Period put to all their Miſeries and Calamities, by him who *made not Death*, neither hath *pleaſure in the Deſtruction* of the *Living*, but Created whatſoever liveth, to this end, that it might *have its Being*, and enjoy it ſelf. But however thus much is certain, that Brute Animals, in this place cannot be quite excluded; becauſe the πᾶσα κτίσις *the Whole Creation*, will not Suffer that: and therefore a *Pythagoriſt* would conclude it a warrantable Inference, from this Text of Scripture, That that whole Rank in the Creation, of *Irrational* & *Brutiſh Animals*, below Men, ſhall not be utterly Annihilated, in the *Conſummation* of things, or *Future Renovation* of the *World*, quite ſtrip'd of all this Furniture; Men being then left alone in it: but that there ſhall be a Continuation of this Species or Rank of Being. And not only ſo neither; as if there ſhould ſtill be a conſtant Succeſſion of ſuch Alternate *Generations* and *Corruptions*, Productions or Births and Deaths of Brute Animals, to all Eternity; but alſo that the *Individuals* themſelves ſhall continue the ſame, for as much as otherwiſe there would be none at all delivered from the *Bondage* of *Corruption*. And Laſtly, that theſe very *Souls* of Brutes, which at this time Groan and Travel in Pain, ſhall themſelves be made partakers of that *Liberty* of the Children of God; ſince otherwiſe, they ſhould be *With Child*, or *Parturient* of Nothing; Groaning not for themſelves, but others. But enough of this *Pythagorick Hypotheſis*, which ſuppoſing all manner of Souls, *Senſitive* as well as *Rational*, to be *Subſtantial* things, and therefore to have a *Permanency after Death*, in their diſtinct Natures, allows them certain *Thin Aerial Ochemata*, or *Vehicles*, to Subſiſt in, when theſe Groſs Terreſtrial ones ſhall fail them.

But let theſe *Aerial Vehicles* of the *Souls* of *Brutes* go for a *Whimſey* or meer *Figment*; nor let them be allowed, to Act or Enliven any other, than *Terreſtrial Bodies* only, by means whereof they muſt needs be, immediately after Death, quite Deſtitute of all Body; they Subſiſting nevertheleſs, and not vaniſhing into Nothing, becauſe they are not meer *Accidents*, but *Subſtantial* things: We ſay that in this caſe, though the Subſtances of them remain, yet muſt they needs continue in a State of *Inſenſibility* and *Inactivity*, unleſs perhaps they be again afterwards united to ſome other *Terreſtrial Bodies*. Becauſe though *Intellection* be the *Energie* of the *Rational Soul* alone, without the Concurrence of *Body*, yet is the *Energie* of the *Senſitive*, always Conjoyned with it: Senſe being, as *Ariſtotle* hath rightly determined,

termined, a *Complication* of *Soul* and *Body* together, as *Weaving* is of the *Weaver* and *Weaving Inſtruments*. Wherefore we ſay, that if the *Irrational* and *Senſitive Souls* in Brutes, being *Subſtantial* things alſo, be after Death quite deſtitute of all *Body*, then can they neither have *Senſe* of any thing, nor *Act* upon any thing, but muſt continue for ſo long a time, in a State of *Inſenſibility* and *Inactivity*. Which is a thing therefore to be thought the leſs Impoſſible, becauſe no man can be certain, that his own Soul in Sleep, Lethargies, and Apoplexies, *&c.* hath always an uninterrupted Conſciouſneſs of it ſelf; and that it was never without *Thoughts*, even in the Mother's Womb. However there is little Reaſon to doubt, but that the *Senſitive Souls* of ſuch Animals, as Lie Dead or Aſleep all the Winter, and Revive or Awake again, at the Approaching warmth of Summer, do for that time continue, in a State of *Inactivity* and *Inſenſibility*. Upon which account, though theſe *Souls* of *Brutes* may be ſaid in one Senſe to be *Immortal*, becauſe the *Subſtance* of them, and the *Root of life* in them, ſtill remains, yet may they in another Senſe, be ſaid alſo to be *Mortal*, as having the *Exerciſe* of that *Life* for a time at leaſt, quite ſuſpended. From whence it appears, that there is no Reaſon at all, for that *Fear* and *Suſpition* of ſome; That if the Souls of Brutes be *Subſtantial*, and continue in Being after Death, they muſt therefore needs go either to *Heaven* or *Hell*. But as for that Suppoſed Poſſibility, of their awakening again afterwards, in ſome other *Terreſtial Bodies*, this ſeemeth to be no more, than what is found by dayly Experience, in the Courſe of Nature, when the *Silk-worm* and other *Worms*, dying, are transformed into Butterflies. For there is little Reaſon to doubt, but that the ſame *Soul* which before Acted the Body of the Silk-worm, doth afterward *Act* that of the *Butterfly*: upon which account it is, that this hath been made by Chriſtian Theologers, an *Emblem of the Reſurrection*.

Hitherto have we declared Two ſeveral *Opinions*, concerning the *Subſtantial Souls* of Brutes, ſuppoſed therefore to have a *Permanent Subſiſtence* after Death, one of *Plato*'s and the *Pythagorean*'s, that when they are deveſted of theſe Groſs *Terreſtrial Bodies*, they Live and have a Senſe of themſelves, in *Thin Aerial* ones. The other, of ſuch as Exploding theſe *Aerial Vehicles* of *Brutes*, and allowing them none but *Terreſtrial Bodies*, affirm the Subſtances of them Surviving Death, to continue in a State of *Inactivity* and *Inſenſibility*, *Sleep*, *Silence*, or *Stupor*. But now to ſay the Truth, there is no *Abſolute Neceſſity*, that theſe Souls of Brutes, becauſe Subſtantial, ſhould therefore have a Permanent Subſiſtence after Death to all Eternity; Becauſe though it be True, that no Subſtance once Created by God, will of it ſelf ever vaniſh into nothing, yet is it true alſo, that whatſoever was Created by God out of Nothing, may poſſibly by him be Annihilated and Reduced to nothing again. Wherefore when it is ſaid, that the *Immortality of the Humane Soul is Demonſtrable by Natural Reaſon*, the meaning hereof is no more than this, that its *Subſtantiality* is ſo Demonſtrable; from whence it follows, that it will Naturally no more periſh or vaniſh into Nothing, than the Subſtance of *Matter* it ſelf: and not that it is Impoſſible, either for it, or Mat-

ter, by Divine Power to be Annihilated. Wherefore the assurance that we have of our own Souls Immortality, must depend upon something else, besides their *Substantiality*, namely a *Faith* also in the *Divine Goodness*, that he will conserve in Being or not Annihilate, all such *Substances Created* by him; whose *Permanent Subsistence*, is neither Inconsistent with his own *Attributes*, nor the Good *of the Universe*; as this of Rational Souls unquestionably is not; they having both *Morality* and *Liberty* of *Will*, and thereby being capable of *Rewards* and *Punishments*, and Consequently *Fit Objects* for the *Divine Justice* to display it self upon. But for ought we can be certain, the case may be otherwise, as to the *Souls of Brute Animals* devoid both of *Morality* and *Liberty* of Will, and therefore Uncapable of *Reward* and *Punishment*, That though they will not Naturally of themselves, vanish into Nothing, yet having been Created by God, in the *Generations* of the Respective Animals, and had some enjoyment of themselves for a time, they may by him again be as well Annihilated in their Deaths and Corruptions: and if this be Absolutely the Best, then doubtless is it so. And to this seemeth agreeable the Opinion of *Porphyrius* amongst the Philosophers, when he affirmed every *Irrational* Power or *Soul*, to be resolved into the Life *of the Whole*; that is, Retracted and Resumed into the Deity, and so Annihilated as to its *Creaturely Nature*. Though possibly there may be another Interpretation of that Philosophers meaning here, *Viz.* That all the *Sensitive Souls* of Brutes, are Really but one and the same *Mundane* Soul, as it were Out-flowing, and variously Displaying it self, and Acting upon all the several parts of Matter, that are capable to receive it, but at their Deaths retiring again back into it self. But we have Sufficiently retunded the Force of that *Objection* against the *Ingenerability* of all *Souls*, and the *Substantiality* of those of Brutes also, from their consequent *Permanence* after Death; we having shewed, That notwithstanding this their *Substantiality*, there is no *Absolute Necessity*, of their Perpetuity after Death, and Permanency to all Eternity, or else that if they do continue to Subsist, (God Annihilating no Substance) unless they have *Aerial Vehicles* to Act, they must remain in a State of *Inactivity*, and *Insensibility*, *Silence*, or *Sleep*.

Now therefore if no *Souls*; no *Life* nor *Cogitation*, could possibly be ever Generated out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, they being not meer *Accidents*, but *Substantial things*, which must in this case have come from *Nothing*; then either all Souls Existed of themselves from Eternity, or else there must of Necessity be some *Eternal Unmade Life and Mind*, from whence all the other *Lives* and *Minds* were derived. And that this was the Doctrine of the Ancient Theists, That no *Soul* or *Mind*, no *Life* or *Understanding*, was ever Generated out of *Matter*, but all Produced by the Deity, the Sole Fountain of Life and Understanding; might be here proved, were it needful, at large by sundry Testimonies, but it may sufficiently appear from those Verses of *Virgil*, First in his Sixth *Ænead*, where after he had spoken of God, as a Spirit and Mind diffused thorough out the whole world, he addeth,

Inde hominum pecudumque genus, Vitæque Volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monſtra ſub æquore Pontus,

That *from thence, are the Lives of all Men and Beaſts, Birds flying in the Air, and Monſters ſwimming in the Sea.* And again in his *Georgicks*, where after theſe words,

——Deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque Tractuſque Maris, Cœlumque profundum,

That *God paſſeth, through all Tracts, of Earths, Seas, and Heavens,* He ſubjoyneth,

Hinc Pecudes, Armenta, Viros, genus omne Ferarum
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere Vitas.
Scilicet huc Reddi deinde & Reſoluta Referri,
Omnia, nec Morti eſſe locum.

And from Hence, not only Men, but alſo all manner of Brute Animals and Beaſts, when produced into this world, do every one derive their Lives or Souls, as alſo at their Deaths they render the ſame back again, to him, in whoſe hand or cuſtody they remain undeſtroyed; ſo that there is no place any where in the world, left for Death. This was therefore undoubtedly, the Genuine Doctrine of the *Ancient Theiſts*, however ſome of late, have Deviated and Swerved from it; That no *Life* was *Generated* out of Matter, but all *Created* by the Deity, or Derived from it, the Sole *Fountain* of *Lives* and *Souls*.

And it is a *Truth* ſo evident, That Life being Subſtantial, and not a meer *Accidental* thing *Generated* and *Corrupted*, there muſt therefore of Neceſſity, be Some *Eternal Unmade Life* and *Mind*, from whence all other *Lives* and *Minds* are derived, That the *Hylozoick Atheiſts* themſelves (in this far wiſer than the *Atomicks*) were fully convinced thereof: Nevertheleſs being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with that Atheiſtick Prejudice, that there is no other Subſtance beſides Body, they Attribute this firſt Original *Unmade Life* and Underſtanding, to all *Matter* as ſuch, (but without Animal Conſciouſneſs) as an Eſſential part thereof, or Inadequate Conception of it. From which *Fundamental Life* of Nature in Matter, Modified by *Organization*, they phancy the Lives of all Animals, and Men, to have proceeded. So that though the *Modificated Lives* of *Animals* and *Men*, as ſuch, according to them be *Accidental* things, *Generated* and *Corrupted*, produced out of *Nothing* and reduced to *Nothing* again, yet this *Fundamental Life* of *Matter*, which is the *Baſis* upon which they ſtand, being Subſtantial, is alſo *Eternal* and *Incorruptible*. Theſe *Hylozoiſts* therefore, to avoid a Deity, Suppoſe every Atom of *Senſleſs Matter*, to have been from all Eternity, *Infallibly Omniſcient*, that is, to know all things without either *Errour* or *Ignorance*, and to have a *Knowledge* before *Senſe*, and *Underived* from *Senſibles* (quite contrary to the Doctrine of the *Atomick Atheiſts*, who make all Knowledge Senſe, or

or the Product thereof) though without any *Animal Conſciouſneſs* and Self-*Perception*.

But as nothing can be more Prodigiouſly Abſurd, than thus to attribute *Infallible Omniſcience*, to every *Atom* of *Matter*; ſo is it alſo directly Contradictious, to ſuppoſe *Perfect Knowledge*, *Wiſdom*, or *Underſtanding*, without any *Conſciouſneſs* or Self *Perception*; *Conſciouſneſs* being Eſſential to *Cogitation*: as alſo, that the *Subſtantial* and *Fundamental Life* in men and other Animals, ſhould never Periſh, and yet Notwithſtanding their *Souls* and *Perſonalities*, in *Death*, utterly vaniſh into *Nothing*. Moreover this *Hypotheſis*, can never poſſibly Salve the *Phænomenon* of *Men* and *Animals* neither; not only becauſe no *Organization* or *Modification* of Matter whatſoever, could ever produce *Conſciouſneſs* and Self-*Perception*, in what was before Inconſcious; but alſo becauſe every *Smalleſt Atom* thereof being ſuppoſed to be a *Percipient* by it ſelf, and to have a Perfect *Life* and *Underſtanding* of its own, there muſt be in every one Man and Animal, not one, but a *Heap* or *Commonwealth* of innumerable Percipients. Laſtly, whereas theſe *Hylozoick Atheiſts*, make every *Atom* of *Matter Omniſcient*, but nothing at all *Omnipotent*, or aſſert *Perfect Knowledge*, without any *Perfect Power*, a Knowledge without *Senſe* and *Underived* from *Senſibles*; we demand of them, where the *Intelligibles*, or Objects of this *Knowledge* are? and whence the *Ideas* thereof are derived? for ſince they proceed not in a way of *Paſſion* from *Senſibles* Exiſting without, nor could reſult from thoſe Atoms neither as Comprehending themſelves; they muſt needs Come from *Nothing*, and many of them at leaſt, be the *Conceptions of Nothing*. There cannot poſſibly be any other Original by the wit of man deviſed, of *Knowledge* and *Underſtanding*, than from an *Abſolutely Perfect* and *Omnipotent Being*, Comprehending it ſelf, and the Extent of its own *Infinite Power*, or all *Poſſibilities* of things, that is, all *Intelligibles*. But there can be but *One* ſuch *Omnipotent Being*, and therefore no more, than *One Original*, and *Eternal Unmade Mind*, from whence all the other *Minds* are Derived. Wherefore this *Hylozoick Atheiſm*, is nothing but the *Breaking* and *Crumbling* of the *Simple Deity*, One Perfect Underſtanding Being, into *Matter*, and all the ſeveral *Atoms* of it.

And now have we made it manifeſt, that theſe Atheiſts, are ſo far from being able to diſprove a God, from this *Topick* of *Cogitation*, *Knowledge* or *Underſtanding*, that they cannot poſſibly Salve the *Phænomenon* thereof, without a God; it indeed affording Invincible *Arguments* of his *Exiſtence*. For Firſt; If no *Life* or *Cogitation*, *Soul* or *Mind*, can poſſibly Spring out of *Matter* or *Body*, devoid of *Life* and *Underſtanding*; and which is nothing but a *Thing Extended*, into *Length*, *Breadth* and *Thickneſs*; then is it ſo far from being True, that all *Life* and *Underſtanding* is Junior to *Senſleſs Matter*, and the Off-ſpring thereof; that of neceſſity, either all *Lives* and *Souls*, were *Self-Exiſtent* from *Eternity*; or elſe there muſt be *One Perfect Unmade Life and Mind*, from whence all other *Imperfect ones* were derived: there muſt be an *Eternal Knowledge*, before *Senſe* and *Senſibles*;

Sensibles; which is that that hath printed the *Stamps* and *Signatures* of it self, upon the Matter of the whole world. Indeed nothing can be more certain than this, that all *Knowledge* and *Understanding* in Our selves, is not a meer *Passion* from Singular *Sensibles*, or Bodies Existing without us, as the forementioned *Atheists* also conclude; (from whence they would again Infer, that *Knowledge* as such, is in its own Nature *Junior* to *Sensibles*, and the meer *Creature* of them, and Consequently no *Creator*.) There being nothing which comes to us, from the *Objects* of Sense without, but Only *Local Motion* and *Pressure*, and there being other Objects of the Mind, besides *Singular Sensibles*; not only all *Universals*, but also such *Intelligibles*, as never were nor can be in *Sense*. Now if our Humane *Knowledge* and *Understanding* be not a *Passion* from things *Existing* without us; then can it have no other Original, than in way of *Participation*, from a *Perfect Mind*, the *Mind* of an *Infinitely Fecund* and *Powerful Being*, comprehending It self, and in It self all things; all the *Possibilities* of things before they were Made, their *Respects* and the *Verities* belonging to them. So that a Perfect *Omnipotent Being* together with the Possibilities of things contained in it; is the *First* Νοητὸν, *Intelligible*, or *Object* of *Mind* and *Understanding*, by which all other *Singulars* are Understood. And were there no such *Perfect*, *Infinitely Fecund*, and *Powerful Being*, there could have been, no *Mind* or Understanding at all. As also, were there no *Perfect Mind*, *viz.* That of an *Omnipotent Being Comprehending* It *self*, and all *Possibilities* of things vertually contained in it; all the *Knowledge*, and *Intelligible Ideas*, of our *Imperfect Minds*, must needs have Sprung from *Nothing*. And thus is the Existence of a *God*, again Demonstrated, from that *Phænomenon* of *Knowledge* or *Understanding*.

HAving quite Routed and Vanquished the Atheists *Main Body*, we shall now blow away the Remainder of their weaker and scattered Forces (*viz.* Their *Objections* against *Providence*, their *Queries*, and their *Arguments* from *Interest*) with a Breath or two. Their *First Objection* is against *Providence*, as to the *Fabrick* of the World, from the *Faultiness* of the *Mundane System*, Intellectually considered, and in Order to Ends; *Quia tantâ stat Prædita Culpâ*; That *Because it is so Ill-Made*, therefore it could not be made by a *God*. Where the *Atheist* takes it for granted, that whosoever asserts a *God*, or a *Perfect Mind* to be the Original of *all* things, does therefore *ipso facto* suppose *All* things to be *Well Made*, and as they *Should be*. And this doubtless was the Sense of all the Ancient *Theologers*; however some Modern *Theists* deviate there from; these Concluding the *Perfection* of the *Deity*, not at all to consist in *Goodness*; but in *Power* and *Arbitrary Will* only. As if to have a *Will* determined by a *Rule* or *Reason* of Good, were the Virtue of *Weak*, *Impotent*, and *Obnoxious* Beings only, or of such as have a *Superior* over them to give *Law* to them, that is of Creatures; but the *Prerogative* of a Being

Being *Irresistibly Powerful*, to have a *Will* absolutely *Indifferent* to all things, and *Undetermined* by any thing but it self; or to *Will* nothing because it is *Good*, but to make its own *Arbitrary* or *Contingent* and *Fortuitous Determination*, the Sole *Reason* of all its Actions, nay the very *Rule* or *Measure*, of *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Wisdom* it self. And this is supposed by them, to be the *Liberty*, *Sovereignty*, and *Dominion* of the *Deity*. Wherefore such *Theists* as these, would think themselves altogether Unconcerned, in these *Atheistick Objections* against *Providence*, or in Defending, the Fabrick of the World, as *Faultless*; they being as ready as the Atheists themselves, to acknowledge, that the World might really have been much better made, than now it is; (Only that it must be said to be Well, because so made) but pretending nevertheless, that this is no Impeachment at all of the *Existence* of a *God*, *Quia Deus non tenetur ad Optimum*, *Because God is No way Bound or Obliged to the Best*; he being indeed according to them, nothing but *Arbitrary Will Omnipotent*. But what do these *Theists* here else, then whilst they deny, the *Fortuitous Motion* of Senseless Matter, to be the First *Original* of all things, themselves in the mean time, Enthrone *Fortuitousness* and *Contingency*, in the *Will* of an *Omnipotent* Being, and there give it an *Absolute Soveraignty* and *Dominion* over all? So that the Controversie betwixt the *Atheists*, and these *Theists*, seems to be no other than this; Whether *Senseless Matter Fortuitously* Moved, or a *Fortuitous Will* Omnipotent, such as is altogether undetermined, by *Goodness*, *Justice* and *Wisdom*, be the *Sovereign Numen*, and *Original* of all things. Certainly, we Mortals could have little better Ground, for our *Faith* and *Hope*, in such an *Omnipotent Arbitrary Will* as this, then we could have in the Motions of *Senseless Atoms*, furiously agitated; or of a *Rapid Whirlwind*. Nay one would think, that of the Two, it should be more desirable, to be under the *Empire* of *Senseless Atoms*, *Fortuitously* moved, then of a Will altogether Undetermined by *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Wisdom*, armed with Omnipotence; because the Former could harbour no Hurtful or Mischievous Designs, against any, as the Latter might. But this *Irrational Will*, altogether Undetermined by Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom, is so far from being the Highest, *Liberty*, *Soveraignty* and *Dominion*; the Greatest *Perfection*, and the *Divinest* thing of all; that it is indeed nothing else but *Weakness* and *Impotency* it self, or *Brutish Folly* and *Madness*. And therefore those Ancients who affirmed, that Mind *was Lord over all*, and the *Supream King* of *Heaven* and *Earth*, held at the Same time, that *Good* was the *Soveraign Monarch* of the Universe, *Good Reigning* in *Mind* and together with it; because *Mind* is that which orders all things for the Sake of *Good*, and whatsoever doth otherwise, was according to them, not Νοῦς, but Ἄνοια, not *Mens*, but *Dementia*, and Consequently no *God*. And thus does *Celsus* in *Origen* declare the *Nature of God*, ὁ γὰρ τῆς πλημμελοῦς ὀρέξεως, οὐδὲ τῆς πεπλανημένης ἀποσ- P. 240.
μίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας φύσεως θεὸς ἔξιν ἀρχηγέτης, *God is not the President or Head of Irregular and Irrational Lust or Appetite, and of loose Erratick Disorderliness, but of the Just and Righteous Nature.* And though this were there misapply'd by him, against the Christian Doctrine of the *Resurrection* (not understood) yet is the Passage highly

highly approved by *Origen*; he adding further in Confirmation thereof, and that as the general Senſe of Chriſtians too, φαμὲν ὅτι ὁ δύναται αἰσχρὸ ὁ θεὸς, ἔσται ὁ θεὸς δυνάμενος μὴ εἶναι θεὸς, εἰ γὰρ αἰσχρόν τι πρᾶξαι ὁ θεὸς, ὃν οὐκ ἔστι θεός· *We Chriſtians* (who hold the Reſurrection) *ſay as well as you, that God can do nothing, which is in it ſelf Evil, Inept, or Abſurd; no more than he is able not to be God. For if God do any Evil he is no God.* And again, ὅθεν μὴ πρέπον ἑαυτῷ ὁ θεὸς βούλεται, ἀναιρέτικον τυγχάνον τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν θεὸν, *God willeth nothing Unbecoming himſelf, or what is truly Indecorous; for as much as this is inconſiſtent with his Godſhip.* And to the ſame purpoſe *Plotinus*, * ποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον ὡς πέφυκε, πέφυκε δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄσιον, ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις αὐτοῦ· ἢ τὸ δίκαιον συνεκφέρει, εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκεῖ ταῦτα, πῶς ἂν εἴη; *The Deity acteth according to its own Nature and Eſſence; and its Nature and Eſſence diſplaieth Goodneſs and Juſtice: For if theſe Things be not there, where ſhould they elſe be found?* And again elſewhere, θεὸς ὅπερ ἔχρην εἶναι, ὁ τοίνυν ὅτῳ συνέβη, ἀλλ' ἔδει ὅτῳ· τὸ δ' ἔδει τοῦτο, ἀρχὴ πάντων ὅσα ἔδει· *God is Eſſentially That which Ought to be; and therefore he did not Happen to be ſuch as he is: and this Firſt Ought to be, is the Principle of all things whatſoever, that Ought to be.* Wherefore the *Deity* is not to be conceived, as meer *Arbitrarineſs*, *Humour*, or *Irrational Will* and *Appetite Omnipotent*, (which would indeed be but *Omnipotent Chance*) but as an *Overflowing Fountain* of *Love* and *Goodneſs*, *Juſtly* and *Wiſely* diſpenſing it ſelf, and *Omnipotently* reaching all things. The *Will of God*, is *Goodneſs*, *Juſtice*, and *Wiſdom*; or Decorouſneſs, Fitneſs, and *Ought* it ſelf, *Willing*; ſo that the τὸ βέλτιστον, that which is Abſolutely *The Beſt*, is νόμῳ ἀπαραβάτῳ, *an Indiſpenſable Law to it, becauſe its Very Eſſence.* God is μέτρον πάντων, an *Impartial Ballance*, lying Even Equal and *Indifferent* to all things, and *Weighing* out Heaven and Earth, and all the Things therein, in the moſt juſt and exact Proportions, and not a *Grain* too much or too little of any thing. Nor is the Deity therefore *Bound* or *Obliged* to do the *Beſt*, in any way of *Servility* (as men fondly imagine this to be contrary to his *Liberty*) much leſs by the Law and Command of any Superiour (which is a Contradiction) but only by the *Perfection* of its own *Nature*, which it cannot poſſibly deviate from, no more than *Ungod* it ſelf. In *Concluſion* therefore, we acknowledge the *Atheiſts* Argument to be thus far Good; that If there be a God, then of Neceſſity muſt all things be *Well made*, and as they *Should be*; *& vice verſâ.* But no *Atheiſt* will ever be able to prove, that either the Whole *Syſtem* of the World, could have been *Better Made*, or that ſo much as any one thing therein is Made *Ineptly.*

So likewiſe. p. 247. ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὅσιός τε παράλογον ἔστι παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἐργάσασθαι ἐστιν ὁ Θεός. *According to Us alſo, God can do nothing that is Abſurd, or beſides Reaſon.*

* P. 265.

P, 743.

There are indeed many things in the *Frame of Nature*, which we cannot reach to the Reaſons of, they being made by a *Knowledge* far Superior and Tranſcendent, to that of Ours, and our *Experience* and Ratiocination, but Slowly diſcovering the *Intrigues* and contrivances of Providence therein; Witneſs the *Circulation of the Blood*, the *Milkie* and *Lymphatick* Veſſels, and other things, (without which the Mechanick Structure of the Bodies of Animals cannot be underſtood) all but ſo lately brought to light: wherefore we muſt not conclude, that whatſoever

ſoever we cannot find out the Reaſon of, or the uſe that it ſerveth to, is therefore *Ineptly Made*. We ſhall give one Inſtance of this; The *Inteſtinum Cœcum*, in the Bodies of Men and other Animals ſeems at firſt ſight, to be but a meer *Botch* or *Bungle* of Nature, and an *Odd* impertinent *Appendix*; neither do we know that any *Anatomiſt* or *Phyſiologer*, hath given a Rational Account thereof, or diſcovered its Uſe, and yet there being a *Valve* at the Entrance of it, theſe Two both together, are a moſt *Artificial Contrivance* of Nature, and of great advantage for Animals, to hinder the *Regurgitation* of the *Fæces* upward, towards the *Ventricle*.

The Firſt *Atheiſtick Inſtance* of the *Faultineſs* of things, in the *Frame of Nature*, is from the *Conſtitution* of the Heavens, and the Diſpoſition of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, interſecting each other in an *Angle*, of Three and Twenty Degrees and upwards; whereby as they pretend, the Terreſtrial Globe, is rendred much more Uninhabitable, than otherwiſe it might be. But this is built upon a *Falſe Suppoſition* of the Ancients, that the Torrid Zone, or all between the *Tropicks*, was utterly Uninhabitable by reaſon of the Extremity of Heat. And it is certain, that there is nothing which doth more demonſtrate a *Providence* than this very thing, it being the moſt Convenient Site or Diſpoſition, that could be deviſed, as will appear if the Inconveniences of other Diſpoſitions be conſidered, eſpecially theſe *Three*; Firſt, If the Axes of thoſe Circles ſhould be *Parallel*, and their *Plains* Coincident; *Secondly*, If they ſhould Interſect each other in *Right Angles*; and *Thirdly*, (which is a Middle betwixt both) If they ſhould cut one another in an Angle of *Forty Five Degrees*. For it is evident, that each of theſe *Diſpoſitions* would be attended with far greater *Inconveniences* to the Terreſtrial Inhabitants, in reſpect of the Length of Days and Nights, Heat and Cold. And that theſe two *Circles* ſhould continue thus, to keep the ſame *Angular Interſection*, when *Phyſical* and *Mechanick Cauſes*, would bring them ſtill nearer together; this is a farther Eviction of a *Providence* alſo.

In the next place, the *Atheiſt* ſuppoſes, that according to the general Perſwaſion of *Theiſts*, the world and all things therein, were Created only for the Sake *of Man*, he thinking to make ſome advantage for his Cauſe from hence. But this ſeemeth, at firſt, to have been an Opinion only, of ſome ſtrait-laced Stoicks, though afterward indeed recommended to others alſo, by their own *Self-love*, their Over-*Weaning*, and *Puffy Conceit* of themſelves. And ſo *Fleas* and *Lice*, had they Underſtanding, might conclude the Bodies of other greater Animals and Men alſo, to have been made only for them. But the *Whole* was not properly made for any *Part*, but the *Parts* for the *Whole*, and the *Whole* for the *Maker* thereof. And yet may the things of this Lower World, be well ſaid, to have been *Made*, *Principally*, (though not *Only*) for Man. For we ought not to Monopolize the Divine Goodneſs to our ſelves, there being other Animals Superiour to us, that are not altogether Unconcerned neither in this *Viſible Creation*: and it being reaſonable to think, that Even the *Low-*

Thus Plato, μέρος μὲν ἕνεκα ὅλου, ἡ δὲ ὅλον μέρους ἕνεκα. De Leg. p. 903.

er Animals likewiſe, and whatſoever, hath *Conſcious Life*; was made partly alſo, to *Enjoy* it ſelf. But Atheiſts, can be no Fit *Judges*, of *Worlds* being made *Well* or *Ill*, either in general, or reſpectively to Mankind, they having no *Standing Meaſure* for *Well* and *Ill*, without a *God* and *Morality*, nor any True Knowledge of themſelves, and what their own *Good* or *Evil* Conſiſteth in. That was at firſt but a *Froward Speech*, of ſome ſullen diſcontented Perſons, when things falling not out agreeably, to their own *Private*, *Selfiſh*, and *Partial Appetites*, they would Revenge themſelves, by *Railing* upon *Nature*, (that is, *Providence*) and calling her a *Stepmother* only to Mankind, whilſt ſhe was a Fond, Partial, and Indulgent Mother to other Animals; and though this be Elegantly ſet off by *Lucretius*, yet is there nothing but *Poetick Flouriſh*, in it all, without any *Philoſophick Truth*. The Advantages of Mankind being ſo notoriouſly conſpicuous above thoſe of Brutes.

But as for *Evils* in general, from whence the *Atheiſt* would conclude, the *God* of the *Theiſt*, to be either *Impotent* or *Envious*; it hath been already declared, that the *True Original* of them, is from the *Neceſſity* of *Imperfect* Beings, and the *Incompoſſibility* of things; but that the Divine *Art* and *Skill*, moſt of all appeareth, in *Bonifying* theſe *Evils*, and making them like *Diſcords* in Muſick, to contribute to the *Harmony* of the *Whole*, and the Good of *Particular Perſons*.

Moreover a great part of thoſe Evils, which men are afflicted with, is not from the *Reality* of Things, but only from their own *Phancy* and *Opinions*, according to that of the *Moraliſt*, Ταραϛαὶ τὸς ἀνθρώπους ὰ τὰ πραγματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δόγματα, *It is not Things themſelves that diſturb men, but only their Own Opinions concerning things*; and therefore it being much in our own Power to be freed from theſe, *Providence* is not to be Blamed upon the account of them. *Pain*, is many times nearly linked with *Pleaſure*, according to that *Socratick Fable*, That when *God could not reconcile their Contrary Natures (as he would) he Tyed them Head and Tayl together*. And good men know that Pain is not the *Evil* of *the Man*, but only of the *Part* ſo affected, (as *Socrates* alſo) τὸ ἀλγῶν ἐν τῇ Ϛκέλῃ μένῃ, *It goes no further than the Leg where it is*. But this is many times very Serviceable, to free us from the *Greater Evils* of the Mind; upon which all our Happineſs dependeth. To the *Atheiſts* who acknowledge no *Malum Culpæ*, *No Evil* of *Fault*, (*Turpitude*, or *Diſhoneſty*) *Death* is the Greateſt and *moſt Tragical* of all *Evils*. But though this according to their forlorn *Hypotheſis*, be nothing leſs than an Abſolute Extinction of Life; yet according to the Doctrine of the *Genuine Theiſts*, which makes all *Souls Subſtantial*, no *Life* of it ſelf (without Divine *Annihilation*) will ever quite *Vaniſh* into *Nothing*, any more than the *Subſtance* of *Matter* doth. And the Ancient *Pythagoreans* and *Platoniſts* have been here ſo Kind, even to the *Souls* of *Brutes* alſo, as that they might not be left in a *State of Inactivity* and *Inſenſibility* after Death, as to beſtow upon them certain *Subtle Bodies*, which they may then continue to Act in. Nor can we think otherwiſe, but that *Ariſtotle* from this Fountain, derived that Doctrine of his in his

Second

Second Book, *De Gen. An. c.* 3. where after he had declared the *Sensitive Soul*, to be *Inseparable* from Body, he addeth, πάσης ἓν ψυχῆς δύναμις ἑτέρας σώματος ἔοικε κεκοινωνηκέναι καὶ θειοτέρας τῶν καλουμένων στοιχείων· ὡς δὲ διαφέρουσι τιμιότητι αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ ἀλλήλων, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διαφέρει φύσις· *All Souls therefore, seem to have another Body, and Diviner than that of the Elements; and as themselves differ in Dignity and Nobility, so do these Bodies of theirs, differ from one another.* And afterwards calling this *Subtle Body* πνεῦμα, or a *Spirit*, he affirmeth it to be, ἀνάλογον τῷ τῶν ἄστρων στοιχείῳ, *Analogous to the Element of the Stars.* Only as *Galen*, and S. *Austin*, and others have conceived, *Aristotle* deviated here from the *Pythagoreans* in this, that he supposed the *Sensitive Soul* it self, to be really nothing else, but this Very *Subtle* and *Star-like Body*, and not a distinct Substance from it, using it only as a *Vehicle.* Nevertheless he there plainly affirmeth the *Mind* or *Rational Soul*, to be really distinct from the *Body*, and to come into it *From Without Pre-Existing*; and consequently, should acknowledge also its *After-Immortality.* But whatsoever *Aristotles* Judgment were (which is not very Material) it is Certain that *Dying*, to the *Rational* or *Humane Soul*, is nothing but a withdrawing into the *Tyring-house*, and putting off the *Clothing* of this *Terrestrial Body.* So that it will still continue after death, *to live to God*, whether *in a Body*, or *without* it. Though according to *Plato*'s Expres's Doctrine, the Soul is never quite Naked of all Body, he writting thus, ἀεὶ ψυχὴ ἐμπεπλεγμένη σώματι, τοτὲ μὲν ἄλλῳ τοτὲ δ' ἄλλῳ· *the Soul is always conjoyned with a Body, but sometimes of one kind, and sometimes of another*; which many Christian Doctors also, as is before declared, have thought highly probable. However our *Christian Faith*, assures us, that the *Souls* of Good men, shall at length be clothed, with *Spiritual* and *Heavenly* Bodies, such as are, in *Aristotle*'s Language, ἀνάλογα τῷ τῶν ἄστρων στοιχείῳ, *Analogous to the Element of the Stars.* Which *Christian Resurrection* therefore, to *Life* and *Immortality*, is far from being, as *Celsus* reproched it, Σκωλήκων ἐλπὶς, *The Meer Hope of Worms.* And thus much shall suffice, in way of Confutation, of the First *Atheistick Objection* against *Providence*, which is the *Twelfth Argumentation* propounded, in the *Second Chapter.*

De Leg. 10. p. 903.

The *Thirteenth Atheistick Argument*, or *Second Objection* against *Providence*; is from the *Seeming Confusion* of *Humane Affairs*; That all things fall alike to all; the *Innocent* and the *Nocent*, the *Pious* and the *Impious*, the *Religious* and the *Prophane*: nay, That many times the *Worser* Causes and Men, prevail against the *Better*, as is intimated in that Passage of the Poet, though in the Person of a *Theist*,

Victrix Causa Deo placuit, sed Victa Catoni;

And That the *Unjust* and *Ungodly*, often flow in all kind of *Prosperity*, whilst the Innocent and *Devout* Worshippers of the Deity, all their Lives long, conflict with *Adversity.* Whereas were there a *God* and *Providence*, as they conceive, Prophane and Irreligious Persons would be presently Thunder-struck from Heaven, or otherwise made remarkable Objects of *Divine Vengeance*, as also the *Pious* Miracu-

lously protected and reſcued from Evil and Harms.

Now we grant indeed, that this Conſideration hath too much puzzled and ſtaggered *Weak* Minds in all Ages. Becauſe *Sentence againſt an Evil Work is not executed ſpeedily, therefore is the heart of the Sons of men fully ſet in them to do Evil.* And the *Pſalmiſt* himſelf, was ſometime much perplexed with this *Phænomenon*, the *Proſperity* of the *Ungodly*; who *ſet their Mouths againſt Heaven, and whoſe Tongue walketh through the Earth*; ſo that he was Tempted to think, *He had cleanſed his Heart in Vain, and Waſhed his hands in Innocency*; (till at length entring into the Sanctuary of God, his Mind became Illuminated, and his Soul fixed in a firm Truſt and Confidence *upon Divine Providence*; *Whom have I in Heaven but thee, &c. My Fleſh and my Heart faileth, but God is the Strength of my Heart, and my Portion for ever.*) For as ſome will from hence be apt to infer, That there is no God at all, but that blind *Chance* and *Fortune* ſteer all (*the Fool hath ſaid in his heart, there is no God*;) So will others conclude, That though there be a God, yet he either does not know things done here below, (*How does God Know? and is there Knowledge in the moſt High?*) or elſe will not ſo far *Humble* himſelf, or *Diſturb* his own *Eaſe* and *Quiet*, as to concern himſelf in our *Low Humane Affairs.*

Thus did ſome in Plato *from hence conclude*, εἶναι μὲν θεὸς, περὶ δ' ἀνθρωπίνων ἀμελεῖν πραγμάτων. De Leg. 10.

Firſt of all therefore we here ſay, That it is altogether unreaſonable, to require that *Divine Providence* ſhould *Miraculouſly* interpoſe upon every turn, in *Puniſhing the Ungodly* and *Preſerving* the *Pious*, and thus perpetually interrupt the *Courſe* of *Nature*, (which would look but like a Botch or Bungle, and a violent buſineſs) but rather carry things on ἀψόφῳ κελεύθῳ, in a *Still and Silent Path*, and ſhew his Art and Skill, in making things of themſelves fairly unwind, and clear up at laſt into a Satisfactory Cloſe. *Paſſion* and Self-*Intereſt* is blind, or ſhort ſighted; but that which ſteers the whole world is no Fond, Pettiſh, Impatient and Paſſionate thing; but an *Impartial*, *Diſintereſſed*, and *Uncaptivated Nature.* Nevertheleſs it is certain, that ſometimes we have not wanted Inſtances, in Caſes extraordinary, of a θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, *God appearing, as it were Miraculouſly upon the Stage*, and manifeſting himſelf in taking immediate *Vengeance* upon *Notorious* Malefactors, or delivering his Faithful Servants from imminent Dangers or Evils Threatned; as the ſame is often done alſo, by a ſecret and Undiſcerned overruling, of the things of *Nature.* But it muſt be granted, that it is not always thus, but the *Periods* of *Divine Providence*, here in this World, are commonly *Longer*, and the *Evolutions* thereof *Slower:* According to that of *Euripides*, which yet has a Tange of *Prophaneneſs* in the Expreſſion,

Μέλει τὸ θεῖον δ' ὅτι τοιοῦτον φύει,

The *Deity is Slow or Dilatory, and this is the Nature of it.* For it is not from Slackneſs and Remiſneſs in the Deity, but either from his *Patience* and *Long-ſuffering*, he willing that men ſhould Repent, or elſe to teach us *Patience* by his Example (as *Plutarch* ſuggeſteth) or that

that all things may be carried on with the more *Pomp* and *Solemnity*; or Laſtly, for other particular Reaſons, as *Plutarch* ventures to aſſign one, why it might not be expedient, for *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, though ſo Prophane and Irreligious a Perſon, to have been cut off ſuddainly. But Wicked and Ungodly Perſons often times fail not, to be met withal at laſt, and at the long run, here in this Life, and either in Themſelves or Poſterity to be notoriouſly Branded with the Marks of Divine Diſpleaſure: according to that of the Poet, *Rarò antecedentem Sceleſtum, &c.* It is *ſeldom that Wickedneſs altogether ſcapes Puniſhment; though it come ſlowly after, limping with a Lame Foot*; and thoſe Proverbial Speeches amongſt the *Pagans*,

ὀψὲ θεῶν ἀλεῶσι μύλοι, ἀλεῶσι δὲ λεπτά.

Mills of the Gods, do ſlowly wind,
But they at length to powder grind.

And; Divine *Juſtice ſteals on Softly with Woollen Feet, but Strikes at laſt with Iron Hands.*

Nevertheleſs we cannot ſay, that it is always thus neither, but that Wicked Perſons, may poſſibly ſometimes, have an Uninterrupted Proſperity here in this Life, and no viſible Marks of Divine Diſpleaſure upon them: but as the generouſly vertuous, will not Envy them upon this account, nor repine at their own condition they knowing, that οὐδὲν κακὸν τῷ ἀγαθῷ οὐδ' ὡς τῷ φαύλῳ ἀγαθόν, *There is neither any thing truly Evil to the Good, nor Good to the Evil*; ſo are they ſo far from being ſtaggered herewith, in their Belief of a *God* and *Providence*, that they are rather the more confirmed, in their Perſwaſions of a *Future Immortality* and *Judgment* after Death, when all things ſhall be ſet ſtraight and right, and *Rewards* and *Puniſhments Impartially* Diſpenſed. That of *Plutarch* therefore, is moſt true here, ἓς ἔν ὁ λόγῳ ὁ τῶ θεῶ τὼ προνοιαν ἅμα καὶ τὼ διαμονὼ τᾶ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς βεβαιῶν, καὶ δἀτερον ὂν ὄξιν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀναιρεθέντα δἀτερον, *That there is a Neceſſary Connexion betwixt thoſe Two things, Divine Providence, and the Permanence or Immortality of Humane Souls, one and the ſame Reaſon confirming them both; neither can one of theſe be taken alone without the other.* But they who becauſe *Judgment* is not preſently Executed upon the *Ungodly*, blame the Management of things as *Faulty*, and *Providence* as *Defective*, are like ſuch Spectators of a *Dramatick Poem*, as when wicked and injurious Perſons are brought upon the Stage, for a while Swaggering and Triumphing; impatiently cry out againſt the *Dramatiſt*, and preſently condemn the Plot: whereas if they would but expect the winding up of things, and ſtay till the laſt Cloſe, they ſhould then ſee them come off with ſhame and ſufficient puniſhment. The Evolution of the World, as *Plotinus* calls it, is ἀληθέστερον ποίημα, a *Truer Poem*, and we men Hiſtrionical Acters upon the Stage, who notwithſtanding inſert ſomething of our *Own* into the *Poem* too; but God *Almighty*, is that *Skilful Dramatiſt*, who always connecteth that of ours which went before, with what of his follows after, into good *Coherent Senſe*; and will

at

at last make it appear, that a *Thred* of exact *Justice* did run through all, and that *Rewards* and *Punishments* are measured out in *Geometrical Proportion.*

Lastly, it is in it self Fit, that there should be some where, a *Doubtful* and *Cloudy State* of things, for the better Exercise of *Vertue* and *Faith.* For as there could have been no *Hercules*, had there not been *Monsters* to subdue, so were there no such Difficulties to encounter with, no Puzles and Entanglements of things, no Temptations and Tryals to assault us; *Vertue* would grow *Languid*; and that Excellent *Grace* of *Faith*, want due *Occasions* and *Objects* to exercise it self upon. Here have we therefore, such a State of things, and this World is as it were a *Stage* erected, for the more Difficult part of Vertue to Act upon; and where we are to Live by *Faith* and not by *Sight*: That *Faith*, which is the *Substance of Things to be Hoped for, and the Evidence of things not Seen*; a Belief in the *Goodness*, *Power*, and *Wisdom* of God, when all things are *Dark* and *Clowdy* round about us. *The Just shall live by his Faith.*

We have now sufficiently Confuted, the *Second Atheistick Objection* also, against *Providence*, as to the *Conduct* and *Oeconomy* of *Humane Affairs.* Nevertheless this is a large Field, and much more might be said in *Defense* of *Providence*, both as to these and other Instances, had we room here to Expatiate in. Wherefore, for a Supplement of what remains, we shall refer the Reader, to the Writings of others, who have professedly undertaken, *Apology's* for *Providence*, both as to the *Fabrick*, and *Oeconomy* of the World; but especially the Learned and Ingenious Author of the *Divine Dialogues.* Only we shall here add Some few *Considerations* not so much for the *Confutation* of *Atheists*, as for the better *Satisfaction* of such *Religionists*, who too easily Concluding, That *all Things might have been much Better than they are*; are thereupon apt to call in Question the *Divine Attribute* of *Goodness* in its full Extent; which yet is the only Foundation of our *Christian Faith.*

First, therefore we say, that in *Judging* of the Works of *God*, we ought not to consider, the *Parts* of the World alone by themselves; and then because we could Phancy much *Finer* things, thereupon blame the *Maker* of the *Whole.* As if one should attend only to this *Earth*, which is but the Lowest and most Dreggy Part of the Universe; or blame Plants, because they have not Sense, Brutes because they have not Reason, Men because they are not Demons or Angels, and Angels because they are not Gods, or want Divine Perfection. Upon which Account, God should either have made nothing at all, since there can be nothing besides himself *Absolutely Perfect*; or else nothing but the Higher Rank of *Angelical Beings*, free from Mortality and all those other Evils, that attend mankind; or such *Fine things*, as *Epicurus* his Gods were feigned to be, living in certain delicious Regions, where there was neither Blustring Winds, nor any Lowring Clouds; nor Nipping Frosts, nor Scorching Heat, nor Night nor Shadow; but the Calm and Unclouded Æther always, Smiling with gentle Serenity.

Whereas

Whereas were there but one kind of thing, (the Best) thus made; there could have been no *Musick* nor *Harmony* at all, in the World for want of *Variety*. But We ought in the first place, to consider the *Whole*, Whether that be not the *Best*, that Could be Made, having all that belongeth to it; and then the *Parts* in reference to the *Whole*, whether they be not in their several Degrees and Ranks, *Congruous* and *Agreeable* thereunto. But this is a thing which hath been so well insisted upon by *Plotinus*, that we cannot speak better to it, than in his Words. "Ὅλον γὰρ τὶ ἐποίησε πάγκαλον, καὶ αὔταρκες, καὶ φίλον P. 256. ἀυτῷ, καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ, τοῖς τε κυριωτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν ὡσαύτως προσφόροις· ὁ τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν τὸ ὅλον αἰτιώμενος, ἄτοπος ἂν εἴη τῆς αἰτίας· τὰ τε μέρη πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὅλον δεῖ σκοπεῖν εἰ σύμφωνα καὶ ἁρμόττοντα ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τὸ ὅλον σκοπούμενον, μὴ πρὸς μέρη ἄττα μεροσκοπεῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ τὸν κόσμον αἰτιώμενος ἀλλά τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ χώρις λαβόντα, οἷον εἰ, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. *God made the Whole most Beautiful, Entire, Compleat, and Sufficient; all agreeing friendly with it self and its parts; both the Nobler and the meaner of them being alike Congruous thereunto. Whosoever therefore, from the Parts thereof will blame the whole, is an Absurd and Unjust Censurer. For we ought to Consider the Parts, not alone by themselves, but in reference to the whole, whether they be Harmonious and Agreeable to the same. Otherwise we shall not blame the Universe, but some of its Parts only, taken by themselves; as if one should blame the Hair or Toes of a man, taking no notice at all of his Divine Visage and Countenance; or omitting all other Animals, one should attend only to the most contemptible of them: or lastly overlooking all other men, consider only the most Deformed* Thersites. *But that which God made was the Whole as one thing; which he that attends to, may hear it speaking to him after this manner. God Almighty hath made me, and from thence came I, Perfect and Compleat, and standing in need of nothing, because in me are contained all things; Plants and Animals, and Good Souls, and Men happy with Virtue; and innumerable Demons, and many Gods. Nor is the Earth alone in me adorned, with all manner of Plants, and Variety of Animals; or does the Power of Soul, extend at most no further than to the Seas; as if the whole Air and Æther and Heaven, in the mean time, were quite devoid of Soul, and altogether unadorned with Living Inhabitants. Moreover all things in me desire Good, and every thing reaches to it, according to its Power and Nature. For the whole World depends upon that First and Highest Good, the Gods themselves who reign in my several parts, and all Animals and Plants, and whatsoever seems to be Inanimate in me. For Some things in me, partake only of Being, some of Life also, some of Sense, some of Reason, and some of Intellect above Reason. But no man ought to require Equal things from Unequal; nor that the Finger should see, but the Eye; it being enough for the Finger to be a Finger, and to perform its own Office.* And again afterwards, Ὥσπερ τεχνίτης ὁ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ζώῳ ὀφθαλμὸς ποιεῖ, ὅτως ὁ δ' ὁ λόγῳ πάντα θεὸς ἐργάζεται· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θεὸς, τὰ δ' δαίμονας δευτέραν φύσιν, εἶτα ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ζῶα ἐφεξῆς, ὁ φθόνῳ, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ ποικιλίαν νοερὰν ἔχοντι· ἡμεῖς δ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄπειροι γραφικῆς τέχνης αἰτιῶνται, ὡς ὁ καλὰ τὰ χρώματα παντα χοῦ, ὁ δ' ἄρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀπέδωκεν ἑκάστῳ τόπῳ ἢ ἕτις δρᾶμα μέμφοιτο, ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἥρωες ἐν αὐτῷ; καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· *As an Artificer*

ficer would not make all things in an Animal to be Eyes; ſo neither has the Divine λόγος, *or Spermatick Reaſon of the World made all things Gods; but ſome Gods, and ſome Demons, and ſome Men, and ſome Lower Animals. Not out of Envy, but to diſplay its own Variety and Fecundity. But we are like Unskilful Spectators of a Picture, who condemn the Limner, becauſe he hath not put bright Colours every where: whereas he had ſuited his Colours to every part reſpectively, giving to each ſuch as belonged to it. Or elſe are we like thoſe who would blame a Comedy or Tragedy, becauſe they were not all Kings or Heroes that acted in it, but ſome Servants and Ruſtick Clowns, introduced alſo, talking after their Rude faſhion. Whereas the Dramatick Poem would neither be Compleat, nor Elegant and Delightful, were all thoſe Worſer Parts taken out of it.*

Again; We cannot certainly conclude that the Works of God and his Creation do not tranſcend thoſe narrow Limits, which Vulgar *Opinion* and *Imagination* ſets them; that commonly terminates the Univerſe, but a little above the *Clouds*, or at moſt ſuppoſes the Fixed Stars, being all faſtned in One *Solid Sphere*, to be the Utmoſt *Wall*, or *Arched Roof*, and *Rowling Circumference* thereof. Much leſs ought we, upon ſuch Groundleſs Suppoſitions, to infer, That the World might therefore have been made much Better than it is, becauſe it might have been much more *Roomy* and *Capacious*. We explode the *Atheiſtick Infinity* of Diſtant Worlds; nor can we admit that *Carteſian*, ſeemingly more Modeſt, *Indefinite Extenſion* of one Corporeal Univerſe, which yet really according to that Philoſophers meaning, hath *Nullos Fines*, *no Bounds nor Limits at all*. For We perſwade our ſelves that the Corporeal World, is as Uncapable of a *Poſitive Infinity* of *Magnitude*, as it is of Time; there being no *Magnitude* ſo Great, but that more ſtill might be Added to it. Nevertheleſs, as we cannot poſſibly Imagine the Sun, to be a Quarter, or an Hundredth Part ſo big as we know it to be; ſo much more may the whole *Corporeal Univerſe*, far tranſcend thoſe narrow Bounds, which our Imagination would circumſcribe it in. The *New Celeſtial Phænomena*, and the late Improvements of *Aſtronomy* and *Philoſophy* made thereupon, render it ſo probable, that even this *Dull Earth* of ours is a *Planet*, and the *Sun* a *Fixed Star*, in the *Centre* of that *Vortex*, wherein it moves, that many have ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that there are other *Habitable Globes*, beſides this *Earth* of ours, (which may be Sayled round about in a year or two) as alſo more Suns, with their reſpective Planets, than One. However the Diſtance of all the Fixed Stars from us, being ſo Vaſt, that the *Diameter* of the *Great Orb*, makes no diſcernible Parallax in the Site of them; from whence it is alſo probable, that the other Fixed Stars are likewiſe vaſtly diſtant from one another; This, I ſay, widens the *Corporeal Univerſe* to us, and makes thoſe *Flammantia Mœnia Mundi*, as *Lucretius* calls them, *Thoſe Flaming Walls of the World*, to fly away before us. Now it is not reaſonable to think, that all this *Immenſe Vaſtneſs*, ſhould lie *Waſte*, *Deſert*, and *Uninhabited*, and have nothing in it, that could Praiſe the Creator thereof, ſave only this *One Small Spot of Earth*. *In my Father's Houſe*, (ſaith our Saviour) *are Many Manſions*. And *Baruch*,

ruch (Chap. 3. appointed by our Church to be read publickly) *O Iſrael, how great is the Houſe of God, and how large is the place of his Poſſeſſion? Great and hath no End, High and Unmeaſurable.* Which yet we underſtand not, of an *Abſolute Infinity*, but only ſuch an *Immenſe Vaſtneſs*, as far tranſcends *Vulgar Opinion* and *Imagination*.

We ſhall add but one thing more; That to make a right Judgment of the *Ways* of *Providence*, and the *Juſtice* thereof, as to the *Oeconomy* of mankind, we muſt look both *Forwards* and *Backwards*; or beſides the *Preſent*, not only upon the *Future*; but alſo the *Paſt Time*. Which Rule is likewiſe thus ſet down by *Plotinus*, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλητέον τὸν λόγον, ὃς τὸ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἑκάστοτε φησὶ βλέπειν· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς πρόσθεν περιόδους, ἢ καὶ τὸ μέλλον· *Neither is that Doctrine of the Ancients to be neglected, that to give an Account of Providence, we ought to look back upon former Periods, as well as forward, to What is Future.* Indeed he and thoſe other Philoſophers, who were *Religious*, underſtood this ſo, as to conclude a *Pre-Exiſtent State* of all Particular *Souls*, wherein they were at firſt Created by God Pure; but by the Abuſe of their own Liberty Degenerated, to be a *Neceſſary Hypotheſis*, for the Salving that *Phænomenon*, of the *Depraved State* of Mankind in general here in this Life. And not only ſo, but they endeavoured in like manner to give an account alſo, of thoſe Different Conditions of Particular Perſons as to Morality, from their Infancy, and their other different Fates here, deriving them all, ἐκ τῶν προβεβιωμένων, *from their ſeveral Demeanors heretofore in a Pre-Exiſtent State.* And there have not wanted Chriſtian Doctors, who have complied with theſe Philoſophers in both. But our *Common Chriſtianity* only agrees thus far; as to ſuppoſe a Kind of *Imputative Pre-Exſtence* in *Adam*, in whom all were created Pure, and ſo conſequently involved in his after miſcarriage, to ſalve the *Pravity* of *Humane Nature*; upon which account we are all ſaid to be, φύσει τέκνα ὀργῆς, *by Nature Children of Wrath.* But as for the different Conditions of Perſons, and their ſeveral *Fates*, more diſadvantageous to ſome than others this indeed the Generality of *Chriſtian Doctors*, have been content to reſolve, only into an *Occult*, but *Juſt Providence*. And thus does *Origen* himſelf ſometimes modeſtly paſs it over. As in his Third Book againſt *Celſus*, * πολλοῖς δὲ τὸ τὴν ἀναίτιον φῦσιν κεφαλόνων λαβεῖν· ἀλλ' ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν πρώτης ἡλικίας ἤτοι ἐν παιδικοῖς εἶναι ἀπολάστων ἀνδρῶν, ἢ δεσποτῶν ἢ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ καλυόζῃ τῷ μὴ ἀναβλέψαι καλοσαιμονίαν. τὰς δὲ περὶ τούτων αἰτίας πάντως μὲν εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἐν τοῖς τῆς προνοίας λόγοις· πάσῃ δὲ αὐτὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐστὶ δυσχερές· *It happeneth to many; ſo to have been brought up from their very Childhood, as that, by one means or other, they could have no opportunity at all of thinking of the Better things, &c. And it is very probable, that there are Cauſes of theſe things in the Reaſons of Providence, though they do not eaſily fall under Humane Notice.*

Thus Hierocles, ἐπὶ ἀμελεῖται ὁ ἀγαθὸς νῦν κόσμος, καὶ παλαιῶν μνημάτων ἐφελάσαι εἰμαίας. P. 264. * P. 134. 157.

But there is yet a *Third Atheiſtick Objection* againſt *Providence* behind; That *is is impoſſible, any One Being ſhould Animadvert and Order all things in the Diſtant places of the world at once; and were*

this poſſible, yet would ſuch Infinite Negotioſity be very Uneaſie and Diſtractious to it, and altogether Inconſiſtent with Happineſs. Nor would a Being Irreſiſtibly Powerful, concern it ſelf in the Good or Welfare of any thing elſe; it ſtanding in Need of nothing; and all Benevolence and Good will ariſing from Indigency and *Imbecillity. Wherefore ſuch a Being, would wholy be taken up in the Enjoyment of it ſelf, and its own Happineſs; utterly Regardleſs of all other things.*

To which the *Reply* is, First; That though our ſelves and all Created Beings, have but a Finite *Animadverſion*, and *Narrow Sphere* of *Activity*, yet does it not therefore follow, that the Caſe muſt be the ſame with the Deity, ſuppoſed to be a *Being Infinitely* Perfect, ἀπαθὲς δύναμις, *that hath no manner of Defect*, either of *Knowledge* or *Power* in it. But this is a meer *Idolum Specus*, an *Idol of the Cave or Den*, Men Meaſuring the Deity, by their own *Scantling*, and *Narrowneſs*. And indeed were there Nothing at all, but what we our ſelves could fully Comprehend, there could be no *God*. Were the Sun an Animal, and had *Life* Co-Extended with its *Rayes* and Light, it would ſee and perceive every Atom of Matter, that its out ſtretched Beams reached to, and touched. Now all Created Beings are themſelves in ſome ſenſe, but the *Rayes of the Deity*; which therefore cannot but Feel and Senſibly Perceive, all theſe its own *Effluxes* and *Emanations*. Men themſelves can order and manage Affairs, in ſeveral diſtant Places at once, without any *Diſturbance*, and we have innumerable *Notions* of things in our Mind, that lie there *eaſily* together, without *Crowding* one another, or Cauſing any *Diſtraction* to us.

Nevertheleſs the *Minds* of weak Mortals may here be ſomewhat eaſed and helped by conſidering, what hath been before ſuggeſted. That *there is no neceſſity*, God Almighty ſhould ἀὐτουργεῖν ἅπαντα, *do all things himſelf Immediately and Drudgingly*; but he may have his Inferiour Miniſters and Executioners under him, to diſcharge him of that *Suppoſed Encumberment*. As First of all, an *Artificial Plaſtick Nature*, which without *Knowledge* and *Animal Conſciouſneſs*, diſpoſes the Matter of the Univerſe, according to the *Platform* or *Idea* of a *Perfect Mind*, and forms the Bodies of all Animals. And this was the Reaſon why we did before inſiſt ſo much upon this *Artificial Regular* and *Methodical Nature*; namely that Divine Providence, might neither be excluded, from having an Influence upon all things in this Lower World, as reſulting only from the *Fortuitous* Motions of *Senſleſs Matter*, unguided by any Mind; nor yet the Deity be ſuppoſed to do every thing it ſelf *Immediatly* and *Miraculouſly*, without the *Subſervient Miniſtery* of any *Natural Cauſes*; which would ſeem to us Mortals, to be not only a Violent, but alſo an *Operoſe*, *Cumberſom*, and *Moliminous Buſineſs*. And thus did *Plato* acknowledge, that there were, ἔμφρονος φύσεως αἰτίαι ἅς ὑπηρετούσας χρῆται ὁ θεός· *Certain Cauſes of a Prudent, that is, Artificial and Orderly Nature, which God makes uſe of, as Subſervient to himſelf, in the Mundane Oeconomy.* Beſides which thoſe *Inſtincts* alſo impreſſed upon Animals, and which they are *Paſſive* to, directing them to Act for Ends either not underſtood, or not attended to by them, in order to their own Good

and

and the Good of the Universe, are another part of that *Divine Fate*, which inserted into things themselves, is the *Servant* and *Executioner* of *Providence*. Above all which there are yet other *Knowing* and *Understanding Ministers*, of the Deity, as its *Eyes* and *Hands*; *Demoniack* or *Angelick Beings*, appointed to preside over Mankind, all Mundane Affairs, and the Things of Nature, they having their several distinct Offices and Provinces assigned them. Of which also *Plato* thus, τούτοις εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες περιτεταγμένοι ἑκάστοις, ὅπῃ τὸ σμικρότατον ἀεὶ πάσης τῆς πράξεως· *There are certain Rulers or Presidents appointed by that Supreme God, who Governs the whole world, over all the several things and Parts therein, even to the smallest Distribution of them.* All which Inferiour Causes, are constantly over looked and supervised by the *Watchful* Eye of *God Almighty*, himself, who may also sometimes *Extraordinarily Interpose*. P. 903.

We need not therefore, restrain and confine *Divine Providence*, to a Few Greater things only, as some do, that we may thereby consult the ease of the Deity, and its *Freedom from Distraction*, but may and ought to Extend it, to all things whatsoever, *Small* as well as *Great*. And indeed the *Great things* of the World cannot well be ordered neither, without some regard to the *Small* and *Little*: ὡδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ σμικρῶν τὰς μεγάλας φασὶν οἱ λιθολόγοι λίθους οὐ κεῖσθαι· *As Architects affirm, that great stones cannot be well placed together in a Building, without little.* Neither can Generals of Armies, nor Governours of Families, nor Masters of Ships, nor Mechanick Artificers, discharge their several Functions, and do their Works respectively as they ought, did they not mind the *Small things* also as well as the *Great*, μὴ τοίνυν (saith the forementioned Philosopher) τὸν γε θεὸν ἀξιώσωμεν ποτὲ δημιουργῶν, φαυλότερον, οἳ τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔργα, ὅσῳπερ ἂν ἀμείνους ὦσι, τόσῳ ἀνελεύθερά τε καὶ τελεώτερα μιᾷ τέχνῃ σμικρά τε μεγάλα ἀπεργάζονται· *Let us not therefore make God Almighty Inferiour to Mortal Opificers who by one and the same Art, can order Small things as well as Great: and so suppose him to be Supine and negligent.* Nevertheless the *Chief Concernment* and Employment of *Divine Providence* in the World; is the *Oeconomy* of *Souls*, or *Government of Rational Beings*; which is by *Plato* contracted into this Compendium, ὧδε ἄλλο ἔργον τῷ παντὸς τῆς πολιτείαν πλὴν μεταθέναι τὸ μὲν ἄμφον γιγνόμενον ἦθος εἰς βελτίω τόπον χεῖρον ἢ εἰς τὰ χείρονα, &c. *There is no other work left, for the Supreme Governour of all, then only to Translate Better Souls into Better places and Conditions, and Worser into Worser:* or, as he after addeth, to dispose of every one in the world in such a manner as might best render, νικῶσαν ἀρετῇ, ἡττωμένην δὲ κακίαν, *Vertue victorious, and triumphant over Vice.* And thus may the slow and Imperfect wits of Mortals, be satisfied; that *Providence* to the *Deity*, is no *Moliminous*, *Laborious*, and *Distractious thing*. P. 903.

But that there is no higher Spring of Life in Rational Animals, than *Contracted Self Love*, and that all *Good Will* and *Benevolence*, arises only from *Indigency* and *Imbecillity*, and That no Being whatsoever is concerned in the welfare of any other thing, but only what it self stands in Need of; and Lastly therefore, That what is Irresistibly Po-

werful and Needs nothing; would have no manner of *Benevolence*, nor concern it ſelf in the *Good* and *Welfare* of any thing whatſoever; This is but another *Idol of the Atheiſts Den*; and only argues their Bad Nature, Low-ſunck Minds, and Groſs Immorality. And the ſame is to be ſaid alſo of that other Maxim of theirs, That what is *perfectly Happy*, would have nothing at all *To Do*, but only enjoy its own *Eaſe* and *Quiet*: whereas there is nothing more troubleſome to our ſelves, than this ἀπραξία, *this having Nothing to Do*; and the *Activity* of the Deity or a Perfect Being, is altogether *as Eaſie* to it, as its *Eſſence*.

The *Atheiſtick Queries* come next to be *Anſwered*; which being but *Three*, are Naturally to be diſpoſed in this order: Firſt, *If there were a God or Perfect Being, who therefore was ſufficiently Happy in the enjoyment of himſelf, Why would he go about to make a World? Secondly, If he muſt needs make a World, why did he not make it ſooner? this Late production thereof, looking, as if he had but newly awaked out out of a long ſleep, throughout Infinite Paſt Ages, or elſe had in length of time contracted a Satiety of his Solitude. Thirdly and Laſtly, What Tools or Inſtruments? what Machines or Engines had he? or How could he move the Matter of the whole world; eſpecially if Incorporeal; becauſe then he would run through all things, and could not lay hold nor faſten upon any thing.*

To the Firſt therefore, we ſay, That the *reaſon* why God made the World, was from his own *Overflowing* and *Communicative Goodneſs*, that there might be other Beings alſo *Happy* beſides him, and enjoy themſelves. Nor does this at all claſh, with God's making of the world, for his own *Glory* and *Honour*, though *Plotinus* were ſo ſhy of that, γελοῖον ἵνα τιμῶται, καὶ μεταφερόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν τῶν ἐνταῦθα, *It is ridiculous to ſay, that God made the world, that he might be Honoured; this being to transfer the affections of humane Artificers and Statuaries upon him.* But the chief Reaſon of his ſaying ſo, was, becauſe that Philoſopher conceived, the World to have proceeded, not ſo much from the *Will of the Deity*, as the *Neceſſity of its Nature*. Though this be true alſo, that *God* did not make the World, meerly to Oſtentate his *Skill* and *Power*; but to communicate his Goodneſs, which is chiefly and properly his *Glory*, as the *Light* and *Splendor* of the Sun, is the *Glory of it*. But the Atheiſt demands, What hurt *had it been for us, never to have been made?* and the Anſwer is eaſie, we ſhould then never have enjoyed any *Good*; or been capable of *Happineſs*; and had there been no Rational Creatures at all made, it muſt have been either from *Impotent Sterility* in the *Deity*, or elſe from an *Invidious*, Narrow and Contracted *Selfiſhneſs*; or want of *Benignity*, and *Communicative Goodneſs*; both which are Inconſiſtent with a Perfect Being. But the *Argument* may be thus Retorted upon theſe Atheiſts; *What Hurt would it be for us, to Ceaſe to Be, or Become Nothing?* And why then are theſe Atheiſts as well as others, ſo Unwilling to Die?

But then in the next place they Urge; Why was not the World made

made Sooner, since this Goodness of God was without Date, and from Everlasting? But this *Question* may be taken in two different Senses, Either, *Why was not the world from Eternity, as God and his Goodness are Eternal?* or else *Secondly, If the World could not be from Eternity, yet notwithstanding Why was it not sooner, but so lately made?* In both which *Queries* the *Atomick Atheists* take it for granted, that the System of the World was not from Eternity, but had a beginning. Now we say, That the Reason why the world was not *Made* from *Eternity*, was not from any Defect of *Goodness* in the *Divine Will*, but because there is an *Absolute Impossibility* in the thing it self; or because the *Necessity* and *Incapacity* of such an *Imperfect Being* hindered. For we must confess, that for our parts, we are prone to believe, That could the world have been from Eternity, it should certainly have been so. And just thus does *Philoponus*, in his *Confutation* of *Proclus* his Arguments for the World's Eternity, declare himself, and no otherwise. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρα μὴ εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ἀΐδιον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὅτε τὸ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἀεὶ ἀγαθὸν ἀφαιρούμεθα, ὅτε ἀσθένειαν τῆς δημιουργικῆς αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦμεν δυνάμεως· ἀλλὰ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀεὶ εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δι' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ γινομένου φύσιν ὑπειλήφαμεν· *Our selves also supposing, the world not to have been Eternal, do neither ascribe this to any Defect either of Goodness or of Power in the Deity, but only to the Impossibility of the Thing it self.* Where in the following words, he gives a Two fold Account of this *Impossibility*, of the worlds Eternity, ὅτι τὸ ἄπειρον κατ' ἐνέργειαν ὑποστῆναι, καὶ διεξίτητον εἶναι, ἀδύνατον ἦν· καὶ ὅτι συναΐδιον εἶναι τῷ ποιοῦντι τὸ γινόμενον φύσιν οὐκ ἔχει· *First because, There can be nothing Actually Infinite, and yet Run through, as all the Past Duration of the World hath been; and Secondly, because that which is Made or brought into Being by another, as a distinct thing from it, cannot be Co-Eternal with its Maker.* Where it is probable, that *Philoponus* being a Christian, designed not to oppose the *Eternal Generation* of the Son *of God*, but only to assert, that Nothing which was properly *Made* or *Created* by *God*, and nothing which was not it self *God*, could be from *Eternity*, or without Beginning. And now we see, How those *Atheistick Exceptions* against the *Novity* of the *Divine Creation*, as if God must therefore either have *Slept from Eternity*, or else have at length contracted a *Satiety* of his former *Solitude*, and the like; do of themselves quite vanish into Nothing. But then as to the *Second Sense* of the *Question, Why the World, though it could not possibly be from Eternity, yet was no sooner, but so lately made?* we say, that this is an *Absurd Question*; both because *Time* was made together with the *World*, and there was no *Sooner* or *Later*, before *Time*; and also because, Whatsoever had a beginning, must of necessity be once but a *Day Old*. Wherefore the World could not possibly have been so Made by God in time, as not to be once, but *Five* or *Six Thousand* years old, and no more; as now it is.

P. 4.

And as for the Third and Last *Query*; *How God could move and command the Matter of the whole World? especially If Incorporeal?* We Reply; First, That all other things being derived from God as their only Fountain and Original, and Essentially depending on him, who by his *Absolute Power* also, could Annihilate whatsoever he Created;

ted; he muſt needs have a *Deſpotick Power* over all; and every thing whatſoever be *Naturally Subject* and Obſequious to him. And ſince no *Body* can poſſibly *Move it ſelf*, that which firſt moved *Matter*, muſt of neceſſity be *Incorporeal*; nor could it move it by *Local Motion*, as one Body moves another, or as *Engines* and *Machines* move, by *Truſion* or *Pulſion*, they being before moved, but muſt do it by another kind of *Action*, ſuch as is not *Local Motion*, nor *Heterocineſie*, but *Autocineſie*; that is, by *Cogitation*. Wherefore that Conceit of the *Atheiſts*, that an *Incorporeal Deity* could not poſſibly move the *Matter* of the World, becauſe it would run through it, and could not faſten or lay hold thereupon; is Abſurd, becauſe this moves Matter not *Mechanically*, but *Vitally*, and by *Cogitation* only. And that a *Cogitative Being* as ſuch, hath a *Natural Imperium* over *Matter* and *Power* of Moving it, without any *Engines* or *Machines*, is unqueſtionably certain, even from our own *Souls*; which move our *Bodies* and Command them every way, meerly by *Will* and *Thought*. And a *Perfect Mind*, preſiding over the Matter of the whole world, could much more irreſiſtibly, and with Infinitely more eaſe, move the whole *Corporeal Univerſe*, meerly by *Will* and *Cogitation*; then we can our *Bodies*.

The Laſt *Head of Atheiſtick Argumentation*, is from *Intereſt*: And Firſt, the *Atheiſts* would perſwade, that it is the *Intereſt of mankind in General*, *and of every particular perſon*, *that there ſhould be no God*, *that is*, *no Being Infinitely Powerful*, *that hath no Law*, *but its own Will*; *and therefore may puniſh whom he pleaſes Eternally after Death*.

To which our Firſt Reply is; That if there be a God, and Souls be Immortal, then is it not any man's Thinking otherwiſe, that will alter the Caſe, nor afford the *Atheiſts* any Relief againſt thoſe two Imagined *Evils* of theirs. For Things are *Sullen*, and will be as they are, what ever we Think them, or Wiſh them to be: and men will at laſt diſcover their Errour, when perhaps it may be too late. *Wiſhing* is no *Proving*; and therefore this *Atheiſtick Argument*, from Intereſt, is no Argument at all againſt the *Exiſtence* of a *God*, it being nothing but the ignorant wiſh, and vain deſire of *Beſotted Atheiſts*.

In the next place this *Wiſh of Atheiſts*, is altogether founded, upon a *Miſtaken Notion* of *God Almighty* too, That he is nothing but *Arbitrary Will Omnipotent*; which indeed is not the moſt Deſirable thing. But as it hath been often declared, the *Will of God* is the *Will* of *Goodneſs*, *Juſtice*, and *Wiſdom* it ſelf *Omnipotent*. His *Will* is not meer *Will*, ſuch as hath no other *Reaſon* beſides it ſelf; but it is *Law*, *Equity* and *Chancery*; it is the τὸ δέον, or *Ought it ſelf*, Decreeing, Willing, and Acting. Neither does God Puniſh any, out of a delight in Puniſhment, or in the Evil and Suffering of the Perſons Puniſhed; but to thoſe who are not ἀνίατοι, *altogether Incurable*, δίκη ἰατρεία; *his Puniſhment is Phyſick*, in order to their recovery and amendment; ſo that the *Sourſe* and *Fountain* thereof is *Goodneſs* to the

the *Perſons* themſelves Puniſhed. But to ſuch as are *Incurable*, the Puniſhment inflicted on them, is Intended for the *Good of the Whole*. So that this *Attribute of Juſtice* in God, doth not at all Claſh, with the *Attribute* of *Goodneſs*, it being but a *Branch* thereof or particular *Modification* of the ſame. *Goodneſs* and *Juſtice* in *God*, are alwayes *Complicated* together; neither his Goodneſs being *Fondneſs*, nor his *Juſtice Cruelty*; but he being both *Good* in *Puniſhing*, and *Juſt* in *Rewarding* and *Diſpenſing Benefits*. Wherefore, it can be the *Intereſt* of none, that there ſhould be no *God* nor *Immortality*; unleſs perhaps of ſuch Deſperately and Incurably Wicked perſons, who abandoning their true *Intereſt* of being *Good*, have thereupon no other *Intereſt* now left them, than *Not to be*, or become *Nothing*.

To be without a *God*, is to be without Hope in the World, for Atheiſts can have neither *Faith* nor *Hope*, in *Senſleſs Matter*, and the *Fortuitous Motions thereof*. And though an underſtanding Being, have never ſo much Enjoyment of it ſelf for the preſent, yet could it not poſſibly be *Happy*, without *Immortality*, and Security of the *Future Continuance* thereof. But the *Atheiſts* conclude, that there is *Nothing Immortal*, and that all Life Periſhes and Vaniſhes into *Nothing*; and conſequently alſo, that εὐδαιμονία ἀνύπαρκτον, Happineſs is a thing, that hath no *Exiſtence* in *Nature*; a meer *Figment* and *Chimæra*, or Idle *Wiſh* and vain *Dream* of Mortals. Wherefore it cannot be the *Intereſt* of Mankind, that this *Hypotheſis* ſhould be True, which thus plainly cuts off all *Hope* from men; and leaves them in an utter *Impoſſibility* of being ever *Happy*.

God is ſuch a *Being*, as if he could be ſuppoſed not to be, there is nothing which any who are not deſperately engaged in Wickedneſs, no not *Atheiſts* themſelves, could poſſibly more *Wiſh for*, or *Deſire*. To *Believe a God*, is to *Believe* the *Exiſtence* of all *Poſſible Good* and *Perfection* in the Univerſe; It is to Believe, That *things are as they Should be*, and That the World is ſo well *Framed* and *Governed*, as that the Whole Syſtem thereof, could not Poſſibly have been Better. For *Peccability*, ariſes from the *Neceſſity* of *Imperfect Freewilled Beings*, left to themſelves, and therefore could not by *Omnipotence* it ſelf have been excluded; and though Sin Actual might perhaps have been kept out by *Force* and *Violence*; yet all things Computed, it was doubtleſs moſt for the Good of the Whole, that it ſhould not be thus *Forcibly Hindered*. There is Nothing, which cannot be *Hoped* for, by a Good man, from the *Deity*; Whatſoever *Happineſs his Being is Capable of*; *and ſuch things as Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear heard, nor can now enter into the Heart of man to Conceive*. *Infinite Hopes* lie before us, from the Exiſtence of a Being *Infinitely Good* and *Powerful*, and our Own *Souls Immortality*: and nothing can Hinder or Obſtruct theſe *Hopes*, but our own *Wickedneſs* of *Life*. To *Believe a God*, and *Do well*, are *Two*, the moſt *Hopeful*, *Cheerful*, and *Comfortable* things, that poſſibly can be. And to this purpoſe is that of *Linus*,

Ἐλπεσθαι χρὴ παντ', ἐπεὶ ὅς γε ὀδὲν Ἀελπτον·
Ῥάδια πάντα θεῷ τελέζαι, κ) ἀνήνυτον ὀδέν.

Wherefore as for *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, whoſe *Encomiums* the Atheiſts here ſo loudly ſing forth; we ſay, That however they have made ſo great a noiſe in the World, and have been ſo much cried up of late, yet were they really no better, than a Couple of *Infatuated Sophiſts*, or *Witty Fools*; and *Debauchers* of *Mankind*.

And now come we to the Laſt *Atheiſtick Argumentation*; wherein they endeavour to recommend their Doctrine to *Civil Sovereigns*; and to perſwade them, that *Theiſm* or *Religion*, is abſolutely Inconſiſtent with their *Intereſt*: Their Reaſons for which are theſe *Three* following. Firſt, Becauſe the *Civil Sovereign Reigns* only in *Fear*, and therefore if there be any *Power* and *Fear*, greater than the *Power* and *Fear* of the *Leviathan*, *Civil Authority* can ſignifie little. Secondly, Becauſe *Sovereignty*, is in its own nature abſolutely *Indiviſible*, and muſt be either *Infinite*, or *None* at all: ſo that Divine *Laws* (*Natural* and Revealed) Superiour to it, circumſcribing it, would conſequently Deſtroy it. Wherefore *Religion* and *Theiſm*, muſt of neceſſity be Diſplaced, and Removed out of the way, to make room for the *Leviathan*, to *Roll* and *Tumble* in. Thirdly and Laſtly, *Private Judgment* of *Good* and *Evil*, *Juſt* and *Unjuſt*, is alſo Contradictious to the very Being of a *Body Politick*; which is One *Artificial Man*, made up of *many Natural men* United under *One Head*; having one *Common Reaſon*, *Judgment* and *Will*, ruling over the whole. But *Conſcience*, which *Religion* introduceth, is *Private Judgment* of *Good* and *Evil*, *Juſt* and *Unjuſt*, and therefore altogether Inconſiſtent with true *Politicks*; that can admit of no *Private Conſciences*, but only *One Publick Conſcience* of the *Law*.

In way of *Anſwer* to the Firſt of which, we muſt here briefly *Unravel* the *Atheiſtick Ethicks* and *Politicks*. The Foundation whereof is firſt laid, in the *Villanizing* of *Humane Nature*; as that which has not ſo much as any the leaſt *Seeds*, either of *Politicalneſs*, or *Ethicalneſs* at all in it; nothing of *Equity* and *Philanthropy*; (there being no other *Charity* or *Benevolence* any where according to them, ſave what reſulteth from *Fear*, *Imbecillity*, and *Indigency*) nothing of *Publick* and *Common Concern*, but all *Private* and *Selfiſh*. *Appetite*, and *Utility*, or the Deſires of Senſual Pleaſure, and Honour, Dominion, and Precellency before others, being the only *Meaſures* of *Good* in *Nature*. So that there can be nothing *Naturally Juſt* or *Unjuſt*, nothing in it ſelf *Sinful* or *Unlawful*, but every man by *Nature* hath *Jus ad omnia*, *a Right to Every thing*, whatſoever his *Appetite* inclineth him unto, or himſelf judgeth *Profitable*; even to other mens *Bodies and Lives*. *Si occidere Cupis*, *Jus habes*; *If thou Deſireſt to Kill*, *thou haſt then Naturally*, *a Right thereunto*; that is, a *Liberty* to Kill without any *Sin* or *Injuſtice*. For *Jus* and *Lex*, or *Juſtitia*, *Right* and *Law* or *Juſtice* in the Language of theſe *Atheiſtick Politicians*, are directly contrary to one another; their *Right* being a

Belluine

Belluine Liberty, not *Made*, or *Left* by *Juſtice*, but ſuch as is Founded in a Suppoſition, of its *Abſolute Non-Exiſtence*, Should therefore a Son not only murder his own Parents, who had tenderly brought him up, but alſo Exquiſitely torture them, taking pleaſure in beholding their ruful Looks, and hearing their lamentable Shreiks and Outcries; there would be Nothing of *Sin* or Injuſtice at all in this, nor in any thing elſe; becauſe *Juſtice* is no *Nature*, but a meer *Factitious* and *Artificial thing*, *Made* only by *Men* and *Civil Laws*. And according to theſe mens Apprehenſions, Nature has been very kind and indulgent to mankind herein, that it hath thus brought us into the World, without any *Fetters* or *Shackles* upon us, Free from all *Duty* and *Obligation*, *Juſtice* and *Morality*, theſe being to them nothing but *Reſtraints* and *Hinderances* of *True Liberty*. From all which it follows, that Nature abſolutely *Diſſociates* and *Segregates* men from one another, by reaſon of the *Inconſiſtency* of thoſe *Appetites* of theirs, that are all Carried out only to *Private Good*, and Conſequently that every man is by *Nature*, in a *State of War and Hoſtility*, againſt every man.

In the next place therefore, theſe *Atheiſtick Politicians* further add; that though this their State of *Nature* which is a *Liberty* from all *Juſtice* and *Obligation*, and a *Lawleſs*, *Looſe*, or Belluine Right to every thing, be in it ſelf *Abſolutely the Beſt*, yet nevertheleſs by reaſon of mens *Imbecillity*, and the *Equality of their Strengths*, and *Inconſiſtency of their Appetites*, it proves *by Accident* the *Worſt*: this *War* with every one, making *mens Right* or *Liberty* to every thing, indeed a *Right* or *Liberty* to *Nothing*: they having no ſecurity of their Lives, much leſs of the Comfortable enjoyment of them. For as it is not poſſible, that all men ſhould have *Dominion* (which were indeed the moſt deſirable thing according to theſe Principles) ſo the Generality muſt needs be ſenſible of more *Evil* in ſuch a State *of Liberty* with an Univerſal War againſt all, than of *Good*. Wherefore when men had been a good while Hewing, and Slaſhing, and *Juſtling* againſt one another, they became at length all weary hereof, and conceived it neceſſary *by Art* to help the *Defect* of their own *Power* here, and to chooſe a *Leſſer Evil*, for the avoiding of a *Greater*, that is, to make a *Voluntary Abatement*, of this their *Infinite Right*, and to Submit to Terms of *Equality* with one another, in order to a *Sociable* and *Peaceable Cohabitation*: and not only So, but alſo for the Security of all, that others ſhould obſerve ſuch *Rules* as well as themſelves, to put their Necks under the *Yoke* of a *Common Coercive Power*, whoſe *Will* being the *Will* of them all, ſhould be the very Rule, and Law, and Meaſure of *Juſtice* to them.

Here therefore theſe *Atheiſtick Politicians*, as they firſt of all *Slander Humane Nature*, and make a *Villain* of it; ſo do they in the next place, reproach *Juſtice* and *Civil* Sovereignty alſo, making it to be nothing but an *Ignoble* and *Baſtardly Brat* of *Fear*; or elſe a *Leſſer Evil*, ſubmitted to, meerly out of *Neceſſity*; for the avoiding of a *Greater Evil*, that of *War* with every one, by reaſon of mens Natural *Imbecillity*. So that according to this *Hypotheſis*, *Juſtice* and *Civil*

Government are plainly things not *Good* in themſelves, nor *Deſireable*, (they being a *Hinderance* of *Liberty*, and Nothing but *Shackles* and *Fetters*,) but by *Accident* only, as *Neceſſary Evils:* And thus do theſe Politicians themſelves ſometimes diſtinguiſh betwixt *Good* and *Juſt*, that *Bonum Amatur Per Se, Juſtum Per Accidens*; *Good is that which is Loved for it ſelf, but Juſt by Accident.* From whence it follows unavoidably, that all men muſt of neceſſity be ἄκοντες δίκαιοι, *Unwillingly Juſt*, or not with a full and perfect, but *Mixt Will* only: Juſt being a thing that is not Sincerely *Good*, but ſuch as hath a great *Daſh* or *Doſe* of *Evil* blended with it. And this was the *Old Atheiſtick Generation* of *Juſtice*, and of a *Body Politick*, *Civil Society*, and *Soveraignty.* For though a Modern Writer affirm this *Hypotheſis* (which he looks upon as the only true *Scheme of Politicks*) to be a New Invention, as the *Circulation of the Blood.* and no older than the Book *De Cive*, yet is it Certain, that it was the commonly received *Doctrine* of the *Atheiſtick Politicians* and *Philoſophers* before *Plato's* time; who repreſents their Senſe concerning the *Original* of *Juſtice*, and *Civil Society* in this manner, ὃ πρῶτον ἔφαμεν δεῖν τοῦτο ἄνισον, τί τε ὂν τυγχάνει καὶ ὅθεν γέγονε δικαιοσύνη· πεφυκέναι γὰρ δὴ φασι τὸ μὲν ἀδικεῖν ἀγαθὸν, τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι κακόν: πλέονι δὲ κακῷ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ ἀγαθῷ τὸ ἀδικεῖν· ὥστε ἐπειδὰν ἀλλήλοις ἀδικῶσί τε καὶ ἀδικῶνται, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων γεύωνται, τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὸ μὲν ἐκφεύγειν τὸ δὲ αἱρεῖν, δοκεῖ λυσιτελεῖν ξυνθέσθαι ἀλλήλοις, μήτ' ἀδικεῖν, μήτ' ἀδικεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἄρξασθαι νόμους τίθεσθαι, καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐπίταγμα νόμιμόν τε καὶ δίκαιον· *I am to declare firſt what Juſtice is, according to the ſenſe of theſe Philoſophers, and from whence it was Generated. They ſay therefore, that by Nature, Lawleſs Liberty, and to do that which is now called Injuſtice, and Injury, to other men is Good; but to Suffer it from others is Evil. But of the two, there is more of Evil in ſuffering it, than of Good in doing it: Whereupon when men had Claſhed a good while, Doing and Suffering Injury, the Greater part, who by reaſon of their Imbecillity were not able to take the Former without the Latter, at length Compounded the buſineſs amongſt themſelves, and agreed together, by Pacts and Covenants neither to Do nor Suffer Injury, but to Submit to Rules of Equality and make Laws by Compact, in order to their Peaceable Cohabitation, they calling that which was required in thoſe Laws by the Name of Juſt.* And then is it added; καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο γένεσίν τε καὶ οὐσίαν δικαιοσύνης, μεταξὺ οὖσαν τοῦ μὲν ἀρίστου ὄντος, ἐὰν ἀδικῶν μὴ διδῷ δίκην, τοῦ δὲ κακίστου, ἐὰν ἀδικούμενος τιμωρεῖσθαι ἀδύνατος ᾖ· τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἐν μέσῳ ὂν τούτων ἀμφοτέρων, ἀγαπᾶσθαι οὐχ ὡς ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀρρωστίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν τιμώμενον· *And this is according to theſe Philoſophers, the Generation and Eſſence of Juſtice, as a certain Middle thing betwixt the Beſt and the Worſt. The Beſt, to exerciſe a Lawleſs Liberty of doing whatſoeves one pleaſe to other men without Suffering any inconvenience from it; And the Worſt to Suffer Evil from others without being able to revenge it. Juſtice therefore, being a Middle thing betwixt both theſe, is Loved, not as that which is Good in it ſelf, but only by reaſon of mens Imbecillity, and their Inability to do Injuſtice. For as much as he that had ſufficient Power would never enter into ſuch Compacts and Submit to Equality, and Subjection. As for Example, if a man had* Gyges *his Magical Ring, that he could do whatſoever he liſted, and not be ſeen or taken Notice*

De Rep. L. 2. p. 358, 359.

of

of by any, such a one would certainly never Enter into Covenants, nor Submit to Laws of Equality and Subjection. Agreeably whereunto, it hath been concluded also by some of these *Old Atheistick Philosophers*, that *Justice* was ἀλλότριον ἀγαθὸν; *Not properly and directly, ones own Good, the Good of him that is Just, but another mans Good, partly of the Fellow-Citizens, but chiefly of the Ruler, whose Vassal he is.* And it is well Known, that after *Plato's* Time, this *Hypothesis* concerning *Justice*, that it was a meer *Factitious thing*, and sprung only from mens *Fear* and *Imbecillity*, as a *Lesser Evil*, was much insisted on by *Epicurus* also.

But let us in the next place see, how our Modern *Atheistick Philosophers* and *Politicians*, will mannage and carry on this *Hypothesis*, so as to *Consociate* men by *Art*, into a *Body Politick*, that are *Naturally Dissociated* from one another, as also *Make Justice*, and *Obligation Artificial*, when there is none in *Nature*. First of all therefore, these *Artificial Justice-Makers*, *City-Makers*, and *Authority-Makers*, tell us, that though men have an *Infinite Right* by *Nature*, yet may they *Alienate* this *Right* or part thereof, from themselves, and either *Simply Renounce* it, or *Transfer* the same upon some other Person; by means whereof it will become Unlawful for themselves, afterwards, to make use thereof. Thus a late Writer, Men *may by Signs Declare, Velle se non Licitum sibi amplius fore, certum aliquid facere quòd Jure anteà fecisse poterant. That it is their Will, it shall no longer be Lawful for them, to do something which before they had a Right to do*; and this is called by him, a *Simple Renunciation* of *Right*; and further saith he, they *may declare again, Velle se non Licitum sibi amplius fore alicui Resistere, &c. That it is their Will, it shall be no longer Lawful for them, to Resist this or that particular Person, whom before they might Lawfully have resisted*; and this is called a *Translation of Right*. But if there be Nothing in its own *Nature Unlawful*, then cannot this be *Unlawful* for a man afterwards, to make use of such Liberty as he had before in *Words Renounced* or *Abandoned*. Nor can any man by his meer *Will*, make any thing *Unlawful* to him, which was not so in it self; but only Suspend the Exercise of so much of his *Liberty*, as he thought good. But however, could a man by his *Will*, *Oblige* himself, or make any thing *Unlawful* to him, there would be Nothing got by this, becaus then might he by his *Will*, *Disoblige* himself again, and make the same *Lawful* as before. For what is *Made* meerly by *Will*, may be *Destroyed* by *Will*. Wherefore these *Politicians* will yet urge the business further, and tell us, That no *man can be Obliged but by his own Act*, and that the *Essence of Injustice*, is Nothing else, but *Dati Repetitio*, The *taking away of that, which one had before given*. To which we again Reply, that were a man *Naturally Unobliged* to any thing, then could he no way be *Obliged*, to stand to his own *Act*, so that it should be Really *Unjust* and Unlawful for him, at any time upon Second thoughts, *Voluntarily to undo*, what he had before *voluntarily done*. But the Atheists here plainly Render *Injustice*, a meer *Ludicrous thing*; when they tell us, that it is Nothing but such an *Absurdity in Life*, as it is in *Disputation*, when a man Denies a *Proposition that he had before Granted*. Which is no Real *Evil*

in him as a *Man*, but only a thing Called an *Absurdity*, as a *Disputant*. That is, *Injustice* is no *Absolute Evil* of the *Man*; but only a *Relative Incongruity* in him, as a *Citizen*. As when a man speaking Latine, observes not the *Laws* of *Grammar*, this is a kind of *Injustice* in him, as a Latiniſt or *Grammarian*; ſo when one who lives in *Civil Society*, obſerves not the *Laws* and *Conditions* thereof, this is, as it were, The *Falſe Latine* of a *Citizen*, and nothing elſe. According to which *Notion* of *Injuſtice*, there is no ſuch Real *Evil* or *Hurt* in it, as can any way withſtand, the *Force* of *Appetite* and *Private Utility*, and *Oblige* men to *Civil Obedience*, when it is Contrary to the ſame. But theſe *Political Juglers* and *Enchanters*, will here caſt yet a further *Miſt* before mens Eyes with their *Pacts* and *Covenants*. For men by their *Covenants*, ſay they may Unqueſtionably *Oblige* themſelves, and make things *Unjuſt* and *Unlawful* to them, that were not ſo before. Wherefore *Injuſtice* is again Defined by them, and that with more Speciouſneſs, to be the *Breach* of *Covenants*. But though it be true, that if there be *Natural Juſtice*; *Covenants* will *Oblige*; yet upon the Contrary *Suppoſition*, that there is *Nothing Naturally Unjuſt*; this cannot be *Unjuſt*, neither to *Break Covenants*. *Covenants* without *Natural Juſtice*, are nothing but meer *Words* and *Breath*; (as indeed theſe *Atheiſtick Politicians* themſelves, agreeably to their own *Hypotheſis*, call them) and therefore can they have no *Force to Oblige*. Wherefore theſe *Juſtice-Makers*, are themſelves at laſt neceſſitated, to fly to *Laws* of *Nature*, and to Pretend, this to be a *Law* of *Nature*, That men ſhould *Stand to their Pacts and Covenants*. Which is plainly to Contradict their main *Fundamental Principle*, that by *Nature* nothing is *Unjuſt* or *Unlawful*; for if it be ſo, then can there be no *Laws* of *Nature*; and if there be *Laws* of *Nature*, then muſt there be ſomething Naturally Unjuſt and Unlawful. So that this is not to *Make Juſtice*, but clearly to *Unmake* their *own Hypotheſis*, and to ſuppoſe *Juſtice* to have been already Made by *Nature*, or to be in *Nature*; which is a *Groſs Abſurdity* in *Diſputation*; to *Affirm* what one had before *Denied*. But theſe their *Laws of Nature* are indeed nothing but *Jugling Equivocation*, and a meer *Mockery*; themſelves again acknowledging them to be no *Laws*, becauſe *Law is* nothing but the *Word of him, who hath Command over others*; but only *Concluſions or Theorems concerning what conduces* to the *Conſervation* and Defence of themſelves; upon the Principle of *Fear*; that is, indeed the *Laws* of their own *Timorous*, and *Cowardly Complexion*: for they who have Courage and Generoſity in them, according to this *Hypotheſis*, would never Submit to ſuch ſneaking Terms of *Equality*, and *Subjection*, but venture for *Dominion*; and reſolve either to *Win the Saddle*, or *Looſe the Horſe*. Here therefore do our *Atheiſtick Politicians* plainly daunce round in a *Circle*; they firſt deriving the *Obligation* of *Civil Laws*, from that of *Covenants*, and then that of *Covenants* from the *Laws of Nature*; and Laſtly, the *Obligation* both of theſe *Laws of Nature*, and of *Covenants* themſelves, again, from the *Law*, *Command*, and *Sanction* of the Civil *Sovereign*; without which neither of them would at all Oblige. And thus is it manifeſt, how vain the *Attempts* of theſe *Politicians* are, to *Make Juſtice Artificially*, when there is no ſuch thing *Naturally*; (which is indeed no leſs than, to make *Something* out of *Nothing*) and

by

by Art to Consociate into Bodies Politick, those whom *Nature* had *Dissociated* from one another: a thing as impossible as to Ty *Knots* in the *Wind* or *Water*; or to build up a Stately *Palace* or *Castle* out of Sand. Indeed the *Ligaments*, by which these *Politicians* would tie the Members of their huge *Leviathan*, or *Artificial Man* together, are not so good as *Cobwebs*; they being really nothing, but meer *Will* and *Words*. For if Authority and Sovereignty be made only by *Will* and *Words*, then is it plain, that by *Will* and *Words*, they may be *Unmade* again at pleasure.

Neither indeed are these *Atheistick Politicians* themselves, altogether unaware hereof, that this their *Artificial Justice* and *Obligation*, can be no firm *Vinculum* of a *Body Politick*, to *Consociate* those together, and Unite them into One, who are Naturally *Dissociated* and Divided from one another; they acknowledging, that *Covenants without the Sword, being but Words and Breath, are of no strength, to hold the Members of their Leviathan, or Body Politick together.* Wherefore they plainly betake themselves at length, from *Art* to *Force* and *Power*, and make their *Civil Sovereign*, really to *Reign only in Fear.* And this must needs be their meaning, when they so constantly declare, All *Obligation*, *Just* and *Unjust*, to be derived only from *Law*; they by Law there understanding, *a Command directed, to such as by reason of their Imbecillity are not able to Resist:* so that the Will and Command of the more *Powerful*, *Obliges* by the *Fear of Punishment Threatned.* Now if the only *Real Obligation* to obey *Civil Laws*, be from the Fear of *Punishment*, then could no man be Obliged to hazard his Life for the Safety of his Prince and Country, and they, who could reasonably promise themselves *Impunity*, would be altogether *Disobliged*, and Consequently, might *Justly* break any *Laws*, for their Own Advantage. An Assertion so extravagant, that these *Confounded Politicians* themselves, are ashamed plainly to own it, and therefore Disguise it, what they can by Equivocation; themselves sometimes also confessing, so much of Truth, that *Pœna non Obligat, sed Obligatum tenet, Punishment does not Oblige, but only hold those to their Duty, who were before Obliged.* Furthermore, what is *Made* by *Power* and *Force* only, may be *Unmade* by *Power* and *Force* again. If Civil Sovereigns Reign only in the *Fear* of their own *Sword*, then is that Right of theirs so much talked of, indeed nothing else but *Might*, and their *Authority*, *Force*; and consequently Succesful and Prosperous *Rebellion*, and whatsoever can be done by *Power*, will be *ipso facto* thereby *Justified.* Lastly, were *Civil Sovereigns* and *Bodies Politick*, meer *Violent* and *Contra-Natural* things, then would they all quickly Vanish into nothing, because *Nature* will prevail against *Force* and *Violence:* Whereas men constantly every where fall into *Political Order*, and the *Corruption* of one Form of Government, is but the *Generation* of another.

Wherefore since it is plain, that *Sovereignty* and *Bodies Politick* can neither be meerly *Artificial*, nor yet *Violent* things, there must of necessity be some *Natural* Bond or *Vinculum* to hold them together, such as may both really *Oblige Subjects* to *Obey* the Lawful Commands of *Sovereigns*, and *Sovereigns in Commanding*, to seek the *Good* and

Welfare of their *Subjects*; whom theſe *Atheiſtick Politicians*, (by their *Infinite* and *Belluine Right*) quite diſcharge from any ſuch thing. Which Bond or *Vinculum* can be no other, than *Natural Juſtice*; and ſomething of a *Common* and *Publick*, of a *Cementing* and *Conglutinating Nature*, in all Rational Beings; the Original of both which, is from the Deity. The *Right* and *Authority* of God himſelf is Founded in *Juſtice*; and of this is the Civil Sovereignty alſo a certain *Participation*. It is not the meer *Creature* of the People, and of mens *Wills*, and therefore *Annihilable* again by their *Wills* at pleaſure; but hath a *Stamp* of *Divinity* upon it, as may partly appear from hence, becauſe that *Jus Vitæ & Necis*, that *Power of Life and Death*, which *Civil Sovereigns* have, was never lodged in *Singulars*, before *Civil Society*; and therefore could not be Conferred by them. Had not *God* and *Nature* made *a City*; were there not a *Natural Conciliation* of all *Rational Creatures*, and *Subjection* of them to the *Deity*, as their Head (which is *Cicero*'s, *Una Civitas Deorum atque Hominum*, *One City of Gods and Men*) had not God made ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, *Ruling and being Ruled*, *Superiority* and *Subjection*, with their reſpective *Duty* and *Obligation*, men could neither by *Art*, or *Political Enchantment*, nor yet by *Force*, have made any firm *Cities* or *Polities*. The Civil *Sovereign* is no *Leviathan*, no *Beaſt*, but a *God* (*I have ſaid ye are Gods*:) he reigns not in meer *Brutiſh Force* and *Fear*, but in *Natural Juſtice* and *Conſcience*, and in the *Right* and *Authority* of God himſelf. Nevertheleſs we deny not, but that there is need of *Force* and *Fear* too, to Conſtrain thoſe to Obedience, to whom the *Conſcience* of *Duty* proveth ineffectual. Nor is the *Fear* of the *Civil Sovereigns* own *Sword*, alone ſufficient for this neither, Unaſſiſted by *Religion*, and the *Fear of an Inviſible Being Omnipotent*, who ſeeth all things, and can Puniſh Secret, as well as Open Tranſgreſſors, both in this Life, and after Death. Which is a thing ſo confeſſedly true, that Atheiſts have therefore Pretended, *Religion* to have been at firſt a meer *Political Figment*. We conclude therefore, that the Civil Sovereign reigneth not, meerly in the *Fear* of his own *Power* and *Sword*; but firſt in the *Juſtice*, and *Authority*, and then in the *Power* and *Fear* alſo, of *God Almighty*. And thus much for the *Firſt Atheiſtick Pretence*, from the *Intereſt* of *Civil Sovereigns*.

To their *Second*, that *Sovereignty is Eſſentially Infinite, and therefore altogether Inconſiſtent, with Religion*, that would Limit and Confine it, We Reply; That the *Right* and *Authority* of *Civil Sovereigns*, is not as theſe our *Atheiſtick Politicians* ignorantly ſuppoſe, a meer *Belluine Liberty*, but it is a *Right* eſſentially *Founded* in the Being of *Natural Juſtice*, as hath been declared. For *Authority* of *Commanding* is ſuch a *Right* as ſuppoſes *Obligation* in others to *Obey*, without which it could be nothing but meer *Will* and *Force*. But none can be *Obliged* in *Duty* to *Obey*, but by *Natural Juſtice*; *Commands* as ſuch, not *Creating Obligation*, but *Preſuppoſing* it. For if Perſons were not before *Obliged* to *Obey*, no Commands would ſignifie any thing to them. Wherefore the Firſt *Original Obligation* is not from *Will* but *Nature*. Did Obligation to the things of *Natural Juſtice*, as many ſuppoſe, ariſe from the *Will* and *Poſitive Command* of *God*, only

only by reason of Punishments Threatned, and *Rewards* Promised; the Consequence of this would be, that no man was *Good* and *Just*, but only *By Accident*, and for the *Sake of Something else*; Whereas the *Goodness* of *Justice* or *Righteousness* is *Intrinsecal* to the thing it self, and this is that which *Obligeth*, (and not any thing *Forreign* to it) it being a different *Species* of *Good* from that of *Appetite* and *Private Utility*, which every man may Dispense withal. Now there can be no more *Infinite Justice*, than there can be an *Infinite Rule*, or an *Infinite Measure*. *Justice* is Essentially a *Determinate* thing; and therefore can there not be any *Infinite Jus*, *Right* or *Authority*. If there be any thing in its own Nature *Just*, and *Obliging*, or such as *Ought to be done*; then must there of necessity be something *Unjust* or *Unlawful*, which therefore cannot be *Obligingly Commanded* by any *Authority* whatsoever. Neither ought this to be thought any *Impeachment* of Civil Authority, it extending Universally to all, even to that of the Deity it self. The *Right* and *Authority* of *God* himself, who is the *Supreme Sovereign* of the *Universe*, is also in like manner *Bounded* and *Circumscribed* by *Justice*. God's *Will* is *Ruled* by his *Justice*, and not his *Justice Ruled* by his *Will*; and therefore God himself cannot *Command*, what is in its own nature *Unjust*. And thus have we made it Evident, that *Infinite Right* and *Authority*, of Doing and Commanding any thing without Exception, so that the *Arbitrary* will of the Commander, should be the very Rule of *Justice* it self to others, and consequently might *Oblige* to any thing, is an *Absolute Contradiction*, and a *Non-Entity*; it supposing nothing to be in its own *Nature*, *Just* or *Unjust*, which if there were not, there could be no *Obligation* nor *Authority* at all. Wherefore the *Atheists* who would flatter *Civil Sovereigns*, with this *Infinite Right*, as if their *Will* ought to be the very *Rule* of *Justice* and *Conscience*, and upon that Pretence Prejudice them against *Religion*, do as ill deserve of them as of Religion hereby, they indeed Absolutely Devesting them of all *Right* and *Authority*, and leaving them nothing but meer *Brutish Force*, and *Belluine Liberty*. And could Civil Sovereigns utterly Demolish and Destroy, Conscience and Religion in the Minds of Men, (which yet is an *Absolute Impossibility*) they thinking thereby to make *Elbow*-room for themselves, they would certainly *Bury* themselves also, in the *Ruins* of them. Nevertheless thus much is true; That they in whom the *Sovereign Legislative Power* of every *Polity* is lodged, (whether *Single Persons* or *Assemblies*) they who Make *Civil Laws* and can Reverse them at pleasure, though they may Unquestionably *Sin* against God, in making *Unjust Laws*, yet can they not *Sin Politically* or *Civilly*, as Violators or Transgressors of those Laws Cancelled and Reversed by them, they being Superiour to them. Nor is this all, But these *Sovereign Legislative Powers*, may be said to be *Absolute* also, in another Sense, as being ἀνυπόδυτοι, *Un-Judicable* or *Un-Censurable* by any *Humane Court*, because if they were so obnoxious, then would that *Court* or *Power* which had a *Right* to *Judge* and Censure them, be Superiour to them; which is contrary to the *Hypothesis*. And then if this *Power* were again *Judicable* by some other, there must either be, an *Infinite Progress* or *Endless Circulation* (a thing not only *Absurd*, but

also

alſo utterly Inconſiſtent with *Government* and *Property*, becauſe there being no *Ultimate Judgment* Unappealable from, there could never be any *Final Determination* of Controverſies;) or elſe at laſt, all muſt be devolved, to the *Multitude* of *Singulars*, which would be a *Diſſolution* of the *Body Politick*, and a *State of Anarchy*. And thus have we Fully *Confuted*, the Second *Atheiſtick Pretence alſo*, for the *Inconſiſtency of Religion with Civil Sovereignty*.

Their *Third* and *Laſt* follows, *That Private Judgment of Good and Evil, is Contradictious to Civil Sovereignty, and a Body Politick, this being One Artificial Man, that muſt be all Governed, by One Reaſon and Will.* But Conſcience is Private *Judgment of Good and Evil, Lawful and Unlawful, &c.* To which we Reply, That it is not *Religion*, but on the contrary, the Principles of theſe Atheiſtick Politicians, that Unavoidably introduce *Private Judgment of Good and Evil*, ſuch as is Abſolutely inconſiſtent with *Civil Sovereignty*; there being according to them, nothing in *Nature*, of a *Publick* or *Common Good*, Nothing of *Duty* or *Obligation*, but all *Private Appetite*, and *Utility*, of which alſo every man is *Judge* for himſelf. For if this were ſo, then when ever any man *Judged* it moſt for his *Private Utility*, to Diſobey Laws, Rebel againſt Sovereigns, nay to Poyſon or Stab them, he would be Unqueſtionably bound by *Nature*, and the *Reaſon* of his own *Good*, as the *Higheſt Law*, to do the ſame. Neither can theſe *Atheiſtick Politicians*, be ever able to bring men out of this State of *Private Good, Judgment*, and *Will*, which is *Natural* to them, by any *Artificial Tricks* and *Devices*, or meer *Enchantments* of *Words*, as *Artificial Juſtice*, and an *Artficial Man*, and a *Common Perſon* and *Will*, and a *Publick Conſcience*, and the like. Nay it is obſervable, that themſelves are neceſſitated by the Tenour of theſe their Principles, *Caſuiſtically* to allow ſuch *Private Judgment* and *Will*, as is altogether inconſiſtent with *Civil Sovereignty*; as, That any man may *Lawfully Reſiſt* in *Defence* of his own *Life*, and That they who have once *Rebelled*, may afterwards *Juſtly defend* themſelves by *Force*. Nor indeed can this *Private Judgment* of men, according to their *Appetite* and *Utility*, be poſſibly otherwiſe taken away, then by *Natural Juſtice*, which is a thing not of a *Private*, but of a *Publick* and *Common Nature*; And by *Conſcience*, that Obligeth to Obey all the Lawful Commands of *Civil Sovereigns*, though contrary to mens *Appetites*, and *Private Intereſt*. Wherefore *Conſcience* alſo, is in it ſelf not of a *Private* and *Partial*, but of a *Publick* and *Common Nature*; it reſpecting *Divine Laws*, *Impartial Juſtice*, and *Equity*, and the *Good of the Whole*, when claſhing with our own *Selfiſh Good*; and *Private Utility*. This is the only thing, that can *Naturally Conſociate Mankind* together, lay a Foundation for *Bodies Politick*, and take away that *Private Will* and *Judgment* according to mens *Appetite* and *Utility*, which is Inconſiſtent with the ſame: agreeably to that of *Plato's*, τὸ κοινὸν συνδεῖ, τὸ ἴδιον διαζπᾷ, That *which is of a Common and Publick Nature Unites, but that which is of a Private Segregates and Diſſociates*. It is true indeed, that particular Perſons muſt make a *Judgment* in *Conſcience* for themſelves (a Publick Conſcience, being *Nonſenſe* and *Ridiculous*) and that they may alſo Erre therein; yet is not the *Rule* neither, by which

which *Conscience* Judgeth, *Private*; nor it self *Unaccountable*, unless in such mistaken *Fanaticks*, as professedly follow *Private Impulses*; but either the *Natural* and *Eternal Laws* of *God*, or else his revealed *Will*, things more *Publick*, than the *Civil Laws* of any Country, and of which others also may Judge. Nevertheless we deny not, but that Evil Persons may and do sometimes make a Pretence of *Conscience* and *Religion* in Order to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*; as the Best things may be Abused; but this is not the Fault of *Religion*, but only of the *Men*: Conscience *Obliging*, though First to obey God, yet in Subordination to him, the Laws of Civil Sovereigns also. To conclude, *Conscience* and *Religion*, Oblige Subjects *Actively* to *Obey* all the *Lawful Commands* of *Civil Sovereigns* or *Legislative Powers*, though contrary to their own *Private* Appetite, *Interest*, and *Utility*; but when these same Sovereign Legislative Powers, Command *Unlawful things*, Conscience though it here Obliges to *Obey God rather than Men*, yet does it Notwithstanding *Oblige*, *Not to Resist*. Rom. 13. *Whosoever Resisteth the Power, Resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that Resist shall Receive to themselves Damnation.* And *Matthew* the 26. *All they that take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword. Here is the Patience and the Faith of the Saints.* And thus does *Religion, give unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsars, *as well as unto God, the things that are Gods.*

And now having fully *Confuted*, all the *Atheistick Grounds*, we confidently Conclude, That the First *Original* of all things, was neither Stupid and Senseless Matter Fortuitously moved, Nor a *Blind* and *Nescient*, but Orderly and *Methodical Plastick Nature*; Nor a Living *Matter* having Perception or *Understanding Natural*, without *Animal Sense or Consciousness*; Nor yet did every thing Exist of it self *Necessarily* from Eternity, without a *Cause*. But there is One only *Necessary Existent*, the Cause of all other things; and this an Absolutely Perfect Being, Infinitely Good, Wise, and Powerful; Who hath made all that was Fit to be made, and according to the *Best Wisdom*, and exerciseth an exact *Providence* over all. Whose Name ought to be Hallowed and Separated from all other things. *To whom be all Honour, and Glory, and Worship, for ever and ever. Amen.*

THE END.

THE CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

Containing an Account of the *Atomick Physiology*, as made the *Foundation* of the *Atheistick Fate*, or the *Material Necessity* of all things.

I. THREE Fatalisms; (*or*, The Necessity *of all Human Actions and Events, maintained upon* Three *several* Grounds) *which are so many False* Hypotheses, *of the* Intellectual System *of the* Universe. Page 3

II. *Concerning the* Mathematical, *or* Astrological Fate. 4

III. *Of the Opinion of those, who supposed a* Fate Superiour *to the* Highest Deity. 5

IV. *The Moderation of the Intended Discourse, concerning* Liberty *and* Necessity. 6

V. *The* Atheistical Hypothesis, *or* Democritick Fate, *as founded upon the* Atomick Physiology; *which therefore briefly Described.* 7

VI. *The Antiquity of this* Atomick Physiology, *with the Account given thereof by* Aristotle. 8

VII. *A clear and full Record of the same* Physiology *in* Plato, *not commonly taken notice of.* 10

VIII. *That neither* Protagoras, *nor* Democritus, *nor* Leucippus, *nor any* Atheist, *was the first Inventour or Founder of this* Atomick Physiology: *and the Necessity of being thoroughly acquainted therewith, in order to the Confutation of the* Modern Atheism. 11

IX. *The Tradition of* Posidonius *the Stoick, that* Moschus *an Ancient* Phœnician, *before the* Trojan *War, was the first Inventour of this* Atomical Physiology, *briefly suggested.* Page 12

X. *That this* Moschus, *the Inventour of the* Atomical Physiology, *was Probably the same with* Mochus *the Physiologer in* Iamblichus; *with whose Successours, Priests and Prophets*, Pythagoras *convers'd at* Sidon. ibid.

XI. *Other Probabilities for this, that* Pythagoras *was acquainted with the* Atomick Physiology. 13

XII. *That* Pythagoras *his* Monads *were sometimes taken for* Corporeal Atoms; *from* Ecphantus *in* Stobæus *and* Aristotle. ibid.

XIII. *Proved clearly, that* Empedocles, *who was a Pythagorean*, Physiologized Atomically. 14

XIV. *The same further evinced, from* Plato, Aristotle *and* Plutarch. 15

XV. *That* Anaxagoras, (*Senior to* Democritus,) *was a Spurious or Bungling* Atomist, *and an Unskilfull Imitatour of that* Physiology, *before in use.* 16

XVI. *That* Ecphantus *the Pythagorean*, Xenocrates, Diodorus *and* Metrodorus Chius, *were all Ancient Asserters of the* Atomick Physiology; *together with* Aristotle's *Testimony, That the Generality of* Former Physiologers *went that way.* ibid.

XVII. *How* Aristotle *is to be reconciled with himself, and the Credit of other Writers to be Salved, when they impute this Philosophy to* Leucippus *and* Democritus; *That these were the first* Atheizers *thereof, and consequently the* Founders *of that Philosophy, which is* Atheistically Atomical. 17

XVIII. *That the* Atomists *before* Democritus, *were Asserters of a* Deity *and* Substance Incorporeal. 18

The Contents.

XIX. *A Confutation of thoſe Neotericks, who deny* Incorporeal Subſtance, *to have been aſſerted by any of the Ancients. The Antiquity of that Doctrine proved from* Plato, *who alſo profeſſedly maintained it.* Page 18

XX. Ariſtotle *likewiſe an Aſſerter of* Incorporeal Subſtance. 19

XXI. *That* Epicurus *confuteth this Opinion, as that which had been before maintained by* Plato *and other Ancients.* 20

XXII. *That all thoſe Philoſophers, who before* Plato, *held the* Immortality of the Soul, *and a* Deity Diſtinct *from the world, were undoubtedly* Incorporealiſts; *as particularly* Pythagoras, *who alſo maintained a* Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes. ibid.

XXIII. Parmenides, *a Strenuous Aſſerter of* Incorporeal Subſtance, *together with thoſe who held, That all things did not* Flow, *but ſome things* Stand. 22

XXIV. Empedocles *vindicated from being either an* Atheiſt, *or* Corporealiſt, *at large.* ibid.

XXV. Anaxagoras, *an open and profeſſed Aſſerter of an* Incorporeal Mind. 26

XXVI. *Inferred from all this, That the Ancient* Atomiſts *before* Democritus, *were both* Theiſts *and* Incorporealiſts: *and this further confirmed.* ibid.

XXVII. *That there is not onely no Inconſiſtency, betwixt* Atomology *and* Theology, *but alſo a Natural Cognation, proved from the* Origin *of the* Atomical Phyſiology, *which proceeded in generall, from the Victory and Triumph of* Reaſon *over* Senſe. 27

XXVIII. *A more Particular Account of the* Origin *of this* Atomical Philoſophy, *from that one* Principle of Reaſon, *That in Nature,* Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing. *And that the ancient* Atomology *was built upon this Foundation, proved at large.* 29

XXIX. *That this ſelf-ſame* Principle, *which made the* Ancient Atomiſts *diſcard* Qualities *and Subſtantial* Forms, *made them alſo aſſert* Incorporeal Subſtance. 35

XXX. *And with it* Immortality of Souls. 37

XXXI. *That the Doctrine of* Pre-exiſtence *and* Tranſmigration *of* Souls, *had alſo the ſame* Original. Page 38

XXXII. *This not Confined by thoſe Ancients to Human Souls onely, but Extended to all* Souls *and* Lives *whatſoever.* 39

XXXIII. *All this proved from* Empedocles, *who plainly aſſerted the* Pre-exiſtence, *as well as the* Poſt-exiſtence *of all* Souls, *from this Fundamental Principle, That* Nothing can come from Nothing, nor goe to Nothing. 40

XXXIV. *A Cenſure of this Doctrine, That from this Ground may be ſolidly proved, the* Future Immortality *of Human Souls, but not their* Pre-exiſtence: *becauſe all Souls muſt be Created by God, ſome time or other.* 43

XXXV. *An Hypotheſis to Salve the* Incorporeity *of the* Souls *of* Brutes, *without their* Poſt-exiſtence, *and Succeſſive* Tranſmigrations. 44

XXXVI. *And, That this will not Prejudice the* Immortality *of Human* Souls. 45

XXXVII. *But that the* Empedoclean Hypotheſis, *is indeed of the Two, more Rational, than the Opinion of thoſe, who make the* Souls *of* Brutes *all* Corporeal. ibid.

XXXVIII. *Moreover, that the Conſtitution of the* Atomical Phyſiology, *is ſuch in it ſelf, as that whoſoever Entertains it, thoroughly underſtanding the ſame, muſt needs hold* Incorporeal Subſtance; *in Five Particulars.* 46

XXXIX. *Two great* Advantages *of the* Atomical *or* Mechanical Phyſiology; *the Firſt whereof is this, That it renders the Corporeal world* Intelligible, *which no other Philoſophy doth.* 48

XL. *The* Second Advantage *of it, that it prepares an eaſy and clear way, for the Demonſtration of* Incorporeal Subſtance. ibid.

XLI. *Concluded from all theſe* Premiſſes, *That the Ancient* Moſchical Philoſophy, *was Integrated and Made up of theſe Two Parts,* Atomical Phyſiology, *and* Theology *or* Pneumatology. 50

XLII. *But that this Entire Philoſophy,*

was

was afterwards Mangled and Dismembred, some taking one Part thereof alone, and some the other. Page 51

XLIII. *That* Leucippus *and* Democritus, *being* Atheistically *inclined, took the* Atomical Physiology *alone, endeavouring to* Atheize *the same, and so begat a Mongrill and Spurious Philosophy,* Atheistically Atomical *or* Atomically Atheistical: *and their Unsuccessfulness herein.* 51

XLIV. *That* Plato *took the* Theology *or* Pneumatology *of the Ancients alone, rejecting their* Atomical Physiology; *and upon what Prejudices he did so.* 52

XLV. *That* Aristotle *followed* Plato *herein. A Commendation of his Philosophy, (together with an Impartial Censure) and a Deserved Preference thereof, before the* Democritick *and* Epicurean. 53

CHAP. II.

Wherein are contained, all the *Pretended Grounds* of *Reason*, for the *Atheistick Hypothesis.*

I. THat *the* Democritick Philosophy, *made up of* Corporealism *and* Atomism *complicated together, is Essentially* Atheistical. Pag. 59

II. *Though* Epicurus, *who was an* Atomical Corporealist, *pretended to assert a* Democracy *of* Gods, *yet was he for all that an* Absolute Atheist. *And that* Atheists *commonly equivocate and disguise themselves.* 60

III. *That the* Democritick Philosophy, *which makes Senseless Atoms, not onely the first Principles of Bodies (as the ancient Atomology did) but also of All things whatsoever in the Universe, and therefore of* Soul *and* Mind, *is nothing else but a System of* Atheology, *or* Atheism *swaggering under a Pretence to Wisedom and Philosophy. And though there be another opposite* Form *of* Atheism, *which we call* Stratonical, *yet is the* Democritick Atheism *chiefly considerable; all the* Dark Mysteries *whereof will be here revealed.* 61

IV. *That we being to treat concerning the* Deity, *and to bring all those Prophane and Unhallowed* Mysteries *of* Atheism *into light, in order to a Confutation of them; the Divine Assistence and Direction ought to be implored; as it commonly was by Pagans themselves in such Cases.* 63

V. *That we are both to discover the* Atheists Pretended Grounds *of* Reason *against the* Deity, *and their* Attempts *to* Salve *all the* Phænomena *without a God. The First of their* Grounds, *That no man can have an* Idea *or* Conception *of God, and therefore he is but an* Incomprehensible Nothing. ibid.

VI. *A Second Atheistick Argumentation, That there can be no* Creation *out of* Nothing, *nor* Omnipotence; *because* Nothing can come from Nothing; *and therefore whatsoever* Substantially is, *was from all Eternity, Of it Self,* Uncreated *by any Deity.* 64

VII. *A Third* Pretended Ground *of* Reason *against a* Deity; *That the strictest Notion of a God implying him to be* Incorporeal, *there can be no such* Incorporeal Deity, *there being no other* Substance *besides* Body. *Because whatsoever Is is* extended, *and whatsoever is extended, is either empty* Space, *or* Body. 65

VIII. *The* Atheists *Pretence, That the Doctrine of* Incorporeal Substance *sprung from a ridiculous mistake, of* Abstract Names *and* Notions *for* Realities. *Their Impudence in making the* Deity *but the chief of Spectres, an* Oberon *or Prince of Fayries and Phancies. This the Fourth Atheistick Argument, That to suppose an* Incorporeal Mind *to be the Original of all things, is nothing else, but to make the* Abstract Notion *of a meer* Accident *to be the* First Cause. 67

IX. *A Fifth* Pretended Ground *of* Atheism, *That an* Incorporeal Deity *being already confuted, a* Corporeal *one may be disproved also, from the Principles of* Corporealism *in General; Because* Matter *being the onely* Substance, *and all other* Differences *of things nothing but the* Accidents *thereof, Generable and Corruptible; no Living Understanding Being, can be* Essentially Incorruptible. *The*

Stoical God *Incorruptible onely by Accident.* Page 69

X. *Their further Attempt to doe the ſame* Atomically, *That the Firſt Principle of all things whatſoever in the Univerſe being* Atoms, *or* Corpuſcula, *devoid of all manner of* Qualities, *and conſequently of* Senſe *and* Underſtanding *(which ſprung up afterwards from a certain* Compoſition *or* Contexture *of them)* Mind *or* Deity, *could not therefore be the* Firſt Original *of all.* 70

XI. *A farther* Atheiſtick Attempt *to impugn a* Deity, *by diſproving the* World's Animation, *or its being governed by a Living Underſtanding* Animaliſh Nature, *preſiding over the whole; Becauſe forſooth,* Senſe *and* Underſtanding *are peculiar Appendices to* Fleſh, Bloud, *and* Braines; *and Reaſon is no where to be found but in Human Form.* 73

XII. *An Eighth* Atheiſtick Inſtance, *That God being taken by all, for a Moſt Happy,* Eternal *and* Immortal Animal *(or Living Being) there can be no ſuch thing; becauſe all living Beings are* Concretions *of* Atoms *that were at firſt generated, and are liable to Death and Corruption by the Diſſolution of their Compages.* Life *being no* Simple Primitive Nature, *but an* Accidental Modification *of compounded Bodies onely, which upon the Diſunion of their Parts, or Diſturbance of their Contexture, vaniſheth into Nothing.* 75

XIII. *A Ninth* Pretended Atheiſtick Demonſtration, *That by God is meant a* Firſt Cauſe *or* Mover, *and ſuch as was not before moved by any thing elſe without it; but* Nothing can move it ſelf, *and therefore there can be no* unmoved Mover, *nor any Firſt in the Order of Cauſes, that is, a God.* 76

XIV. *Their farther Improvement of the ſame Principle, That there can be no Action whatſoever, without ſome external Cauſe; or that,* Nothing taketh Beginning from it ſelf, *but from the* Action of ſome other Agent without it; *ſo that no* Cogitation *can ariſe of it ſelf without a* Cauſe; *all* Action *and* Cogitation *being really nothing but* Local Motion: *from whence it follows, that no* Thinking Being *could be a* Firſt Cauſe *any more than a Machin or Automaton.* Page 76.

XV. *Another* Grand Myſtery *of* Atheiſm, *That all* Knowledge *and* Mental Conception *is the Information of the things themſelves known exiſting without the Knower, and a meer Paſsion from them; and therefore the world muſt needs have been before any Knowledge or Conception of it, but no Knowledge or Conception before the world, as its Cauſe.* 77

XVI. *A Twelfth* Atheiſtick Argumentation, *That things could not be made by a God; becauſe they are ſo Faulty and Ill made. That they were not contrived for the Good of Man, and that the Deluge of Evils which overflows all, ſhows them not to have proceeded from any* Deity. ibid.

XVII. *A Thirteenth Inſtance of* Atheiſts, *from the* Defect *of* Providence, *That in Human Affairs all is* Tohu *and* Bohu, *Chaos and Confuſion.* 79

XVIII. *A Fourteenth* Atheiſtick Objection, *That it is impoſſible for any one Being to* Animadvert *and* Order *all things in the diſtant places of the whole world at once; But if it were poſſible, That ſuch* Infinite Negotioſity *would be abſolutely inconſiſtent with* Happineſs. 80

XIX. Quæries of Atheiſts, *Why the world was not made ſooner? and, What God did before? Why it was made at all, ſince it was ſo long unmade? and, How the Architect of the world could rear up ſo huge a Fabrick?* 81

XX. *The* Atheiſts Pretence, *That it is the great* Intereſſe *of Mankind, There ſhould be no God; And that it was a Noble and Heroical Exploit of the* Democriticks, *to Chaſe away that Affrightfull Spectre out of the world, and to free men from the Continual* Fear *of a* Deity, *and* Puniſhment *after* Death, *Embittering all the Pleaſures of Life.* 83

XXI. *The Laſt* Atheiſtick Pretence, *That* Theiſm *is alſo inconſiſtent with* Civil Sovereignty, *it introducing a* Fear *greater than the* Fear of *the* Leviathan: *and that any other* Conſcience, *beſides the* Civil Law *(being* Private Judgment)

ment) *is* Ipso Facto *a* Dissolution *of the Body Politick, and a Revolt to the* State of Nature. Page 84

XXII. *The* Atheists Conclusion *from all the former Premisses, (as it is set down in* Plato *and* Lucretius,) *That all things sprung Originally from* Nature and Chance, *without any* Mind *or* God, *or proceeded from the* Necessity *of* Material Motions *Undirected for* Ends. *And that Infinite Atoms Devoid of all* Life *and* Sense, *Moving in Infinite Space from Eternity, did by their Fortuitous* Rencounters *and* Entanglements, *produce the* System *of this whole Universe, and as well all* Animate *as* Inanimate *things.* 97

CHAP. III.

An Introduction to the *Confutation* of the *Atheistick Grounds*; wherein is contained a particular Account of all the Severall *Forms* of *Atheism*, together with a necessary *Digression*, concerning a *Plastick* or *Artificial Nature.*

I. *THat the Grounds of the* Hylozoïck Atheism *could not be insisted on by us in the former Chapter, together with those of the* Atomick, *they being directly opposite each to other; with a farther Account of this* Hylozoïck Atheism. P. 104.

II. *A Suggestion in way of Caution, for the Preventing of all mistakes, That every* Hylozoïst *must not therefore be presently condemned as an* Atheist, *or but a meer Counterfeit* Histrionical Theist. 105

III. *That nevertheless such* Hylozoïsts, *as are also Corporealists, or acknowledge no other* Substance *besides* Body, *can by no means be excused from the Imputation of* Atheism, *for Two Reasons.* 106

IV. *That* Strato Lampsacenus *(commonly called* Physicus*) was probably the First Asserter of the* Hylozoïck Atheism, *he acknowledging no other God, but the* Life of Nature *in* Matter. 107

V. *Further Proved, that this* Strato *was an* Atheist, *and of a different Form from* Democritus, *he attributing an* Energetick Nature, *but without* Sense *and* Animality, *to all* Matter. Page 108

VI. *That* Strato, *not deriving all things from a meer* Fortuitous Principle; *as the* Democritick Atheists *did, nor yet acknowledging any one* Plastick Nature *to preside over the whole, but deducing the Original of things from a* Mixture *of* Chance *and* Plastick Nature *both together, in the several parts of Matter; must therefore needs be an* Hylozoïck Atheist. ibid.

VII. *That the Famous* Hippocrates, *was neither an* Hylozoïck *nor* Democritick Atheist, *but rather an* Heraclitick Corporeal Theist. 109

VIII. *That* Plato *took no notice of the* Hylozoïck Atheism, *nor of any other, save what derives the Original of all things from a meer* Fortuitous Nature; *and therefore either the* Democritical, *or the* Anaximandrian Atheism, *which Latter will be next declared.* 110

IX. *That it is hardly Imaginable, There should have been no* Philosophick Atheists *in the world before* Democritus *and* Leucippus: Plato *observing also, that there have been some or other in all ages sick of the Atheistick Disease: And* Aristotle *affirming, many of the first Philosophers to have assigned onely a* Material Cause *of the mundane System, without either* Intending, *or* Efficient Cause. *They supposing* Matter *to be the onely* Substance, *and all other things, nothing but the* Passions *and* Accidents *thereof*; Generable *and* Corruptible. 111

X. *The Doctrine of which* Materialists *may be more fully understood from those* Exceptions *which* Aristotle *makes against them. His First* Exception; *That they assigned no* Cause *of* Motion, *but introduced it into the world Unaccomptably.* 112

XI. Aristotle's *Second* Exception; *That these* Materialists *assigned no Cause,* Τῶ Εὖ καὶ Καλῶς, of Well and Fit; *that is, gave no Accompt of the Orderly* Regularity *of things.* Anaxagoras *said to be the First* Ionick *Philosopher who made* Mind *and* Good *a Principle of the Universe.* ibid.

The Contents.

XII. *Concluded from hence, That these* Materialists *in* Aristotle *were downright* Atheists, *not merely because they held all* Substance *to be* Body, *forasmuch as* Heraclitus *and* Zeno *did the like, and yet are not therefore numbered amongst the* Atheists (*these supposing the whole* World *to be an* Animal, *and their* Fiery Matter *Originally* Intellectual) *but because they made* Stupid Matter, *devoid of all* Understanding *and* Life, *to be the onely* Principle. Page 113

XIII. *And supposed every thing, besides the bare Substance of Matter, to be* Generable *and* Corruptible, *and consequently, That there could be no other God, than such as was* Native *and* Mortal. *That those Ancient* Theologers *and* Theogonists, *who Generated all the Gods out of* Night *and* Chaos *without exception, were onely* Verbal Theists, *but* Real Atheists; Senseless Matter *being to them the* Highest Numen. ibid.

XIV. *The Difference observed betwixt* Aristotle's Atheistical Materialists *and the* Italick Philosophers; *the former determining all things, besides the bare Substance of Matter, to be* Made *or* Generated; *but the latter, that no* Real Entity *was either* Generated *or* Corrupted; *they thereupon both destroying the* Qualities *and* Forms *of* Bodies, *and asserting the* Ingenerability *and* Incorporeity *of* Souls. 114

XV. *How* Aristotle's Atheistick Materialists *endeavoured to baffle and elude that* Axiome *of the* Italick Philosophers, *That* Nothing can come from Nothing nor goe to Nothing. *And that* Anaxagoras *was the First amongst the* Ionicks, *who yielded so far to that Principle, as from thence to assert* Incorporeal Substance, *and the* Pre-existence of Qualities and Forms: *he conceiving them to be things Really distinct from the Substance of Matter.* 116

XVI. *The Errour of some Writers, who from* Aristotle's *affirming, That the Ancient Philosophers did generally conclude the World to have been Made, from thence infer them, to have been all* Theists, *and that* Aristotle *contradicts himself in representing many of them as* Atheists. *That the Ancient* Atheists *did generally* Κοσμοποιεῖν, assert the World to have been Made, *or have had a* Beginning; *as on the other hand, some* Theists *did maintain its* Ante-Eternity, *but in a way of Dependency upon the* Deity. *That we ought therefore here to distinguish betwixt the* System of the World, *and the bare* Substance of the Matter; *All* Atheists *contending the* Matter *to have been not onely* Eternal, *but also such* Independently *upon any other Being.* Page 117

XVII. *Some of the Ancients concluded this* Materialism, *or* Hylopathian Atheism, *to have been at least as old as* Homer; *who made the* Ocean (*or Fluid Matter*) *the* Father of all the gods: *and that this was indeed the Ancientest of all* Atheisms, *which verbally acknowledging gods, yet derives the Original of them all from* Night *and* Chaos. *A Description of this* Atheistick Hypothesis *in* Aristophanes; *That* Night *and* Chaos *first laid an* Egg, *out of which sprung forth* Love, *which afterwards mingling again with* Chaos, *begat Heaven and Earth, Animals and all the Gods.* 120

XVIII. *That notwithstanding this, in* Aristotle's *Judgment, not onely* Parmenides, *but also* Hesiod, *and other Ancients, who made* Love, Senior *to the* Gods, *were to be exempted out of the number of* Atheists; *they understanding by this* Love *an* Active Principle *or* Cause of Motion *in the Universe: which therefore could not result from an* Egg of the Night, *nor be the* Offspring of Chaos, *but must be something in order of Nature Before* Matter. Simmias Rhodius *his* Wings, *a Poem in Honour of this* Divine *or* Heavenly Love. *This not that* Love *neither which was the Offspring of* Penia *and* Porus *in* Plato. *In what Rectified and Refined Sense it may pass for True Theology; That* Love *is the* Supreme Deity, *and* Original of all things. 121

XIX. *That however* Democritus *and* Leucippus *be elsewhere taxed by* Aristotle *for this very thing, the assigning onely a* Material Cause *of the Universe; yet were they not the Persons intended by him*

him, in the forementioned Accusation, but certain Ancienter Philosophers, who also were not Atomists, *but Asserters of* Qualities, *or* Hylopathians. Page 123

XX. *That* Aristotle's Atheistick Materialists, *were indeed all the First* Ionick Philosophers *before* Anaxagoras, Thales *being the Head of them. But that* Thales *being acquitted from this* Imputation *of* Atheism, *by several Good Authours, his next Successour,* Anaximander, *is rather to be accounted the* ἀρχηγὸς *or* Prince *of this* Atheistick Philosophy. ibid.

XXI. *A Passage out of* Aristotle *Objected, which at first sight, seems to make* Anaximander *a* Divine Philosopher, *and therefore hath led both Modern and Ancient Writers into that Mistake. But that this well considered, proves the Contrary, That* Anaximander *was the* Chief *of the old* Atheistick Philosophers. 124

XXII. *That it is no wonder, if* Anaximander *called* Senseless Matter Τὸ Θεῖον, *or* The Divinity, *since to all* Atheists, *that must needs be the* Highest Numen. *And how this may be said to be Immortal, and to Govern all: with the concurrent Judgment of the Greek Scholiasts upon this Place.* 126

XXIII. *A further account of the* Anaximandrian Philosophy, *from whence it appeareth to have been Purely* Atheistical. 127

XXIV. *That as the vulgar have always been ill Judges of* Theists *and* Atheists, *so have learned men commonly supposed fewer* Atheists *than indeed there were.* Anaximander *and* Democritus Atheists *both alike, though Philosophizing different ways: and that some Passages in* Plato, *respect the* Anaximandrian Form *of* Atheism, *rather than the* Democritical. 129

XXV. *The reason why* Democritus *and* Leucippus, New-modell'd Atheism *into this* Atomick Form. 131

XXVI. *That besides the* Three Forms *of* Atheism *already mentioned, we sometimes meet with a* Fourth, *which supposes the Universe to be, though not an* Animal, *yet a kind of* Plant *or* Vegetable, *having one* Regular Plastick Nature *in it, but devoid of* Understanding *and* Sense, *which disposes and orders the whole.* Page 131

XXVII. *That this* Form of Atheism, *which makes* One senseless Plastick and Plantal Nature *to preside over the whole, is different from the* Hylozoick, *in that it takes away all* Fortuitousness; *Subjecting all things Universally to the* Fate *of this* One Methodical Unknowing Nature. 132

XXVIII. *Possible, that some in all ages might have entertained this* Atheistical Conceit, *That all things are dispensed by* One Regular *and* Methodical Senseless Nature; *nevertheless it seemeth to have been chiefly asserted by certain Spurious* Heracliticks *and* Stoicks. *Upon which account this* Cosmo-plastick Atheism *may be called* Pseudo-zenonian. 133

XXIX. *That, besides the* Philosophick Atheists, *there have been always in the World* Enthusiastick *and* Fanatick Atheists; *though indeed all* Atheists *may in some sense be said to be both* Enthusiasts *and* Fanaticks, *as being meerly led by an* Ὁρμὴ Ἄλογος, *or* Irrational Impetus. 134

XXX. *That there cannot easily be any other* Form of Atheism *besides these* Four *already mentioned; because all* Atheists *are* Corporealists, *and yet not all* Corporealists Atheists; *but onely such of them as make the* First Principle *not to be* Intellectual. ibid.

XXXI. *A Distribution of* Atheisms *Producing the forementioned* Quaternio, *and shewing the Difference that is betwixt them.* 136

XXXII. *That they are but meer Bunglers at* Atheism, *who talk of* Sensitive *and* Rational Matter, Specifically *Differing. And that the* Canting Astrological Atheists, *are not at all considerable, because not Understanding themselves.* 137

XXXIII. *Another Distribution of* Atheisms, *That they either derive the Original of all things, from a meerly* Fortuitous Principle, *and the* Unguided Motion of Matter, *or else from a* Plastick, Regular *and* Methodical, *but* Senseless Nature.

ture. *What* Atheists *denied the* Eternity *of the World, and what asserted it.* Page 138

XXXIV. *That of these* Four Forms *of* Atheism, *the* Atomick *or* Democritical, *and the* Hylozoick *or* Stratonical, *are the Principal: which* Two *being once confuted, all* Atheism *will be confuted.* 142

XXXV. *These* Two Forms *of* Atheism, *being contrary to each other, that we ought in all Reason to insist rather, upon the* Atomick: *nevertheless we shall elsewhere confute the* Hylozoick *also; and further prove against all* Corporealists, *that no* Cogitation *nor* Life *can belong to* Matter. 145

XXXVI. *That in the mean time, we shall not neglect the other* Forms *of* Atheism, *but Confute them all together, as they agree in one* Principle. *As also by way of* Digression *here insist largely upon the* Plastick Life of Nature, *in order to a fuller Confutation, as well of the* Hylozoick, *as the* Cosmo-plastick Atheism. 146

1. *That these* Two Forms of Atheism, *are not therefore Condemned by us, meerly because they suppose a* Life of Nature, *distinct from the* Animal Life: *however this be a thing altogether Exploded by some professed* Theists, *therein symbolizing too much with the* Democritick Atheists. ibid.

2. *That if no* Plastick Artificial Nature *be admitted, then one of these two things must be concluded; That either all things come to pass by* Fortuitous Mechanism *or* Material Necessity *(the Motion of Matter Unguided) or else that God doth* Αὐτεργεῖν ἅπαντα doe all things Himself Immediately and Miraculously; *framing the Body of every Gnat and Fly, as it were, with his own hands: forasmuch as* Divine Laws *and* Commands *cannot execute themselves, nor be alone the proper* Efficient Causes *of things in* Nature. 147

3. *To suppose the Former of these, that all things come to pass* Fortuitously, *by the* Unguided Motion of Matter, *and without the Direction of any Mind, a thing altogether as* Irrational *as* Impious: *there being many* Phænomena *both* Above *the* Mechanick Powers, *and* Contrary *to the* Laws *thereof. That the* Mechanick Theists *make God but an* Idle Spectatour *of the* Fortuitous Motions of Matter, *and render his* Wisedom *altogether useless and insignificant.* Aristotle's *Judicious Censure of this* Fortuitous Mechanism, *and his Derision of that Conceit, that* Material and Mechanical Reasons, *are the onely* Philosophical. Page 148

4. *That it seems neither Decorous in respect of God, nor Congruous to Reason, that he should* Αὐτεργεῖν ἅπαντα, doe all things Himself Immediately and Miraculously, *without the Subserviency of any* Natural Causes. *This further Confuted from the Slow and Gradual Process of things in* Nature, *as also from those Errours and Bungles, that are Committed, when the* Matter *proves Inept and Contumacious, which argue the Agent not to be* Irresistible. 149

5. *Reasonably inferred from hence, That there is an* Artificial *or* Plastick Nature *in the Universe, as a Subordinate Instrument of Divine Providence, in the Orderly Disposal of* Matter: *but not without a Higher Providence also presiding over it; forasmuch as this* Plastick Nature *cannot Act* Electively *or with* Discretion. *Those* Laws of Nature *concerning* Motion, *which the* Mechanick Theists *themselves suppose, Really Nothing else, but a* Plastick Nature, *or* Spermatick Reasons. 150

6. *The Argeeableness of this Doctrine with the Sentiments of the best Philosophers of all Ages.* Anaxagoras *though a professed* Theist, *severely Censured both by* Plato *and* Aristotle *as an encourager of* Atheism, *meerly because he used* Material and Mechanical Causes, *more than* Mental and Final. Physiologers *and* Astronomers, *for the same Reason also, vulgarly suspected of* Atheism *in* Plato's *time.* 151

7. *The* Plastick Artificial Nature, *no* Occult Quality, *but the onely Intelligible Cause of that which is the Grandest of all* Phænomena, *the* Orderly Regularity *and*

and Harmony of Things; *which the* Mechanick Theists, *however pretending to* Salve all Phænomena, *give no accompt of.* A God *or* Infinite Mind *asserted by these, in vain and to no purpose.* Pag. 154

8. *Two things here to be Performed, To give an accompt of the* Plastick Artificial Nature; *and then, To show how the* Notion *thereof is* Mistaken *and* Abused *by* Atheists. *The First* General Accompt *of this* Nature *according to* Aristotle, *That it is to be conceived as* Art *it self acting Inwardly and Immediately upon the Matter; as if* Harmony *Living in the Musical Instruments should move the Strings thereof without any External Impulse.* 155

9. *Two* Preeminences *of* Nature *above* Humane Art; *First, That whereas* Humane Art *acts upon the Matter without, Cumbersomely or Moliminously, and in a way of Tumult or Hurlyburly; Nature, acting upon the same from Within more Commandingly, doth its work* Easily, Cleverly *and* Silently. Humane Art *acteth on Matter* Mechanically, *but* Nature Vitally *and* Magically. 155

10. *The Second* Preeminence *of* Nature, *That whereas* Human Artists *are often to seek and at a loss, Anxiously Consult and Deliberate, and upon Second thoughts Mend their former work;* Nature *is never to seek or Unresolved what to doe, nor doth she ever Repent of what she hath done, and thereupon correct her Former Course.* Human Artists *themselves Consult not as* Artists, *but always for want of* Art; *and therefore* Nature, *though never Consulting nor Deliberating, may notwithstanding act* Artificially *and for* Ends. *Concluded, that what is by us called* Nature, *is Really the* Divine Art. 156

11. *Nevertheless, That* Nature *is not the* Divine Art *Pure and Abstract, but* Concreted *and* Embodied *in Matter: the* Divine Art *not* Archetypal *but* Ectypal. Nature *differs from the* Divine Art *or* Wisedom, *as the* Manuary Opificer *from the* Architect. 155

12. *Two* Imperfections *of* Nature, *in respect whereof it falls short of* Humane Art. *First, That though it act for* Ends Artificially, *yet it self neither* Intends *those* Ends, *nor* Understands *the* Reason *of what it doeth; for which cause it cannot act* Electively. *The Difference betwixt* Spermatick Reasons *and* Knowledge. *That* Nature *doth but* Ape *or* Mimick *the* Divine Art *or* Wisedom; *being it self not* Master *of that* Reason, *according to which it acts, but onely a* Servant *to it, and* Drudging Executioner *thereof.* Page 156

13. *Proved that there may be such a thing as acteth* Artificially, *though it self do not comprehend that* Art *and* Reason *by which its* Motions *are Governed. First from* Musical Habits; *the* Dancer *resembles the* Artificial Life of Nature. 157

14. *The same further Evinced from the* Instincts of Brute Animals, *Directing them to act* Rationally *and* Artificially, *in order to their own Good and the Good of the Universe, without any* Reason *of their own. These* Instincts *in Brutes, but* Passive Impresses *of the* Divine Wisedom, *and a kind of* Fate *upon them.* 158

15. *The Second* Imperfection *of* Nature, *that it Acteth without* Animal Phancy, Συναίσθησις, Con-sense, *or* Consciousness, *and hath no expres* Self-Perception *and* Self-Enjoyment. ibid.

16. *Whether this* Energy *of the* Plastick Nature, *be to be called* Cogitation *or no, Nothing but a* Logomachy, *or Contention about Words. Granted that what moves Matter* Vitally, *must needs do it by some* Energy *of its own, distinct from* Local Motion; *but that there may be a* Simple Vital Energy, *without that* Duplicity *which is in* Synæsthesis, *or clear and expres* Consciousness. *Nevertheless, that the* Energy of Nature, *may be called, a certain* Drousie, Unawakened, *or* Astonished Cogitation. 159

17. *Severall Instances which render it probable, that there may be a* Vital Energy *without* Synæsthesis, *clear and expres* Con-sense *or* Consciousness. 160

18. *Wherefore the* Plastick Nature, *acting neither* Knowingly *nor* Phantastically, *must needs act* Fatally, Magically *and* Sympathetically. *The Divine*

Laws *and* Fate, *as to Matter, not meer* Cogitation *in the Mind of God, but an* Energetick *and* Effectual Principle *in it. And this* Plaſtick Nature, *the True and Proper* Fate of Matter, *or of the Corporeal World. What* Magick *is, and that* Nature *which acteth* Fatally, *acteth alſo* Magically *and* Sympathetically. P. 161

19. *That* Nature, *though it be the* Divine Art, *or* Fate, *yet for all that, is neither a* God, *nor* Goddeſs, *but a Low and Imperfect* Creature, *it acting* Artificially *and* Rationally, *no otherwiſe than Compounded Forms of Letters, when Printing Coherent Philoſophick Senſe; nor for* Ends, *than a Saw or Hatchet in the hands of a skillfull Mechanick. The* Plaſtick *and* Vegetative Life *of* Nature, *the Loweſt of all* Lives, *and Inferiour to the* Senſitive. *A* Higher Providence, *than that of the* Plaſtick Nature, *governing the Corporeal World it ſelf.* ibid.

20. *Notwithſtanding which, foraſmuch as the* Plaſtick Nature *is a* Life, *it muſt needs be* Incorporeal. *One and the ſelf ſame thing, having in it an entire* Model *and Platform of the Whole, and acting upon ſeveral Diſtant parts of Matter, cannot be a* Body. *And though* Ariſtotle *himſelf do no where declare this* Nature *to be either* Corporeal *or* Incorporeal, *(which he neither clearly doth concerning the* Rational Soul, *) and his Followers commonly take it to be* Corporeal, *yet, according to the Genuine Principles of that Philoſophy, muſt it needs be otherwiſe.* 165

21. *The* Plaſtick Nature *being* Incorporeal *muſt either be a* Lower Power *lodged in* Souls, *which are alſo Conſcious, Senſitive or Rational; or elſe a diſtinct* Subſtantial Life *by it Self, and* Inferiour Soul. *That the* Platoniſts *affirm Both; with* Ariſtotle's *agreeable Determination; That* Nature *is* either Part of a Soul, *or* not without Soul. ibid.

22. *The* Plaſtick Nature *as to the Bodies of Animals, a* Part, *or* Lower Power, *of their reſpective Souls. That the* Phænomena *prove a* Plaſtick Nature *or* Archeus *in* Animals; *to make which a diſtinct thing from the* Soul, *would be to Multiply Entities without Neceſſity. The Soul endued with a* Plaſtick Nature, *the Chief* Formatrix *of its own Body, the contribution of other Cauſes not excluded.* 166

23. *That, beſides the* Plaſtick *in Particular* Animals, *Forming them as ſo many* Little Worlds, *there is a* General Plaſtick *or* Artificial Nature *in the Whole Corporeal Univerſe, which likewiſe, according to* Ariſtotle, *is either a* Part *and* Lower Power *of a Conſcious* Mundane Soul, *or elſe ſomething depending thereon.* 167

24. *That no leſs according to* Ariſtotle, *than* Plato *and* Socrates, *Our ſelves partake of* Life *from the* Life *of the* Univerſe, *as well as we do of Heat and Cold from the Heat and Cold of the Univerſe. From whence it appears, that* Ariſtotle *alſo held the* World's Animation, *which is further Undeniably proved. An Anſwer to Two the moſt conſiderable Places in that Philoſopher objected to the contrary. That* Ariſtotle's Firſt Immoveable Mover *was no* Soul, *but a* Perfect Intellect abſtract *from* Matter, *which he ſuppoſed to move onely as a* Final Cauſe, *or as* Being Loved; *and beſides this, a* Mundane Soul *and* Plaſtick Nature *to move the Heavens* Efficiently. *Neither* Ariſtotle's Nature *nor* Mundane Soul *the Supreme* Deity. *However, though there be no ſuch* Mundane Soul, *as both* Plato *and* Ariſtotle *conceived, yet may there be notwithſtanding, a* Plaſtick *or* Artificial Nature *depending upon a Higher* Intellectual Principle. 168

25. *No Impoſſibility of other* Particular Plaſticks; *and though it be not reaſonable to think every Plant, Herb and Pile of Graſs, to have a* Plaſtick *or* Vegetative Soul *of its own, nor the* Earth *to be an* Animal, *yet may there poſſibly be one* Plaſtick Artificial Nature *preſiding over the* Whole Terraqueous Globe, *by which Vegetables may be ſeverally organized and framed, and all things performed, which tranſcend the Power of* Fortuitous Mechaniſm. 171

26. *Our* Second Undertaking, *which was to Show, How groſly thoſe* Atheiſts *(who acknowledge this* Artificial Plaſtick Nature,

Nature, *without* Animality,) Misunderstand *it, and* Abuse the Notion, *to make a* Counterfeit God Almighty, *or* Numen *of it; to the exclusion of the* True Deity. *First, In their Supposing, That to be the* First *and* Highest Principle *of the Universe, which is the* Last *and* Lowest *of all* Lives, *a thing as Essentially Derivative from, and Dependent upon, a* Higher Intellectual Principle, *as the* Echo *on the* Original Voice. *Secondly, In their making* Sense *and* Reason *in* Animals *to emerge out of a* Sensless Life *of* Nature, *by the meer* Modification *and* Organization *of* Matter. *That no* Duplication *of* Corporeal Organs *can ever make* One Single Inconscious Life *to advance into* Redoubled Conciousness *and* Self-Enjoyment. *Thirdly, In attributing (some of them)* Perfect Knowledge *and* Understanding *to this* Life of Nature, *which yet themselves suppose to be devoid of all* Animal Sense *and* Conciousness. *Lastly, In making this* Plastick Life of Nature *to be meerly* Corporeal: *The* Hylozoïsts *contending, That it is but an* Inadequate Conception *of Body as the onely* Substance, *and fondly dreaming that the* Vulgar Notion *of a* God, *is Nothing but such an* Inadequate Conception *of the* Matter *of the whole Universe, Mistaken for an* Entire Substance *by it self the Cause of all things. And thus far the* Digression. 172

XXXVIII. *That though the Confutation of the* Atheistick Grounds, *according to the Laws of Method, ought to have been reserved for the last part of this Discourse, yet we, having reason to violate those Laws, crave the Reader's Pardon for this Preposterousness. A considerable Observation of* Plato's, *That it is not onely* Gross Sensuality *which inclines men to* Atheize, *but also an Affectation of seeming Wiser than the Generality of mankind. As likewise, that the* Atheists *making such Pretence to* Wit, *it is a seasonable and proper Undertaking, to Evince, that they Fumble in all their Ratiocinations. And we hope to make it appear, that the* Atheists *are no* Conjurers: *and that all* Forms *of* Atheism *are* Nonsense *and* Impossibility. Page 174

CHAP. IV.

The *Idea* of God declared, in way of *Answer* to the First *Atheistick Argument*; and the *Grand Objection* against the *Naturality* of this *Idea* (as Essentially including *Unity* or *Oneliness* in it) from the *Pagan Polytheism*, removed. Proved, That the Intelligent Pagans Generally acknowledged *One Supreme Deity*. A fuller Explication of whose *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* intended; in order to the better giving an Accompt of *Christianity*.

I. *THE either Stupid* Insensibility, *or Gross* Impudence *of* Atheists, *in denying the Word* God *to have any Signification; or that there is any other* Idea *answering to it, besides the meer* Phantasm *of the* Sound. *The Disease called by the Philosopher,* Ἀπολίθωσις Ἢ νοητικὴ, *The* Petrification, *or* Dead Insensibility, of the Mind. 192

II. *That the* Atheists *themselves must needs have an* Idea *of* God *in their Minds, or otherwise, when they deny his* Existence, *they should deny the* Existence *of* Nothing. *That they have also the same* Idea *of him in Generall with the* Theists; *the One Denying the very same thing which the Others Affirm.* 194

III. *A* Lemma *or* Preparatory Proposition *to the* Idea *of* God, *That though some things be* Made *or* Generated, *yet it is not possible that all things should be* Made, *but something must of necessity* Exist of it Self *from* Eternity Unmade, *and be the* Cause *of those other things that are* Made. ibid.

IV. *The Two most Opposite* Opinions *concerning what was* Self-Existent *from* Eternity, *or* Unmade, *and the* Cause *of all other things* Made; *One, That it was Nothing but* Senseless Matter, *the* Most Imperfect *of all things. The Other, That it was Something* Most Perfect, *and*

therefore Conſciouſly Intellectual. *The Aſſerters of this Latter opinion*, Theiſts, *in a Strict and Proper Senſe*; *of the Former*, Atheiſts. *So that the* Idea of God *in Generall is* A Perfect Conſciouſly Underſtanding Being, (*or* Mind,) Self-Exiſtent *from* Eternity, *and the* Cauſe of all other things. Page 194, 195.

V. *Obſervable, That the* Atheiſts, *who deny a* God *according to the* True Idea *of him, do Notwithſtanding often Abuſe the Word, calling* Senſleſs Matter *by that name; they meaning Nothing elſe thereby but onely a* Firſt Principle, *or* Self-Exiſtent Unmade thing: *according to which* Notion *of the word* God, *there can be no ſuch thing at all as an* Atheiſt, *no man being able to perſuade himſelf, That all things ſprung from* Nothing. 195

VI. *In order to a more Punctual Declaration of this* Divine Idea, *the Opinion of thoſe taken notice of who ſuppoſe* Two Self-Exiſtent Unmade Principles, God *and* Matter: *according to which, God not the* Principle of all things, *nor the* Sole Principle, *but onely the* Chief. 196, 197.

VII. *Theſe* Materiarians, Imperfect *and* Miſtaken Theiſts. *Not* Atheiſts, *becauſe they ſuppoſe the World* Made *and* Governed *by an* Animaliſh, Sentient *and* Underſtanding Nature; *whereas no* Atheiſts *acknowledge* Conſcious Animality *to be a* Firſt Principle, *but conclude it to be all* Generable *and* Corruptible: *Nor yet* Genuine Theiſts, *becauſe they acknowledge not* Omnipotence *in the full Extent thereof. A* Latitude *therefore in* Theiſm; *and none to be condemned for* Abſolute Atheiſts, *but ſuch as deny an* Eternal Unmade Mind *the Framer and Governour of the whole World.* 198, 199.

VIII. *An* Abſolutely Perfect Being, *the moſt Compendious* Idea of God: *Which Includeth in it, not onely* Neceſſary Exiſtence, *and* Conſcious Intellectuality, *but alſo* Omni-Cauſality, Omnipotence, *or* Infinite Power. *Wherefore* God *the Sole* Principle *of all things, and* Cauſe *of* Matter. *The True Notion of* Infinite Power. *And that Pagans commonly acknowledged* Omnipotence, *or* Infinite Power, *to be included in the* Idea of God. Page 200, 201.

IX. *That* Abſolute Perfection *implies yet ſomething more than* Knowledge *and* Power. *A* Vaticination *in mens Minds, of a* Higher Good *than either. That, according to* Ariſtotle, God is better than Knowledge; *and hath* Morality *in his* Nature, *wherein alſo his Chief Happineſs conſiſteth. This borrowed from* Plato, *to whom the* Higheſt Perfection, *and* Supreme Deity, *is* Goodneſs *it ſelf Subſtantiall, above* Knowledge *and* Intellect. *Agreeably with which, the Scripture makes* God, *and the* Supreme Good, Love. *This not to be underſtood of a Soft, Fond, and Partiall* Love; *God being rightly called alſo, an* Impartial Law, *and the* Meaſure *of all things.* Atheiſts *alſo ſuppoſe* Goodneſs *to be included in the* Idea of that God *whoſe* Exiſtence *they deny. This* Idea *here more largely declared.* 202, 203, &c.

X. *That this forementioned* Idea *of* God, *Eſſentially Includeth* Unity, Onelineſs, *or* Solitariety *in it: ſince there cannot poſſibly be more than One* Abſolutely Supreme, *One* Cauſe of All things, *One* Omnipotent, *and One* Infinitely Perfect. Epicurus *and his Followers profeſſedly denyed a* God *according to this* Notion *of him.* 207

XI. *The Grand* Objection *againſt the* Idea of God, *as thus Eſſentially Including* Onelineſs *and* Singularity *in it, from the* Polytheiſm *of all Nations formerly, (the* Jews *excepted) and of all the Wiſeſt men, and Philoſophers. From whence it is Inferred, that this* Idea of God, *is not* Natural, *but* Artificial, *and owes its Original, to Laws and Arbitrary Inſtitutions onely. An Enquiry therefore here to be made concerning the True Senſe of the* Pagan Polytheiſm: *the Objectors ſecurely taking it for granted, that the* Pagan Polytheiſts *univerſally aſſerted* Many, Unmade, Self-Exiſtent, Intellectual Beings, *and* Independent Deities, *as ſo many* Partial Cauſes *of the World.* 208, 209.

XII. *The* Irrationality *of which Opinion, and its manifeſt Repugnancy to the Phæno-*

The Contents.

Phænomena, render it less probable to have been the Belief of all the Pagan Polytheists. Page 210

XIII. *That the* Pagan Deities *were not all of them Universally look'd upon as so many* Unmade, Self-Existent Beings, *Unquestionably Evident from hence; Because they Generally held a* Theogonia, *or* Generation of Gods. *This Point of the* Pagan Theology *insisted upon by* Herodotus, *the most ancient* Prosaick Greek *Writer. In whom the meaning of that Question,* Whether the Gods were Generated, *or* Existed all from Eternity, *seems to have been the same with this of* Plato's, Whether the World were Made *or* Unmade. 211

Certain also, that amongst the Hesiodian Gods, *there was either but One* Self-Existent, *or else None at all.* Hesiod's Love *supposed to be the* Eternal God, *or the* Active Principle *of the Universe.* 212

That the Valentinian Thirty Gods *or* Æons (*having the greatest appearance of* Independent Deities) *were all derived from One* Self-Originated Being, *called* Bythus, *or an* Unfathomable Depth. 213

That, besides the Manichæans, *some* Pagans *did indeed acknowledge a* Ditheism, *or* Duplicity *of* Unmade Gods, *One the Principle of* Good, *the Other of* Evil. (*Which the neareſt Approach, that can be found, to the supposed* Polytheism.) Plutarchus Chæronensis, *One or the Chief of these; though not so commonly taken notice of by Learned men. His Reasons for this Opinion Proposed.* 213, &c.

Plutarch's *Pretence, That this was the Generall Perswasion of all the Ancient Philosophers and Pagan Nations. His Grounds, for Imputing it to* Plato, *Examined and Confuted.* 218, &c.

The True Accompt of the Platonick Origin of Evils, *from the* Necessity of Imperfect things. 220

Pythagoras, *and other Philosophers, Purged likewise from this Imputation.* 221

That the Egyptians *probably did but* Personate Evil, (*the Confusion, and Alternate Vicissitude of things in this Lower World,*) *by* Typhon. *The onely Question concerning the* Arimanius *of the* Persian Magi. *This, Whether a* Self-Existent Principle, *or no, Disputed.* Page 222

Plutarch *and* Atticus, *the onely Professed Asserters of this* Doctrine *among the* Greek Philosophers; (*besides* Numenius *in* Chalcidius) *Who therefore probably, the Persons Censured for it by* Athanasius. 223, 224

Aristotle's *Explosion and Confutation of* πολλαὶ ἀρχαί, Many Principles. 225

That a better Judgment may be made of the Pagan Deities, *a* General Survey *of them. They all Reduced to* Five Heads; The Souls of men Deceased or Hero's, The Animated Stars and Elements, Dæmons, Accidents *and* Things *of* Nature Personated, *And lastly,* several Personal Names, *given to* One Supreme God, *according to the* several Manifestations *of his Power and Providence in the World; mistaken, for so many* Substantial Deities, *or* Self-existent Minds. 226, &c.

Pagans *acknowledging* Omnipotence, *must needs suppose* One Sovereign Numen. Faustus *the Manichæan his Conceit, that the* Jews *and* Christians Paganized, *in the* Opinion *of* Monarchy. *With* S. Austin's *Judgment of the* Pagans thereupon. 231, 232

XIV. *Concluded, That the* Pagan Polytheism, *must be understood of* Created Intellectual Beings, Superiour to men, Religiously Worshipped. *So that the* Pagans *held, both* Many Gods, *and* One God, *in different senses;* Many Inferiour Deities, *subordinate to* One Supreme. *Thus* Onatus *the* Pythagorean *in* Stobæus. *The* Pagans Creed, *in* Maximus Tyrius; One God the King and Father of all, *and* Many Gods the Sons of God. *The* Pagan Theogonia, *thus to be understood, of* Many Gods *Produced by* One God. 233, 234

This Pagan Theogonia, *Really one and the same thing with the* Cosmogonia. Plato's Cosmogonia *a* Theogonia. 234, &c.

Hesiod's Theogonia, *the* Cosmogonia. 238

The Persians *and* Egyptians *in like manner,*

manner, holding a Cosmogonia, *called it a* Theogonia. Page 239
This Pagan Theogonia, *how by some mistaken.* ibid.
Both this Theogonia, *and* Cosmogonia *of the Ancient* Pagans, *to be understood of a* Temporary Production. ibid.
That Plato *Really asserted the* Newness *or* Beginning *of the* World. 240,241
Amongst the Pagans, *Two sorts of* Theogonists, Atheistick *and* Divine. Plato *a* Divine Theogonist. 242, 243
Other Pagan Theogonists, Theists, *or asserters of* One Unmade Deity. 244, 245, &c.
These Divine Theogonists *also, made* Chaos *and* Night *senior to the Gods; that is, to the* Generated *ones.* 248
The Orphick Cabbala *of the Worlds Production, from* Chaos (*or* Night) *and* Love; *Originally* Mosaical. 249
Other Pagan Theists *neither* Theogonists *nor* Cosmogonists: *they holding the* Eternity *of the World, and of the* Gods: *as* Aristotle *and the Junior* Platonists. 250, &c.
These notwithstanding acknowledged all their Eternal Gods *save One, to be* γενητὰς, *that is, to have been Derived from that* One; *and that there was in this sense, but* εἷς Θεὸς ἀγένητος, One *onely* Unmade, *or* Self-existent God. 253, 254
Necessary here to shew, how the Pagans *did put a difference, betwixt the* One Supreme Unmade Deity, *and their other* Many Inferiour Generated Gods. 255
This done, both by Proper Names, *and* Appellatives *emphatically used,* 256, &c.
Θεοὶ *or* Gods, *often put for* Inferiour Gods *onely, in way of distinction from the* Supreme. 261
Τὸ Θεῖον, *and* Τὸ Δαιμόνιον *also, the* Supreme Deity. 263
Other Full and Emphatical Descriptions *of the* Supreme God, *amongst the* Pagans. 264,265
XV. *Further Evidence of this, that the Intelligent* Pagan Polytheists, *held onely a* Plurality *of* Inferiour Deities *subordinate to* One Supreme. *First, because after the Emersion of* Christianity *and its contest with* Paganism, *no* Pagan *ever asserted* Many Independent Deities, *but all professed to acknowledge* One Sovereign *or* Supreme. Page 265
Apollonius Tyanæus, *set up amongst the* Pagans *for a* Rival *with our Saviour* Christ. 266, &c.
He, though styled by Vopiscus *a true Friend of the Gods, and though a stout Champion for the* Pagan Polytheism, *yet a professed acknowledger of* One Supreme Deity. 269, 270
Celsus *the First publick Writer against* Christianity, *and a zealous* Polytheist; *notwithstanding freely declareth for* One First *and* Greatest Omnipotent God. ib.
The next and most Eminent Champion for the Pagan *Cause,* Porphyrius, *an undoubted asserter of* One Supreme Deity. *Who in* Proclus *not onely opposeth that* Evil Principle *of* Plutarch *and* Atticus, *but also contendeth, that even* Matter *it self was derived from* One Perfect Being. 271
Hierocles *the next Eminent Antagonist of* Christianity, *and Champion for the* Pagan Gods, *did in the close of his* Philalethes, (*as we learn from* Lactantius) *highly Celebrate the Praises of the* One Supreme God, *the Parent of all things.* 271, &c.
Julian *the Emperour, a zealous contender for the Restitution of* Paganism, *plainly derived all his Gods from* One. 274, 275
This true of all the other Opposers of Christianity, *as* Iamblichus, Syrianus, Proclus, Simplicius, &c. Maximus Madaurensis *a* Pagan *Philosopher in S.* Austine, *his profession of* One Sovereign Numen *above all the Gods. The same also the sense of* Longinianus. 275, 276
The Pagans *in* Arnobius *universally disclaim the Opinion of* Many Unmade Deities, *and profess the Belief of an* Omnipotent God. 276,277
These Pagans *acknowledged by others of the Fathers also, to have held* One Sovereign Numen. 279,&c.
But of this more afterwards, when we speak of the Arians.
XVI. *That*

The Contents.

XVI. *That this was no Refinement or Interpolation of* Paganism, *made after* Christianity *(as might be suspected) but that the Doctrine of the most Ancient* Pagan Theologers, *and greatest Promoters of* Polytheism, *was consonant hereunto: which will be proved from unsuspected Writings.* Page 281

Concerning the Sibylline Oracles, *Two Extreams.* 282, &c.

That Zoroaster *the Chief Promoter of* Polytheism *in the East, Professed the acknowledgment of* One Sovereign Deity, *(and that not the* Sun *neither, but the maker thereof) proved from* Eubulus *in* Porphyry. 285, 286

Zoroasters Supreme God Oromasdes. 287

Of the Triplasian Mithras. 288

The Magick, *or* Chaldaick Trinity. 289

The Zoroastrian Trinity, Oromasdes, Mithras *and* Arimanes. *Thus the Persian* Arimanes, *no* Substantial Evil Principle, *or Independent God.* 290

Concerning the Reputed Magick *or* Chaldaick Oracles. 292, 293

XVII. *That* Orpheus, *Commonly called by the Greeks, The* Theologer, *and the Father of the* Grecanick Polytheism, *clearly asserted* One Supreme Numen. *The* History *of* Orpheus, *not a meer Romance.* 294, 295

Whether Orpheus *were the Father of the* Poems *called* Orphical. 296, 297

Orpheus *his* Polytheism. 298

That Orpheus *notwithstanding, asserted a* Divine Monarchy; *Proved from* Orphick *Verses, Recorded by* Pagans. *There being other* Orphick *Verses, Counterfeit.* 300, 301

In what sense Orpheus *and other Mystical* Theologers *amongst the* Pagans, *called God* Ἀρρενόθηλυν, Hermaphrodite, *or of both* Sexes, Male *and* Female *together.* 304

Orpheus *his Recantation of his* Polytheism *a Fable; He at the same time acknowledging, both* One Unmade God, *and* Many Generated Gods *and* Goddesses. 305

That besides the Opinion of Monarchy, *a* Trinity *of* Divine Hypostases *subordinate, was also another Part of the* Orphick Cabbala. Orpheus *his* Trinity, Phanes, Uranus, *and* Chronus. Page 306

The Grand Arcanum *of the* Orphick Theology, *that* God is All things; *but in a different sense from the* Stoicks. 306, 307

God's being All; *made a Foundation of* Pagan Polytheism *and* Idolatry. 308

XVIII. *That the* Egyptians *themselves, the most* Polytheistical *of all Nations, had an Acknowledgment amongst them of* One Supreme Deity. *The* Egyptians *the First* Polytheists. *That the* Greeks *and* Europeans *derived their Gods from them, and as* Herodotus *affirmeth, their very Names too. A Conjecture that* Ἀθηνᾶ *of the* Greeks *was* Νηΐθ *or* Νηΐθας, *the* Tutelar God *of the City* Sais; *a Colony whereof the* Athenians *are said to have been. And that* Neptune *the* Roman *Sea-god, was derived from the* Egyptian Nephthus, *signifying the Maritime parts. Of the* Egyptians *worshipping Brute Animals.* 309, 310

Notwithstanding this multifarious Polytheism *and* Idolatry *of the* Egyptians, *that they had an Acknowledgment of* One Supreme God, *probable First, from that great Fame which they had for their Wisedom.* Egypt *a* School of Literature *before* Greece. 311

The Egyptians, *though Attributing more Antiquity to the World than they ought, yet of all Nations the most constant Asserters of the* Cosmogonia *or* Novity *and* Beginning *of the World: Nor did they think the World to have been made by Chance, as the* Epicureans; Simplicius *calling the* Mosaick History *of the Creation, an* Egyptian Fable. 312, 313

That besides the Pure and Mixt Mathematicks, the Egyptians *had another Higher* Philosophy, *appears from hence; because they were the first Asserters of the* Immortality *and* Transmigration *of Souls, which* Pythagoras *from them derived into* Greece. *Certain therefore, that the* Egyptians *held* Incorporeal Substance. 313, 314

That the Egyptians *besides their* Vulgar

gar *and* Fabulous, *had another* Arcane *and* Recondite Theology. *Their* Sphinges, *and* Harpocrates, *or* Sigalions, *in their Temples.* Page 314, 315

This Arcane Theology *of the* Egyptians, *concealed from the Vulgar two manner of ways, by* Allegories *and* Hieroglyphicks. *This doubtleſs a kind of* Metaphyſicks *concerning* God, *as* One Perfect Being the Original of all things. 316

An Objection from Chæremon, (*cited by* Porphyrius, *in an Epiſtle to* Anebo *an* Egyptian *Prieſt,*) *fully anſwered by* Iamblichus *in the Perſon of* Abammo, *in his* Egyptian Myſteries. 317, 318

That Monarchy was an Eſſential Part of the Arcane *and* True Theology *of the* Egyptians, *may be proved from the* Triſmegiſtick Writings; *though not all Genuine*; (*as the* Pœmander, *and Sermon in the Mount concerning Regeneration*) *Becauſe though they had been all Forged by* Chriſtians *never ſo much, yet being divulged in thoſe Ancient times, they muſt needs have ſomething of Truth in them*; *this at leaſt, That the* Egyptians *acknowledged* One Supreme Deity, *or otherwiſe they would have been preſently Exploded.* 319, 320

That Caſaubon, *from the Detection of Forgery in two or three at moſt of theſe* Triſmegiſtick Books, *does not Reaſonably infer them to have been all* Chriſtian Cheats: *thoſe alſo not Excepted, that have been cited by Ancient Fathers, but ſince loſt.* 320, 321

That there was one Theuth *or* Thoth, (*called by the* Greeks Hermes) *an Inventor of Letters and Sciences amongſt the Ancient* Egyptians, *not reaſonably to be doubted. Beſides whom, there is ſaid to have been a* Second Hermes, *ſirnamed* Triſmegiſt, *who left many Volumes of* Philoſophy *and* Theology *behind him, that were committed to the Cuſtody of the Prieſts.* 321, &c.

Other Books alſo written by Egyptian *Prieſts, in ſeveral Ages ſucceſſively, called* Hermaical, (*as* Iamblichus *informeth us*) *becauſe Entitled* (Pro more) *to* Hermes, *as the* Preſident of Learning. 322

That ſome of thoſe old Hermaick Books *remained in the Cuſtody of the* Egyptian *Prieſts, till the times of* Clemens Alexandrinus. Page 323

Hermaick Books *taken notice of formerly, not onely by* Chriſtians, *but alſo by* Pagans *and* Philoſophers. Iamblichus *his Teſtimony of them, that they did Really contain* Hermaical Opinions, *or* Egyptian Learning. *Fifteen of theſe* Hermaick Books *publiſhed together at* Athens *before S.* Cyril's *time.* 324, 325

All the Philoſophy *of the Preſent* Hermaick Books *not meerly* Grecanick, *as* Caſaubon *affirmeth.* That Nothing periſheth; *old* Egyptian Philoſophy, *derived by* Pythagoras, *together with the* Tranſmigration *of Souls, into* Greece. 326, 327

The Aſclepian Dialogue, *or* Perfect Oration, (*ſaid to have been tranſlated into* Latin *by* Apuleius) *vindicated from being a* Chriſtian Forgery. 328

An anſwer to two Objections made againſt it; *the latter whereof from a* Prophecy *taken notice of by S.* Auſtin; *That the* Temples *of the* Egyptian *Gods, ſhould ſhortly be* full of the Sepulchres *of dead men.* ibid.

Petavius *his further Suſpicion of Forgery, becauſe as* Lactantius *and S.* Auſtin *have affirmed, the* Chriſtian Logos *is herein called a* Second God, *and the* Firſt begotten Son of God. *The Anſwer, that* Lactantius *and S.* Auſtin *were clearly Miſtaken, this being there affirmed onely of the* Viſible *and* Senſible World. 329, 330

That beſides the Aſclepian Dialogue, *others of the preſent* Triſmegiſtick Books, *contain* Egyptian Doctrine. *Nor can they be all proved to be* Spurious *and* Counterfeit. *This the rather inſiſted on, for the Vindication of the Ancient Fathers.* 331, 332

Proved that the Egyptians, *beſides their* Many Gods *acknowledged* One Firſt Supreme, *and* Univerſal Deity, *from the Teſtimonies of* Plutarch, Horus Apollo, Iamblichus, (*affirming that* Hermes *derived all things, even* Matter *it ſelf, from* One Divine Principle) *laſtly of* Damaſcius

Damaſcius *declaring that the* Egyptian *Philoſophers at that time, had found in the Writings of the Ancients, That they held* One Principle of all things, *Praiſed under the name of the* Unknown Darkneſs. Page 334, &c.

The ſame thing Proved from their Vulgar Religion *and* Theology; Hammon *being a proper Name for the* Supreme God *amongſt them; and therefore Styled the* Egyptian Jupiter. 337

Though this word Hammon *were probably at firſt the ſame with* Ham *or* Cham *the Son of* Noah, *yet will not this hinder, but that it might be uſed afterwards by the* Egyptians *for the* Supreme God. 338

The Egyptian *God* Hammon, *neither confined by them to the* Sun, *nor to the* Corporeal World, *but according to the Notation of the word in the* Egyptian Language, *a* Hidden *and* Inviſible Deity. *This farther confirmed from the Teſtimony of* Iamblichus. 339

This Egyptian Hammon *more than once taken notice of in Scripture.* 339, 340

That the Egyptians *acknowledged one* Univerſal Numen, *further proved from that Famous Inſcription upon the* Saitick Temple, I Am all that Was, Is, and Shall be, *and* my Veil no Mortal hath ever yet Uncovered. *That this cannot be Underſtood of* Senſeleſs Matter, *nor of the* Corporeal Univerſe, *but of a* Divine Mind *or Wiſedom diffuſing it ſelf thorough all. The* Peplum *or* Veil *caſt over the Statue, as well of the* Saitick *as* Athenian Minerva; *Hieroglyphically ſignified the* Inviſibility *and* Incomprehenſibility *of the* Deity *which is* Veiled *in its works. From what* Proclus *addeth to this Inſcription beyond* Plutarch, *And the* Sun was the Fruit which I produced; *Evident, that this was a* Demiurgical Deity, *the* Creatour *of the Sun and of the World.* 341, 342

How that paſſage of Hecatæus *in* Plutarch *is to be Underſtood, That the* Egyptians *ſuppoſed the* Firſt God, *and* the Univerſe, *to be the ſame,* viz. *Becauſe the* Supreme Deity *diffuſeth it ſelf thorough all things.* Τὸ πᾶν *a Name of God alſo amongſt the* Greek *Philoſophers.* 343

That Pan *to the* Arcadians *and other Vulgar* Greeks, *was not the* Corporeal World, *as* Senſeleſs *and* Inanimate, *but as proceeding from an* Intellectual Principle *diffuſing it ſelf through all; from* Macrobius *and* Phornutus. Socrates *his Prayer to* Pan, *as the* Supreme God, *in* Plato's Phædrus. Page 343, 344

Our Saviour Chriſt *called the* Great Pan *by Demons.* 345

How the old Egyptian Theology, *That* God is All things, *is every where inſiſted upon in the* Triſmegiſtick Writings. 346, 347

That the Supreme God *was ſometimes worſhipped by the* Egyptians *under other Proper Perſonal names, as* Iſis, Oſiris, *and* Serapis, *&c.* 349, *&c.*

Recorded in Euſebius, *from* Porphyrius, *that the* Egyptians *acknowledged one* Intellectual Demiurgus, *or Maker of the* World, *under the name of* Cneph, *whom they pictured, putting forth an* Egg *out of his* Mouth. *This* Cneph *ſaid to have produced another God, whom the* Egyptians *called* Phtha, *the* Greeks, Vulcan; *the* Soul of the World, *and* Artificial Plaſtick Nature. *The Teſtimony of* Plutarch, *That the* Thebaites *worſhipped onely* One Eternal *and* Immortal God *under this name of* Cneph. 412

Thus, according to Apuleius, *the* Egyptians *worſhipped One and the ſame* Supreme God *under many different* Names *and* Notions. ibid.

Probable, that the Egyptians *diſtinguiſhed* Hypoſtaſes *in the* Deity *alſo:* Kircherus *his* Egyptian Hieroglyphick *of the* Trinity. *An Intimation in* Iamblichus *of an* Egyptian Trinity, Eicton, Emeph, *or* Hemphta, (*which is the ſame with* Cneph,) *and* Phtha. 413

The Doctrine of, God's being All, *made by the* Egyptians *a Foundation of* Polytheiſm *and* Idolatry, *they being led hereby to* Perſonate *and* Deify *the ſeveral Parts of the World, and Things of Nature*; (*which in the Language of the* Aſclepian Dialogue, *is, To call* God *by the* name of every thing, *or* every thing *by the* name of God,) *the wiſe amongſt them nevertheleſs underſtanding, that all*

was but one Simple Deity, *worshipped by Piece-Meale. This* Allegorically *signified by* Osiris *his being dismembred and cut in pieces by* Typhon, *and then made up One again by* Isis. Page 354, 355

XIX. *That the* Poets *many ways depravd the* Pagan Theology, *and made it to have a more* Aristocratical Appearance. 355, &c.

Notwithstanding which, they did not really assert Many Self-Existent *and* Independent Gods, *but* One onely Unmade; *and all the rest* Generated *or* Created. Homer's Gods *not all* Eternal *and* Unmade, *but* Generated *out of the* Ocean; *that is, a Watry* Chaos. Homer's Theogonia, *as well as* Hesiod's, *the* Cosmogonia; *and his Generation of Gods, the same thing with the Production or* Creation of the World. 357, 358

Nevertheless, Homer *distinguished, from all those Generated Gods, One Unmade God, the* Father, *or Creatour, of them, and of the World.* 359

Homer *thus understood by the Pagans themselves; as* Plutarch, Proclus, *and* Aristotle. 359, 360

Though Hesiod's Gods, *properly so called, were all of them* Generated, *yet did He suppose also* One Unmade God, *the* Maker *of them, and of the World.* 360, 361

Pindar *likewise, a* Divine Theogonist; *an Asserter of* One Unmade Deity *(and no more) the Cause of all things; yet nevertheless of* Many Generated Gods *besides His* One God *to be* worshipped *far above* all the other Gods. 361, 362

The Suspicion which Aristotle *sometime had of* Hesiod, *and* Plato *of* Homer, *seems to have proceeded from their not Understanding that* Mosaick Cabbala, *followed by them both, of the World's being* Made *out of a* Watery Chaos. 362

That famous Passage of Sophocles, *concerning* One God *the* Maker of Heaven, Earth, and Seas, *(cited by so many Ancient Fathers) defended as genuine.* 363

Clear places in the extant Tragedies *of* Euripides *to the same purpose; with other remarkable ones cited out of his now inextant* Tragedies: *Besides the Testimonies of other* Greek *Poets.* 363, &c.

The Consent of Latine *Poets also, in the* Monarchy *of the whole.* Page 365

XX. *After the* Poets *of the* Pagans, *their* Philosophers *considered. That* Epicurus *was the onely reputed* Philosopher, *who pretending to acknowledge* Gods, *yet professedly opposed* Monarchy, *and verbally asserted a* Multitude *of* Eternal Unmade Deities, *but such as had Nothing to doe, either with the Making or Governing of the World. He therefore clearly to be reckoned amongst the* Atheists. *All the* Pagan Philosophers *who were* Theists, *(a few* Ditheists *excepted) Universally asserted a* Mundane Monarchy. 369, 370.

Pythagoras, *a* Polytheist *as much as the other* Pagans, *nevertheless a plain Acknowledger of one* One Supreme God, *the* Maker *of the Universe.* 371

Pythagoras *his* Dyad, *no* Evil God *or* Demon Self-existent, *as* Plutarch *supposed.* 372

But this Dyad *of his, whether* Matter *or no, derived from a* Monad, *One Simple Unity, the Cause of all things.* 372, 373

That Pythagoras, *acknowledging a* Trinity *of* Divine Hypostases, *did therefore sometimes describe God as a* Monad, *sometimes as a* Mind, *and sometimes as the* Soul of the World. 373

The Pythagorick Monad *and* First God, *the same with the* Orphick Love, *Seniour to* Japhet *and* Saturn, *and the* Oldest *of all the Gods, a Substantial thing. But that* Love *which* Plato *would have to be the* Youngest *of the Gods, (the* Daughter of *Penia, or* Indigency, *and a* Parturient *thing,) Nothing but a* Creaturely affection *in* Souls, Personated *and* Deified. Parmenides *his* Love, *the First Created God, or* Lower Soul *of the World; before whose Production,* Necessity *is said to have reigned; that is, the* Necessity *of* Material Motions *undirected for* Ends, *and* Good. 374, 375.

That Pythagoras *called the* Supreme Deity, *not onely a* Monad, *but a* Tetrad *or* Tetractys *also. The Reasons for this given, from the Mysteries in the Number* Four,

The Contents.

Four, *trifling. More probability of a late Conjecture, that the* Pythagorick Tetractys, *was the* Hebrew Tetragrammaton, *not altogether unknown to the* Hetrurians *and* Latins. Page 375, 376

Xenophanes *a plain Asserter both of* Many Gods, *and of* One God, *called by him*, One and All. Simplicius *his clear Testimony for this* Theosophy *of* Xenophanes, *out of* Theophrastus. Xenophanes *misrepresented by* Aristotle, *as an Asserter of a* Spherical Corporeal God. 377, 378

Heraclitus, *though a Cloudy and Confounded* Philosopher, *and one who could not conceive of any thing* Incorporeal, *yet both a hearty* Moralist, *and a zealous Asserter of One* Supreme Deity. 378, 379

The Ionick Philosophers *before* Anaxagoras, *being all of them* Corporealists, *and some of them* Atheists; *that* Anaxagoras *was the* First *who asserted an* Incorporeal Mind *to be a* Principle, *and though not the* Cause *of* Matter, *yet of* Motion, *and of the* Regularity *of things. The World, according to him, not* Eternal, *but* Made, *and out of* Pre-Existent Similar Atoms, *and that not by* Chance, *but by* Mind *or* God. *This* Mind *of his, purely* Incorporeal, *as appeareth from his own words, cited by* Simplicius. 380

Probable, that Anaxagoras *admitted none of the* Inferiour Pagan Gods. *He Condemned by the Vulgar for an* Atheist, *because he* Ungodded the Stars, *denying their* Animation, *and affirming the* Sun *to be but a* Mass of Fire, *and the* Moon *an* Earth. *This disliked also by* Plato, *as that which in those times would dispose men to* Atheism. 381

Anaxagoras *farther Censured, both by* Plato *and* Aristotle, *because though asserting* Mind *to be a* Principle, *he made much more use of* Material *than of* Mental *and* Final Causes; *which was looked upon by them as an* Atheistick Tang *in him. Nevertheless* Anaxagoras *a better* Theist *than those* Christian Philosophers *of later times, who quite banish all* Mental Causality *from the World.* 382, 383

XXI. Parmenides *his acknowledgment of One God the* Cause of Gods. *Which* Supreme Deity, *by* Parmenides *styled*, One-All-Immovable. *That this is not to be taken* Physically, *but* Metaphysically *and* Theologically; *Proved at large. The First Principle of all, to these Ancients*, One, *a Simple Unity or Monad. This said to be* All, *because virtually Containing* All, *and Distributed into* All; *or because All things are distinctly displayed from it. Lastly, the same said to be* Immovable, *and* Indivisible, *and without* Magnitude, *to distinguish it from the* Corporeal Universe. Page 383, &c.

Ἓν τὸ πᾶν, One All, *taken in different Senses; by* Parmenides *and* Xenophanes, *&c.* Divinely, *for the* Supreme Deity, *(One most Simple Being the Original of all things:) but by others in* Aristotle, Atheistically, *as if all things were but One and the same* Matter *diversly Modified. But the One-All of these Latter, not* Immoveable, *but* Moveable; *it being nothing else but Body; whereas the One-All-Immoveable, is an* Incorporeal Deity. *This does* Aristotle, *in his* Metaphysicks, *close with, as good* Divinity, *That there is one* Incorporeal Immoveable Principle *of all things.* Simplicius *his Observation, That though divers* Philosophers *maintained a* Plurality *or* Infinity *of* Moveable Principles, *yet none ever asserted more than* One Immoveable. 385, 386

Parmenides *in* Plato *distinguishes three* Divine Hypostases, *The First whereof called by him,* Ἓν τὸ πᾶν, One-All; *the Second,* Ἓν πάντα, One All things; *and the Third,* Ἓν καὶ πάντα, One and All things. 386, &c.

But that Parmenides *by his* One-All-Immoveable *really understood the* Supreme Deity, *yet farther unquestionably evident from the Verses cited out of him by* Simplicius; *Wherein there is also attributed thereunto a* Standing Eternity, *or* Duration, *different from that of* Time. 388

The onely Difference betwixt Parmenides *and* Melissus, *that the Former called his*, One-All-Immoveable, Finite; *the Latter*, Infinite; *this in Words rather than Reality: The* Disagreeing A-

 greement

greement *of these two* Philosophers *fully declared by* Simplicius. Melissus *his Language more agreeable with our present* Theology. *Though* Anaximander's Infinite *were nothing but* Sensless Matter, *yet* Melissus *his* Infinite *was the* True Deity. Page 389

That Zeno Eleates, *by his* One-All-Immoveable, *meant not the* Corporeal World *neither*, *no more than* Melissus, Parmenides, *and* Xenophanes; *but the* Deity; *evident from* Aristotle. Zeno's *Demonstration of* One God, *from the* Idea *of a most* Powerfull *and* Perfect Being, *in the same* Aristotle. 390

Empedocles *his* First Principle *of All things*, Τὸ Ἕν, *or a* Unity *likewise*, *besides which he supposed* Contention *and* Friendship *to be the Principles of all* Created Beings; *not onely Plants, Brutes, and Men, but* Gods *also*. 391, &c.

Empedocles *his Original of all the Evill both of Humane Soul and Demons*, *from this* Νεῖκος, Discord *and* Contention, *together with the Ill use of their* Liberty. 393

XXII. *The Doctrine of divers other* Pythagoreans *also the same*; *as* Philolaus, Archytas, Ocellus, Aristæus, &c. Timæus Locrus *his* God *the* Creatour of Gods. Onatus *his Many* Gods, *and his One* God, *the* Coryphæus *of the* Gods. Euclides Megarensis *his* One the Very Good. Antisthenes *his Many* Popular Gods, *but One* Natural God. Diogenes Sinopensis *his* God *that* Filleth all things. 393, &c.

XXIII. *That* Socrates *asserted* One Supreme God *undenyable from* Xenophon. 398, 399

But that he disclaimed all the other Inferiour Gods *of the* Pagans, *and died, as a Martyr, for* One onely God, *in this Sense, a Vulgar Errour.* 400

What the Impiety imputed to him by his Adversaries, appeareth from Plato's Euthyphro, *viz. That he freely and openly Condemned those Fables of the Gods wherein Wicked and Unjust Actions were imputed to them.* 401

That Plato *really asserted One onely* God *and no more, a Vulgar Errour likewise*; *and that Thirteenth Epistle to* Dionysius, *wherein he declared himself, to be Serious onely when he began his Epistles with* God, *and not with* Gods, *(though exstant in* Eusebius *his time,) Spurious and Supposititious. He worshipping the Sun and other Stars also (supposed to be animated) as* Inferiour Gods. Page 402

Nevertheless, Undeniably evident, that Plato *was no* Polyarchist, *but a* Monarchist, *no Asserter of* Many Independent Gods, *or* Principles, *but of* One Original *of all things*; One First God, One Greatest God, One Maker of the World and of the Gods. 403, 404

In what Sense the Supreme God, *to* Plato, *the* Cause *and* Producer of Himself; (*out of* Plotinus) *and this notion not onely entertained by* Seneca *and* Plotinus, *but also by* Lactantius, *That* Plato *really asserted a* Trinity *of* Universal Divine Hypostases, *that have the Nature of Principles. The* First Hypostasis *in* Plato's *Trinity properly* Αὐτόθεος, *The* Original Deity, *the* Cause and King *of all things: which also said by him to be* Ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, *or* Ὑπερούσιος, Above Essence. 407

Xenophon, *though with other* Pagans, *he acknowledged a* Plurality of Gods, *yet a plain Asserter also of* One Supreme *and* Universal Numen. 408

XXIV. Aristotle *a frequent Acknowledger of* Many Gods. *And whether he believed any* Demons *or no, which he sometimes mentions (though sparingly) and insinuates them to be a kind of* Aerial Animals, *more* Immortal than Men; *yet did he unquestionably look upon the* Starrs, *or their* Intelligences, *as* Gods. 408, &c.

Notwithstanding which, Aristotle *doth not onely often speak of* God Singularly, *and of the* Divinity Emphatically, *but also professedly opposes that* Imaginary Opinion *of* Many Independent Principles, *or* Unmade Deities. *He confuting the same from the Phenomena or the Compages of the World, which is not* ἐπεισοδιώδης, *but all* Uniform, *and agreeably Conspiring into one Harmony.* 410, 411

Aristotle's Supreme Deity, *the First* Immo-

Immoveable Mover. *The difference here betwixt* Plato, *and* Ariſtotle; Plato's Original of Motion, *a* Self-moving Soul, Ariſtotle's *an* Immoveable Mind. *But this Difference not ſo great as at firſt ſight it ſeems; becauſe* Ariſtotle's Immoveable Mind, *doth not Move the Heavens* Efficiently, *but onely* Finally, *or* As being Loved. *Beſides which, he muſt needs ſuppoſe, another* immediate Mover, *which could be nothing, but a* Soul *of them.* Page 412

Ariſtotle's Immoveable Mind, *not onely the* Cauſe *of* Motion, *but alſo of* Well *and* Fit; *all the Order, Pulchritude and Harmony, that is in the world Called therefore by* Ariſtotle, *the* Separate Good *thereof. This together with* Nature, *(its Subordinate Inſtrument) the* Efficient Cauſe *of the whole* Mundane Syſtem: *which however* Co-eternal *with it, yet is, in Order of Nature,* Junior *to it.* 413, 414

Ariſtotle *and other* Ancients, *when they affirm* Mind *to have been the* Cauſe *of all things, Underſtood it thus, That all things were made by an* Abſolute Wiſedom, *and after the* Beſt Manner. *The Divine Will according to them, not a meer Arbitrary, Humourſome, and Fortuitous thing, but* Decency *and* Fitneſs *it ſelf.* 415

From this paſſage of Ariſtotle's, *That the* Divinity is either God, or the Work of God; *Evident, that he ſuppoſed All the* Gods, *to have been derived from* One, *and therefore his* Intelligences *of the* Sphears. 415

That according to Ariſtotle, *this* Speculation *of the* Deity, *conſtitutes a Particular Science by it ſelf, diſtinct from* Phyſiology *and* Geometry: *the Former whereof* (Phyſiology) *is Converſant about what was* Inſeparable *and* Movable, *the Second* (Geometry) *about things* Immovable, *but not Really* Separable, *but the Third and Laſt (which is* Theology) *about that which is both* Immovable *and* Separable, *an* Incorporeal Deity. 416

Four Chief Points *of* Ariſtotle's Theology *or* Metaphyſicks, *concerning* God; *Firſt, that though all things are not* Eternal *and* Unmade, *yet ſomething muſt needs be ſuch, as likewiſe* Incorruptible, *or otherwiſe all might come to Nothing. Secondly, that God is an* Incorporeal Subſtance, *ſeparate from* Senſibles, Indiviſible *and devoid of* Parts *and* Magnitude. *Thirdly, that the* Divine Intellect, *is the ſame with its* Intelligibles, *or conteineth them all within it ſelf; becauſe the* Divine Mind, *being Senior to all things, and* Architectonical *of the World, could not then look abroad for its Objects without it ſelf. The contrary to which ſuppoſed by* Atheiſts. *Laſtly, that God being an* Immovable Subſtance; *his* Act *and* Energy *is his* Eſſence; *from whence* Ariſtotle *would infer the* Eternity *of the* World. Page 416, 417

Ariſtotle's Creed *and* Religion *contained in theſe Two Articles, firſt* That there is a Divinity which comprehends the whole Nature, *or* Univerſe. *And Secondly, that beſides this,* There are other Particular Inferiour Gods; *But that all other things, in the Religion of the* Pagans, *were Fabulouſly ſuperadded hereunto for Political Ends.* 417

Speuſippus, Xenocrates *and* Theophraſtus, Monarchiſts. 418

XXV. *The* Stoicks *no better* Metaphyſicians *than* Heraclitus, *in whoſe footſteps they trode, admitting of no* Incorporeal Subſtance. *The* Qualities *of the Mind alſo, to theſe* Stoicks, Bodies. 419, 420

But the Stoicks, *not therefore* Atheiſts; *they ſuppoſing an* Eternal Unmade Mind, (*though lodged in* Matter) *the* Maker *of the whole* Mundane Syſtem. 420

The Stoical Argumentations *for a God not Inconſiderable, and what they were.* 421, 422

The Stoical God, *not a meer* Plaſtick *and* Methodical, *but an* Intellectual Fire. *The World according to them, not a* Plant, *but* Animal; *and* Jupiter *the* Soul *thereof. From the ſuppoſed* Onelineſs *of which* Jupiter, *they would ſometimes inferre, the* Singularity *of the* World: (Plutarch *on the Contrary affirming, that though there were* Fifty, *or*

an Hundred Worlds, *yet would there be for all that, but one* Zeus *or* Jupiter.) 423

Nevertheleſs the Stoicks *as* Polytheiſtical *as any Sect. But ſo, as that they ſuppoſed all their Gods ſave One, to be not Onely* Native, *but alſo* Mortal; *made out of that* One, *and reſolved into that* One *again: theſe Gods, being all* Melted *into* Jupiter, *in the* Conflagration. 424, 425

Wherefore during the Intervals *of Succeſſive Worlds, the* Stoicks *acknowledged but one* Solitary Deity, *and no more*; Jupiter *being then left all alone, and the other Gods Swallowed up into him. Who therefore not onely, the* Creatour *of all the other Gods, but alſo the* Decreatour *of them.* 425, 426

The Stoicks *notwithſtanding this*, Religious Worſhippers *of their* Many Gods; *and thereby ſometime derogated from the Honour of the* Supreme, *by ſharing his* Sovereignty *amongſt them.* 426, 427

Nevertheleſs, the Supreme God, *praiſed and extolled by them far above all the other Gods; and acknowledged to be the* Sole Maker *of the World.* 427, &c.

Their Profeſſing Subjection to his Laws as their greateſt Liberty. 430

And to ſubmit their Wills to his Will in every thing, ſo as to know no other Will, *but the* Will *of* Jupiter. ibid.

Their Pretending to Look to God, *and to doe nothing without a* Reference to him; *as alſo to Truſt in him and Rely upon him.* 431

Their Praiſing him as the Authour of all Good. ibid.

Their Addreſſing their Devotions to him Alone, without the conjunction of any other God; *and particularly imploring his Aſſiſtence againſt* Temptations. 432

Cleanthes *his Excellent and Devout Hymn, to the* Supreme God. 433

XXVI. Cicero, *though affecting to write in the way of the* New Academy, *yet no* Sceptick *as to* Theiſm. *Nor was he an Aſſerter of* Many Independent Deities. Cicero's *Gods (the* Makers *of the* World *) the ſame with* Plato's Eternal Gods, *or* Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes *Subordinate. This Language, the* Pagans *in S.* Cyrill, *would Juſtifie, from that of the Scripture,* Let us make Man. Page 434, 435, &c.

Varro's Threefold Theology, *The* Fabulous, *the* Natural, *and the* Civil *or* Popular; *agreeably to* Scævola *the* Pontifex, *his* Three *Sorts of* Gods, Poetical, Pholoſophical, *and* Political. *The* Former *condemned by him as* Falſe, *the* Second, *though* True, *ſaid to be above the Capacity of the Vulgar: and therefore a Neceſſity, of a* Third *or* Middle *betwixt both; Becauſe many things True in Religion, not fit for the Vulgar to know.* Varro's Supreme Numen, *the great* Soul *or* Mind *of the whole World: his Inferiour Gods, Parts of the World Animated. Image-Worſhip Condemned by him, as diſagreeable to the* Natural Theology. 438, 439

Seneca *a* Pagan Polytheiſt, *but plain aſſerter of* One Supreme Numen, *excellently deſcribed by him. That in his Book of Superſtition (now loſt) he did as freely Cenſure the* Civil Theology *of the* Romans, *as* Varro *had done the* Fabulous *or* Theatrical. 440

Quintilian, Pliny, Apuleius, *their clear acknowledgments of* One Sovereign Univerſal Deity. Symmachus, *(a great ſtickler for* Paganiſm) *his Aſſertion, That it was One and the Same thing, which was Worſhipped in all* Religions, *though in different ways.* 440, 441

The Writer De Mundo, *though not* Aſtotle, *yet a* Pagan. *His* Cauſe that conteineth All things, *and God from whom all things are. Which Paſſage being left out in* Apuleius *his* Latin Verſion, *gives occaſion of ſuſpicion, that he was infected with* Plutarch's Ditheiſm, *or at leaſt held* Matter to be Unmade. 442

Plutarch *a Prieſt of* Apollo, *however unluckily ingaged in thoſe Two Falſe Opinions, of an* Evil Principle, *and* Matter Unmade, *yet a Maintainer of One Sole Principle of all* Good. 443

Dio Chryſoſtomus *a* Sophiſt, *his clear Teſtimony*, βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ ὅλον, *That* the whole World *was* under a Kingly Government *or* Monarchy. ibid.

Galen's

The Contents.

Galen's *True Hymn to the praise of him that made us, in his Book* De usu Partium. Page 444

Maximus Tyrius *his short Account of his own Religion*; One Supreme God, the Monarch of the whole World, and Three Subordinate Ranks of Inferiour Gods, the Sons and Friends of God, and his Ministers in the Government of the World. Page 444, 445

A most full and Excellent Description of the Supreme God *in* Aristides *his First Oration or* Hymn to Jupiter, *wherein he affirmeth, all the several kinds of Gods, to be but a Defluxion and Derivation from* Jupiter. 445, 446

All the Latter Philosophers after Christianity, *(though maintainers of the* Worlds Eternity, *yet) agreed in One* Supreme Deity, *the Cause of* this World, *and of the other Gods. Excellent Speculations in them concerning the* Deity, *especially* Plotinus; *who though deriving* Matter *and all from* One Divine Principle, *yet was a Contender for Many Gods*; *he supposing, the* Grandeur *and* Majesty *of the* Supreme God, *to be declared by the* Multitude of Gods *under him.* Themistius; *That the Same* Supreme God, *was worshipped by* Pagans, Christians, *and all Nations, though in different Forms*; *and that* God *was delighted with this* Variety of Religions. 446, 447

The full Testimony of S. Cyril, *That the Greek Philosophers universally acknowledged* One God, the Maker of the Universe, *from whom* were produced into Being, certain other Gods, *both* Intelligible *and* Sensible. ibid.

XXVII. *This not onely the Opinion of Philosophers and Learned men, but also the General Belief of the Vulgar amongst the* Pagans. *A Judgment of the Vulgar and Generality, to be made from the* Poets. Dio Chrysost. *his Affirmation, That all the* Poets acknowledged One First and Greatest God the Father of all the Rational Kind, and the King thereof. 447

The Testimony of Aristotle, That all men acknowledged Kingship or Monarchy amongst the Gods: *of* Maximus Tyrius, *That notwithstanding so great a Discrepancy of Opinion in other things, yet throughout all the Gentile World, as well the* Unlearned *as* Learned *did universally agree in this, That there was* One God the King and Father of all, *and* Many Gods the Sons of that One God: *Of* Dio Chrysostomus *also to the same purpose*; *he intimating likewise that of the two, the acknowledgment of the* One Supreme God, *was more General than that of the* Many Inferiour Gods. 448, Page 449

That the sense of the Vulgar Pagans *herein is further evident from hence, because all Nations had their several* Proper Names *for the* One Supreme God; *as the* Romans Jupiter, *the* Greeks Zeus, *the* Africans *and* Arabians Hammon, *the* Scythians Pappæus, *the* Babylonians Bel, *&c.* 449

True, that Origen, *though allowing* Christians *to use the Appellative Names for* God *in the Languages of the several Nations, yet accounted it unlawfull for them to call him by those* Proper Names; *because not onely given to* Idols, *but also contaminated with wicked Rites and Fables: according to which, they should be judged rather the Names of a* Dæmon *than of a* God. *Notwithstanding which, he does not deny, those* Pagans *ever to have meant the* Supreme God *by them, but often acknowledge the same. But* Lactantius *indeed denies the* Capitoline Jupiter *to be the* Supreme God, *and that for two Reasons. First, because he was not worshipped without the* Partnership *of* Minerva *and* Juno, *his* Daughter *and* Wife. *Granted here, that there was a Mixture of the* Fabulous *or* Poetical Theology *with the* Natural *to make up the* Civil. *But that Wise men understood these to be but* Three *several* Names *or* Notions *of* One Supreme God. *This confirmed from* Macrobius. Page 450

Vossius *his Conjecture, that in this* Capitoline Trinity *there was a further* Mystery *aimed at, of Three* Divine Hypostases. *This* Roman Trinity *derived from the* Samothracian Cabiri. *Which word*

word being Hebraical, *gives Cauſe to ſuſpect this Tradition of a* Trinity *amongſt the* Pagans, *to have ſprung from the* Hebrews. Page 451

Lactantius *his Second Reaſon, Becauſe* Jupiter *being* Juvans Pater, *was a name below the* Dignity *of the* Supreme God. *The Anſwer, that the true* Etymon *thereof was* Jovis Pater, *the* Hebrew Tetragrammaton. ibid.

That the Capitoline Jupiter *was the* Supreme God, *evident from thoſe Titles of* Optimus, Maximus; *and of* Omnipotens *by the Pontifices in their Publick Sacrifices.* Seneca's *Teſtimony that the ancient* Hetrurians, *by* Jupiter *meant the* Mind *and* Spirit, Maker *and* Governour *of the whole World. The Roman Souldiers Acclamation in* Marcus Aurelius *his German Expedition,* (To Jove the God of Gods, who alone is Powerfull) *according to* Tertullian, *a Teſtimony to the* Chriſtians God. 452, 453

That as the Learned Pagans in their Writings, ſo likewiſe the Vulgar in their common Speech, when moſt ſerious, often uſed the word God, Singularly *and* Emphatically, *for the* Supreme, *proved from* Tertullian, Minutius Felix, *and* Lactantius: *together with the Teſtimony of* Proclus, *that the* One Supreme God, *was more univerſally believed throughout the World than the* Many Gods. 453, 454

That Kyrie Eleeſon, *was anciently a* Pagan Litany *to the* Supreme God, *proved from* Arianus. *The* Supreme God *often called by the* Pagans *alſo* Κύριος, *or* the Lord. 454, 455

That even the moſt ſottiſhly Superſtitious, Idolatrous, and Polytheiſtical amongſt the Pagans, *did notwithſtanding generally acknowledge* One Supreme Deity; *fully atteſted and elegantly declared by* Aurelius Prudentius *in his* Apotheoſis. Page 455

However ſome of the Ancient Pagans *were ſaid to have acknowledged none but* Viſible *and* Corporeal Gods, *yet as they conceived theſe to be endued with* Life *and* Underſtanding, *ſo did they ſuppoſe* One Supreme *amongſt them, as either the whole* Heaven *or* Æther Animated, *or the ſubtle* Fiery Subſtance *that pervadeth all things, the God of the* Heracliticks *and* Stoicks; *or the* Sun *the* Cleanthæan God. Page 455, 456

Though Macrobius *refer ſo many of the* Pagan Gods *to the* Sun, *and doubtleſs himſelf lookt upon it as a* Great God, *yet does he deny it to be* Omnipotentiſſimum Deum, *the* Moſt Omnipotent God of all; *he aſſerting a* Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes *Superiour to it, in the* Platonick *way.* 456, 457

That the Perſians *themſelves, the moſt Notorious* Sun-worſhippers, *did notwithſtanding acknowledge a* Deity *Superiour to it, and the* Maker *thereof; proved from* Eubulus. *As alſo that the* Perſians Countrey-Jupiter, *was not the* Sun, *confirmed from* Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, *and* Curtius. Cyrus *his* Lord God of Heaven, who commanded him to build him a houſe at Jeruſalem; *the ſame with the* God of the Jews. 458

That as (*beſides the* Scythians) *the* Ethiopians *in* Strabo, *and other* Barbarian *Nations, anciently acknowledged* One Sovereign Deity; *ſo is this the Belief of the generality of the* Pagan *World to this very day.* 458, 459

XXVIII. *Beſides* Themiſtius *and* Symmachus, *aſſerting One and the ſame Thing to be worſhipped in all* Religions, *though after different ways, and that* God Almighty *was not diſpleaſed with this Variety of his Worſhip;* Plutarch's *Memorable* Teſtimony, *That as the ſame* Sun, Moon, *and* Stars, *are common to all, ſo were the ſame* Gods. *And that not onely the* Egyptians, *but alſo all other* Pagan *Nations worſhipped One* Reaſon *and* Providence *ordering all: together with its* Inferiour Subſervient Powers *and* Miniſters, *though with different Rites and Symbols.* 459, 460

Titus Livius *alſo of the ſame Perſwaſion, That the* Same Immortal Gods *were Worſhipped every where* (*namely* One Supreme, *and his* Inferiour Miniſters) *however the Diverſity of Rites, made them ſeem Different.* 460

Two Egyptian Philoſophers, Heraiſcus *and* Aſclepiades, *profeſſedly inſiſting upon the ſame thing, not onely as to the* Egyptians

gyptians, *but alſo the other* Pagan *Nations: the Latter of them,* (Aſclepiades) *having written a Book Entitled,* *The* Symphony *or* Harmony of all Theologies or Religions, *To wit, in theſe Two Fundamentalls, That there is* One Supreme God, *and beſides him,* Other Inferiour Gods, his Subſervient Miniſters *to be worſhipped. From whence* Symmachus, *and other* Pagans *concluded, That the Differences of Religion were not to be ſcrupulouſly ſtood upon, but every man ought to worſhip God according to the* Law *and* Religion of his own Country. *The* Pagans Senſe *thus declared by* Stobæus, *That the* Multitude of Gods, is the work of the Demiurgus, *made by* Him together with the World. Page 461

XXIX. *That the* Pagan Theiſts, *muſt needs acknowledge* One Supreme Deity, *further Evident from hence; Becauſe they generally believed the whole World to be* One Animal, Actuated *and* Governed *by* One Soul. *To deny the Worlds* Animation, *and to be an* Atheiſt; *all one, in the ſenſe of the* Ancient Pagans. *Againſt* Gaſſendus, *that* Epicurus *denyed the* Worlds Animation, *upon no other account, but onely becauſe he denyed a* Providential Deity. *This whole* Animated World, *or the* Soul *thereof, to the* Stoicks, *and others, The* Πρῶτος Θεὸς, *The* Firſt and Higheſt God. 462

Other Pagan Theologers, *who though aſſerting likewiſe, the* Worlds Animation, *and a* Mundane Soul, *yet would not allow this to be the* Supreme Deity, *they conceiving the* Firſt *and* Higheſt God, *to be no* Soul, *but an* Abſtract *and* Immoveable Mind *Superiour to it. And to theſe, the* Animated World *and* Mundane Soul, *but* Δεύτερος Θεὸς, A Second God. 463

But the Generality of thoſe who went Higher than the Soul of the World, *acknowledged alſo a Principle Superior to* Mind or Intellect, *called,* Τὸ Ἕν and Τ' Ἀγαθὸν, *The* One, *and* The Good: *and ſo aſſerted, a* Trinity of Divine Hypoſtaſes Subordinate, Monad, Mind, *and* Soul. *So that the* Animated World *or* Soul *thereof, was to ſome of theſe, but* Τρίτος Θεὸς, *The* Third God. ibid.

The Pagans, *whether holding* Soul, *or* Mind, *or* Monad, *to be the Higheſt, acknowledged onely* One *in each of thoſe ſeverall Kinds, as the* Head *of all; and ſo always reduced the Multiplicity of things to a* Unity, *or under a* Monarchy. 464

Obſerved, That to the Pagan Theologers *Univerſally, the World was no Dead Thing, or meer* Machin and Automaton, *but had* Life *or* Soul *diffuſed thorough it all: Thoſe being taxed by* Ariſtotle *as* Atheiſts, *who made the world to conſiſt of nothing, but* Monads *or* Atoms, Dead *and* Inanimate. *Nor was it quite Cut off from the* Supreme Deity, *how much ſoever Elevated above the ſame: the Forementioned* Trinity, *of* Monad, Mind, *and* Soul, *being ſuppoſed to be moſt intimately united together, and indeed all but* One Entire Divinity; Diſplayed in the World, and Supporting the ſame. 464, 465

XXX. *The Senſe of the* Hebrews *in this* Controverſy. *That according to* Philo, *the* Pagan Polytheiſm *conſiſted not in worſhipping* Many Independent Gods, *and* Partial Creators *of the World, but beſides the* One Supreme, *other* Created Beings Superior to men. 465, 466

That the ſame alſo, was the Senſe of Flavius Joſephus, *according to whom, This the* Doctrine *of* Abraham; *That the* Supreme God *was alone to be* Religiouſly Worſhipped, *and no Created thing with him.* Ariſtæus *his Aſſertion in* Joſephus, *That the* Jews *and* Greeks *worſhipped one and the ſame* Supreme God, *called by the* Greeks Zene, *as giving Life to all.* 466, 467

The Latter Rabbinical Writers, *generally of this Perſwaſion, That the* Pagans *acknowledging* One Supreme *and* Univerſal Numen, *worſhipped all their Other* Gods, *as his* Miniſters, *or as* Mediators *and* Interceſſors *betwixt him and them. And this Condemned by them for* עבודה זרה Strange Worſhip *or* Idolatry. *The firſt Commandment thus interpreted by* Maimonides, *and* Baal Ikkarim; *Thou* ſhalt not ſet up beſides me, *any* Inferiour Gods *as*

Mediators, *nor* Religiouſly Worſhip *my* Miniſters *or* Attendants. *The Miſcarriage of* Solomon *and other* Kings *of* Iſrael *and* Judah, *This, That believing the Exiſtence of the* One Supreme God, *they thought it was for his Honour that his* Miniſters *alſo ſhould be worſhipped.* Abravanel *his* Ten Species *of* Idolatry, *all of them but ſo* Many ſeveral Modes *of* Creature-Worſhip; *and no mention amongſt them made, of many* Independent Gods. Page 467, *&c.*

Certain Places of Scripture *alſo, Interpreted by* Rabbinical Writers *to this purpoſe; That the* Pagan Nations *generally acknowledged*, One Sovereign Numen. 469, 470

The Jews, *though agreeing with the* Greeks, *and other* Pagans *in this, That the* Stars *were all* Animated, *nevertheleſs denyed them any* Religious Worſhip. 470, 471

XXXI. *This ſame thing, plainly confirmed, from the* New Teſtament; *That the* Gentiles *or* Pagans, *however* Polytheiſts *and* Idolaters, *were not Unacquainted with the* True God. *Firſt from the* Epiſtle *to the* Romans, *where that which is* Knowable of God, *is ſaid to have been manifeſt amongſt the* Pagans; *and they to have* Known God, *though they did not* Glorify him as God, but hold the Truth in Unrighteouſneſs; *by reaſon of their* Polytheiſm *and* Idolatry (*or* Image Worſhip) *The Latter of which, accounted by the* Jews *the greateſt* Enormity *of the* Pagans, *as is proved from* Philo: *and this the Reaſon, why their* Polytheiſm, *called alſo* Idolatry. *Plainly declared by S.* Paul, *that the* Pagan Superſtition *conſiſted not in worſhipping* Many Independent Gods *and* Creators, *but in joyning Creature-worſhip ſome way or other, with the worſhip of the* Creator. Πῶς τὸν Κτίσαντα *How to be Underſtood*; *and in what Senſe, the* Pagans, *though acknowledging the* Creator, *might be ſaid to have Worſhipped the* Creature, beyond him. 471, 472

Again, from S. Pauls Oration *to the* Athenians, *where their* Unknown God, *is ſaid to be* that ſame God, *whom S.* Paul Preached, Who made the World and all things in it. *And theſe* Athenian Pagans *are affirmed* Δεισιδαίμονας, Religiouſly *and* Devoutly *to* Worſhip this True God. Page 473, 474

Laſtly, that Aratus *his* Zeus *was the* True God, whoſe Offspring our Souls are; *Proved not onely from the Context of that* Poet *himſelf, undeniably, and from the Scholiaſt upon him, but alſo from S.* Pauls *Poſitive Affirmation. Nor was* Aratus *Singular in this; That Ancient Prayer of the* Athenians, *Commended by M.* Antoninus *for its Simplicity*, (Υ̓͂σον ὖσον ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, Rain Rain, O Gracious Jupiter *&c.*) *no otherwiſe to be underſtood. And how that other Paſſage of S.* Paul, That in the Wiſedom of God, the World by Wiſedom knew not God, *does not at all Claſh herewith.* 475, 476

XXXII. *In order to a Fuller Explication of the* Pagan Theology, *and makeing it the better appear, that the* Polytheiſm *thereof, was not Contradictious to the acknowledgment of* One Supreme Omnipotent Numen; Three Things *to be Conſidered. Firſt, That much of their* Polytheiſm *was but* Seeming *and* Phantaſticall *onely, and really nothing but the* Polyonymy of One God. *Secondly, That their* Reall *and* Naturall Polytheiſm, *conſiſted onely in Religiouſly Worſhipping, beſides this* One Supreme Univerſall Numen, *Many other* Particular *and* Inferiour Created Beings; *as* Animated Stars, Demons, *and* Hero's. *Thirdly, That they Worſhipping both the* Supreme *and* Inferiour Gods, *in* Statues, Images, *and* Symbols; *theſe were alſo ſometimes Abuſively called* Gods. *To one or other of which* Three Heads, *all the* Pagan Polytheiſm, *Referrible.* 477

For the better perſwading, That much of the Pagan Polytheiſm, *was Really nothing, but the* Polyonymy of One Supreme God, *or the Worſhipping him under ſeverall* Perſonall Names; *to be Remembred again, what was before Suggeſted; That the* Pagan Nations *Generally, beſides their* Vulgar, *had another more* Arcane Theology, *which was the* Theology of Wiſe men *and of* Truth. *That is;*

is; *besides both their* Fabulous *and* Poeticall, *their* Politicall *and* Civil Theology; *they had another* Natural *and* Philosophick *one. This Distinction of the* Vulgar and Civil Theology, *from the* Nataral *and* Reall, *owned by the* Greeks *Generally, and amongst the* Latins, *by* Scævola *the Pontifex*, Varro, Cicero, Seneca, *and others.* ibid.

That the Civil Theology *of the* Pagans, *differed from the* Natural *and* Reall, *by a certain Mixture of* Fabulosity *in it. Of the* Romans *suffering the* Statue *of* Jupiters Nurse, *to be kept in the very Capitol, as a* Religious Monument. *Jupiters* Nativity, *or his having a* Father *and a* Mother, Atheistically Fabulous; Poets *themselves acknowledging so much of the* Natural *and* True Teology, *That* Jupiter *being the* Father of Gods and Men, *the* Maker of the whole World, *was himself* Eternall *and* Unmade. 478

That the Civil *as well as Poeticall* Theology, *had some appearance of* Many Independent Deities *also*; *they making* Severall Supreme, *in their severall Territories and Functions*; *One* Chief *for one thing, and another for another. But according to the* Naturall *and* Philosophick Theology, *the* Theology *of* Wise men *and of* Truth, *all these but* Poeticall, Commentitious, Fictitious, *and* Phantastick Gods; *such as had no distinct* Substantiall Essences *of their own*; *and therefore Really to be accounted nothing else, but severall* Names *or* Notions *of* One Supreme God. 478,479

Certain, that the Egyptians *had severall* Proper and Personal Names, *for that* One Supreme Universal Numen, *that Comprehends the whole World, according to several* Notions *of it or its several* Powers: *as* Ammon, Phtha, Osiris, Neith, Cneph; *to which may be added,* Serapis *and* Isis *too. Besides* Iamblichus, Damascius *his Testimony also to this purpose*; *concerning the* Egyptian Theology. *This the* Pattern *of the other, especially* European Theologies, *the* Greek *and* Roman. 479,480

That the Greeks *and* Romans *also, often Made* More Gods of One, *or affected a* Polyonymy *of the* Same Gods; *Evident from those many* Proper *and* Personal Names *bestowed, First upon the* Sun, (*of which* Macrobius) *who therefore had this Epithet of* πολύωνυμος *given to him*; *and then upon the* Moon, *Styled also* Polyonymous, *as well as her Brother the Sun*; *and Lastly upon the* Earth, *famous likewise, for her* Many Names; *as* Vesta, Cybele, Ceres, Proserpina, Ops, *&c. Wherefore not at all to be Doubted, but that the* Supreme God, *or* Sovereign Numen *of the whole World, was much more* Polyonymous. *This* Title *given to him also, as well as to* Apollo *in* Hesychius. *He thus Invoked by* Cleanthes. Zeno, *the Writer* De Mundo, Seneca, Macrobius, *clearly confirm the same.* Maximus Madaurensis *in S.* Austin, *his full acknowledgment thereof.* Page 480, 481

The First Instances *of the* Polyonymy *of the* Supreme God, *amongst the* Pagans, *in such Names as these*; Βρυητεῖος, Ὕπιστος Πολιεύς, Μειλίχιος, Φίλιος, Ξένιος, Σωτὴρ, &c. *And amongst the Latins*, Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Stator, Tigillus, Centupeda, Almus, Ruminus, *&c. Again*, Ἀνάγκη, Εἱμαρμένη, Πεπρωμένη, Μοῖρα, Ἀδράστεια, *all several* Names *of the* One Supreme God, *as likewise were* Clotho, Lachesis, *and* Atropos, *in the Writer* De Mundo. *And amongst the Latins, not onely* Fate, *but also* Nature, *and* Fortune *too, as* Cicero *and* Seneca *affirm.* 482

But besides these, there were other Proper Names *of the* Supreme God, *which had a greater shew and appearance of so many* Several Gods, *they having their* Peculiar Temples, *and several* Appropriated Rites of Worship. *And First, such as signifie the* Deity, *according to its more* Universal Nature. *As for example*, Pan; *which not the* Corporeal World Inanimate *or endued with a* Sensless Nature *onely, but a* Rational *or* Intellectual Principle *displaying it self in Matter, framing the World Harmoniously, and being in a manner* All things. *This also the* Universal Pastor *and* Shepherd, *of all Mankind.* 483

Again Janus; *First Invoked by the*

Romans *in their Sacrifices, and never omitted. The moſt* Ancient God, *and* Firſt Beginning *of all things. Deſcribed by* Ovid, Martial, *and others, as a* Univerſal Numen. *Concluded by S.* Auſtin, *to be the* Same with Jupiter, *the* Soul *or* Mind *of the whole* World. *The word* Janus *probably derived from* Ζανὸς, *the* Ætolian Jupiter. Page 483, 484

Genius *alſo, one of the* Twenty Select Roman Gods, *according to* Feſtus, *a* Univerſal Numen: *that God who is the* Begetter *of* All things. *And according to* Varro *in S.* Auſtine, *the ſame with* Jupiter. 484, 485

That Chronos *or* Saturn, *no particular* Deity; *but a* Univerſal Numen *alſo, which Comprehends the* whole nature of the World, *affirmed by* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. *The word* Saturn Hetrurian (*and Originally from the* Hebrew סתר) *ſignifies* Hidden; *called by the Latins* Deus Latius, *the* Hidden God; *whence* Italy Latium, *and the Italians Latins; as Worſhippers of this* Hidden God, *or the* Occult Principle *of all things. This according to* Varro, *He that Produceth out of himſelf, the* Hidden Seeds *and* Forms *of all things, and Swalloweth them up into himſelf again; which, the* Devouring *of his* Male Children. *This* Sinus quidam Naturæ, *&c. a* Certain Inward and deep Receſs of Nature, containing all things *within it ſelf; as God was ſometimes Defined by the* Pagans. *This to S.* Auſtin, *the ſame with* Jupiter; *as likewiſe was* Cœlus *or* Uranus, *in the old Inſcription, and therefore another Name of God too. The* Poetick Theology, *of* Jupiters *being the* Son of Saturn, *and* Saturn *the* Son of Cœlus; *an Intimation* (*according to* Plato) *of a* Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes Univerſal. 485, 486

Though Minerva *or* Athena, *were ſometimes confined to a narrower Senſe, yet was it often taken, for a* Name of God *alſo, according to his* Univerſal Notion; *it being to* Athenagoras *the* Divine Wiſedom, diſplaying it ſelf through all things. *This excellently deſcribed by* Ariſtides, *as the* Firſt Begotten Off-ſpring of the Original Deity, *or the* Second Divine Hypoſtaſis, *by which all things were made; agreeably with the* Chriſtian Theology. Page 486, 487

Aphrodite Urania, *or the* Heavenly Venus; *another name of God alſo according to his* Univerſal Notion; *it being the ſame with that* Love *which* Orpheus, *and other Philoſophers in* Ariſtotle, *made the* Firſt Original of all things. Plato's *Diſtinction of an* Elder, *and a* Younger Venus: *The Former, the* Daughter of Uranus, *without a* Mother, *or the* Heavenly Venus; *ſaid to be* Senior *to* Japhet *and* Saturn. *The Latter, afterwards begotten from* Jupiter *and the* Nymph Dione, *the* Vulgar Venus. Urania, *or the* Heavenly Venus, *called by the* Oriental *Nations,* Mylitta; *that is, the* Mother of all things. *Temples in* Pauſanias *Dedicated to this* Heavenly Venus. *This deſcribed by* Æſchylus, Euripides, *and* Ovid, *as the* Supreme Deity, *and the* Creator of all the Gods. *God Almighty alſo, thus deſcribed, as a* Heavenly Venus *or* Love, *by* Sev. Boetius. *To this* Urania *or* Heavenly Venus, *another* Venus *in* Pauſanias *near a kin; called* Ἀποστροφία *or* Verticordia; *As Converſive of mens Minds upwards, from Unchaſt Love, or Unclean Luſt.* 488, 489

Though Vulcan, *according to the Common Notion of him, a* Special God, *yet had he ſometimes a more* Univerſal Conſideration. Zeno *in* Laertius, *that the* Supreme God is called Vulcan *as* Acting in the Artificiall Fire of Nature. *Thus the* Soul *of the World, ſtyled by the* Ægyptians Phtha; *which as* Iamblichus *tells us, was the ſame with the Greeks* Hephæſtus, *or* Vulcan. 489, 490

Beſides all which Names of the Supreme God, Seneca *informs us, that he was ſometimes called alſo,* Liber Pater, becauſe the Parent of all things; *ſometimes* Hercules, *becauſe his* Force is Unconquerable; *and ſometimes* Mercury, *as being* Reaſon, Number, Order *and* Knowledge. 490

But beſides this Polyonymy *of God, according to his* Univerſal Notion; *there were other* Dii Speciales, *or* Speciall Gods *alſo, amongſt the* Pagans; *which likewiſe were*

were really but Several Names of One *and the ſame* Supreme Deity, *variè utentis ſua Poteſtate*, (*as* Seneca Writeth) diverſly uſing his Power, *in Particular Caſes, and in the ſeveral Parts of the World. Thus* Jupiter, Neptune, *and* Pluto, (*miſtaken by ſome Chriſtians, for a* Trinity of Independent Gods) *though* Three Civil Gods, *yet were they Really, but One and the Same* Natural *and* Philoſophick God; *as Acting in thoſe* Three Parts *of the World; the Heaven, the Sea, the Earth and Hell.* Pluto *in* Plato's Cratylus *a* Name *for* That Part of Divine Providence, *which is exerciſed in the* Government *of* Separate Souls *after Death. This Styled by Virgil, the* Stygian Jupiter. *But to others,* Pluto *together with* Ceres, *the Manifeſtation of the* Deity, *in this whole* Terreſtrial Globe. *The* Celeſtial *and* Terreſtrial Jupiter, *but* One God. Zeus *and* Hades *one and the ſame to* Orpheus. Euripides *doubtfull, whether God ſhould be Invoked, by the Name of* Zeus *or* Hades. Hermeſianax *the* Colophonian Poet, *makes* Pluto *the Firſt of thoſe Many Names of God,* Synonymous *with* Zeus. Page 490, 491

Neptune *alſo, another* Special God, *a name of the* Supreme Deity, *as Acting in the Seas onely. This affirmed by* Xenocrates *in* Stobæus, Zeno *in* Laertius, Balbus *and* Cotta *in* Cicero, *and alſo by* Maximus Tyrius. 492

The Statue of Jupiter *with* Three Eyes, *in* Pauſanias; *ſignifying that according to the* Natural Theology, *it was* One and the Same God, *Ruling in thoſe* Three Several Parts *of the World, the Heaven, the Sea, and the Earth; that was called by* Three Names, Jupiter, Neptune, *and* Pluto. *Wherefore ſince* Proſerpina *and* Ceres *are the ſame with* Pluto; *and* Salacia *with* Neptune; *Concluded, that all theſe, though* Several Poetical *and* Political Gods; *yet were but One and the Same* Natural *and* Philoſophick God. 492,493

Juno *alſo, another* Special God, *a name of the* Supreme Deity *as Acting in the* Aire. *Thus* Xenocrates *and* Zeno. *The* Pagans *in S.* Auſtin; *that God in the* Æther *is called* Jupiter, *in the* Aire Juno. *So* Minerva *likewiſe, when taken for a* Special God, *a name of the* Supreme God, *according to that Particular Conſideration of him, as* Acting in the Higher Æther. *From whence, S.* Auſtin *diſputeth againſt the* Pagans. Maximus Tyrius, *of theſe and many other* Gods *of the* Pagans; *that they were but* θεῖα ὀνόματα, Divine Names. Page 493, 494

Yet Many other Special Gods, *amongſt the* Pagans, *which alſo were really nothing but* Divine Names; *or Names of* God *as variouſly* exerciſing *his* Power, *or beſtowing* Several Gifts; *as in Corn and Fruit,* Ceres, *in Wine* Bacchus, *in Medicine* Æſculapius, *in Traffick* Mercury, *in War* Mars, *in Governing the Winds* Æolus, *&c.* 494

That not onely Philoſophers, *did thus interpret, the Many* Poetical *and* Political Gods, *into One and the Same* Natural God; *but the* Poets *themſelves alſo; ſometimes openly broached this more* Arcane Free *and* True Theology; *as* Hermeſianax *amongſt the Greeks, and* Valerius Soranus *amongſt the Latins.* 494, 495

That S. Auſtin *making a large* Enumeration *of the other* Special Gods, *amongſt the* Pagans, *affirmeth of them Univerſally; That according to the Senſe of the* Pagan Doctors, *they were but one* Natural God, *and all Really the ſame with* Jupiter. 495, 496

Apuleius *in his Book* De Deo Socratis, *either not rightly underſtood by that Learned and Induſtrius Philologer,* G. I. Voſſius, *or elſe not ſufficiently attended to. His deſign there, plainly to reduce the* Pagans Civil Theology, *into a Conformity with the* Natural *and* Philoſophick; *which he doth as a* Platoniſt, *by making the* Dii Conſentes *of the Romans, and their other* Inviſible Gods, *to be all of them, Nothing, but the* Divine Ideas; *and ſo the Off-ſpring of one* Higheſt God. *An occaſion for this Phancy, given by* Plato, *where he calls his* Ideas Animals. *Nor was* Apuleius *Singular herein;* Julian *in his Book againſt the* Chriſtians, *going the very ſame way; and no otherwiſe underſtood*

derſtood by S. Cyril, *than as to make the* Inviſible Gods, *worſhipped by the* Pagans, *to be the* Divine Ideas. *A Phancy of the ſame* Julian, *who oppoſed the Incarnation of the* Eternal Word, *that* Æſculapius *was firſt of all the* Idea *of the* Medicinal Art, *Generated by the* Supreme God, *in the Intelligible World; which afterwards, by the Vivifick Influence of the* Sun, *was* Incarnated, *and appeared in Humane Form about* Epidaurus. *And that this* Pagan Doctrine, *Older than* Chriſtiany; *proved out of* Philo; *writing of a* Sun, *and* Moon, Intelligible; *as well as* Senſible, *Religiouſly worſhipped by the* Pagans: *That is, the* Ideas *of the* Archetypal World. *And thus were theſe* Ideas *of the* Divine Intellect, νοητοὶ θεοὶ, Intelligible Gods, *to* Plotinus *alſo.* Page 496, *&c.* 501

Wherefore Julian, Apuleius, *and thoſe others, who thus made all the* Pagan Inviſible Gods, *to be nothing elſe but the* Divine Ideas, *the* Patterns of Things *in the* Archetypal World; *ſuppoſed them not to be ſo many* Independent Deities, *nor Really* Diſtinct Subſtances, *Separate from one another, but onely ſo many* Partiall Conſiderations *of One God.* Julian *before affirming them,* ἐξ ὧτινὶ γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸς, συνυπάρχειν τε καὶ ἐνυπάρχειν ἑαυτῷ. *As* to have been Generated out of him; *ſo alſo to Coexiſt with him, and Inexiſt in him.* 501, 502

That the Pagans *appointed ſome Particular* God *or* Goddeſs *by Name, to preſide over Every thing;* (*there Being* μηδὲν ἄθεον Nothing at all without a God to them) *appeareth from that Catalogue, of their* Ignoble *or* Petty Gods, *Collected by S.* Auſtine *out of* Varro. *Now it is Incredible; that they ſhould think all theſe to be ſo many* Single Subſtantiall Spirits, *of each* Sex, *Really Exiſting apart in the World; they muſt therefore needs take them, to be ſo many* Partiall Conſiderations *of the* Deity, *either in the way of the more High-flown* Platoniſts, *as his* Ideas *Exemplarily and Vertually containing all things; or elſe in that more Common and eaſie way of the Generality; as ſo many Several Denominations of him, according to the Several Manifeſtations of his* Power *and* Providence; *or as the* Pagans *in* Euſebius *declare themſelves; thoſe* Several Vertues *and* Powers, *of the* Supreme God, *themſelves* Perſonated and Deified. *Which yet becauſe they were not executed, without the Subſervient* Miniſtery *of Created* Spirits, Angels *or* Demons, *appointed to preſide over ſuch things; therefore might theſe alſo* Collectively *taken, be included under them.* Page 502, 503

But for the fuller clearing of this Point, that the Pagan Polytheiſm, *was in great part Nothing but the* Polyonymy of one God; Two Things *here to be taken notice of. Firſt that the* Pagan Theology *Univerſally, Suppoſed God to be* Diffuſed thorough all, *to* Permeate *and* Pervade all, *and* Intimately to Act all. *Thus* Horus Apollo *of the* Egyptians. *Thus among the Greeks,* Diogenes *the Cynick,* Ariſtotle, *the Italick, and Stoicall Philoſophers. Thus the* Indian Brachmans *before* Strabo. *Thus alſo the Latin Poets; and* Seneca, Quintilian, Apuleius, *and* Servius, *beſides others.* 503, 504

That Anaxagoras *and* Plato *alſo, though neither of them* Confounded God with the World, *but affirmed him to be* Unmingled with any thing; *yet Concluded him in like manner, to* Permeate *and* Pervade *all things. Plato's* Etymology *of* δικαιον, *as taken for a* Name of God, *to this purpoſe in his* Cratylus. *Where a Fragment of* Heraclitus, *and his Deſcription of God agreeably hereunto; a moſt* Subtle *and* Swift Subſtance, *that* Permeates *and* Paſſes through every thing, by which all things are made. *But* Plato *diſclaiming this* Corporeity *of the* Deity, *will neither have it* Fire *nor* Heat; *but a Perfect Mind that* Paſſes through all things Unmixedly. 505.

Wherefore no wonder, if the Pagans *ſuppoſing God to be Diffuſed thorough all things, called him in the* Several Parts *of the World, and* Things of Nature, *by* ſeveral Names, *as in the Earth* Ceres, *in the Sea* Neptune, *&c. This accompt of the* Pagan Polytheiſm *given by* Paulus Oroſius, *That whilſt they believed, God to be in Many things, they indiſcreetly made* Many Gods of Him. 505, 506

Further

Further to be obſerved, That many of the Pagan Theologers; *ſeemed to go yet a* Strain higher, *they ſuppoſing* God *not onely to* Pervade all things, *but alſo to* Be himſelf all things. *That the Ancient* Egyptian Theology *ran ſo high, Evident from the* Saitick Inſcription. *A ſtrong Tang hereof in* Æſchylus; *as alſo in* Lucan. *Neither was this proper to thoſe, who held God to be the* Soul of the World, *but the Language alſo of thoſe other more Refined* Philoſophers, Xenophanes, Parmenides, *&c. they affirming* God, *to be* One and All. *With which agreeth, the Authour of the* Aſclepian Dialogue, *that God is, Unus omnia,* One all things; *and that before things were made, he did then κρύπτειν* Hide them, *or* Occultly contain them all, within himſelf. *In like manner* Orpheus. Page 506, 507

This not onely a further Ground of the Polyonymy of One God, *according to the* Various Manifeſtations *of himſelf in the World, but alſo of another* Strange Phænomenon *in the* Pagan Theology, *their* Perſonating *the* Inanimate Parts *of the World, and* Natures of things, *and beſtowing the Names of* Gods *and* Goddeſſes *upon them. Thus* Moſchopulus *before cited, and* Arnobius. *This* Plutarch *thinks to have been done at firſt, Metonymically onely, the Effects of the* Gods, *being called* Gods; *as the Books of* Plato, Plato. *And thus far not diſliked by him. But himſelf complaineth, that afterwards, it was carried on further by* Superſtitious Religioniſts, *and not without great* Impiety. *Nevertheleſs that* Inanimate Subſtances *and the* Natures of things, *were formerly Deifyed, by the* Ancient Pagans, *otherwiſe than* Metonymically, *proved from* Cicero, Philo *and* Plato. *For they ſuppoſing* God, *to* Pervade all things, *and to be* All things, *did therefore look upon every thing as* Sacred *or* Divine; *and* Theologize the Parts of the World and Natures of Things; *Titularly making them,* Gods *and* Goddeſſes. *But eſpecially ſuch things, as wherein* Humane Utility *was moſt concerned; and which had moſt of Wonder in them.* 507, 510

This properly, the Phyſiological Theology *of the* Pagans, *their* Perſonating *and* Deifying *the* Natures of things, *and* Inanimate Subſtances. *That the Ancient* Poetick Fables *of the* Gods *were many of them in their firſt and true meaning, thus* Phyſiologically Allegorical, *and not meer* Herology, *affirmed againſt* Euſebius. Zeno, Cleanthes *and* Chryſippus, *Famous for thus* Allegorizing the Fables of the Gods. Chryſippus his Allegorizing *an* Obſcene Picture *of* Jupiter *and* Juno *in* Samos. Plato *though no Friend to theſe* Poetick Fables, *yet confeſſes ſome of them to have contained* Allegories *in them: the ſame doth alſo* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus: *and* Cicero *likewiſe, who affirmeth, this* Perſonating *and* Deifying *the* Natures of things, *to have* filled the World with Superſtition. Page 510, 512

Againſt Euſebius *again, That the whole* Theology *of the* Pagans, *conſiſted not in thus* Deifying the Natures of things, *and* Inanimate Bodies; *becauſe he that acknowledgeth no* Animant God, *acknowledges no God at all, but is a downright* Atheiſt. 512

Neither ought this Phyſiological Theology *of the* Pagans; *that conſiſted in* Perſonating *and* Deifying the Natures of things *and* Inanimate Bodies, *to be Confounded, with that* Natural *and* Philoſophical Theology *of* Varro, Scævola *and others, which admitted of no other, but* Animant Gods, *and ſuch as* Really Exiſted *in Nature: for which Cauſe it was called* Natural, *in oppoſition to the* Fictitious *and* Phantaſtick, Poetick Gods. 512

S. Auſtin's *juſt Cenſure and Condemnation of the* Pagans, *for their thus* Theologizing of Phyſiology, *or* Fictitiouſly Perſonating and Deifying the Natures of things. 512, 513

But though the Pagans *did thus verbally Perſonate and Deifie the* things of Nature, *yet did not the Intelligent amongſt them, therefore account theſe* True and Proper Gods. Cotta *in* Cicero, *Though we call Corn* Ceres, *and Wine* Bacchus, *yet was there never any one ſo* mad, *as to take that for a* God, *which himſelf feeds upon and devours. The* Pagans *really accounted*

counted that onely for a God, *by the Invoking whereof, they might expect benefit to themselves; and therefore* Nothing Inanimate. *This proved from* Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Cicero, *and* Plutarch. *Wherefore these* Natures of things Deified, *but* Fictitious *and* Phantastick Gods. *Nor can any other sense be made of them than this, that they were really but so many several* Names *of one* Supreme God, *as severally manifested in his works: according to that* Egyptian Theology, *That God may be called* by the Name of every thing, *or* every thing by the Name of God. *With which agreeth* Seneca, *That there* may be as many Names of God, *as there are* Gifts and Effects of his: *and the Writer* De Mundo, *That* God may be Denominated from every Nature, he being the Cause of all things. Page 513, 515

Wherefore these Deified Natures of things, *were not directly worshipped by the* Intelligent Pagans, *but onely* Relatively *to the* Supreme God, *or in way of* Complication *with him onely: and so not so much Themselves, as God worshipped in them. The* Pagans *Pretence, that they did not look upon the world with such Eyes as* Oxen *and* Horses *do, but with* Religious Eyes, *so as to see God in every thing. They therefore worshipped the* Invisible Deity, *in the* Visible manifestations *of himself; God and the World together. This sometimes called* Pan *and* Jupiter. *Thus was the* whole World *said to be the* Greatest God, *and the* Circle *of the* Heavens *worshipped by the* Persians; *not as Inanimate Matter, but as the Visible manifestation of the* Deity, *displayed from it, and pervaded by it. When the* Roman *Sea-Captains Sacrificed to the Waves, their worship intended to that* God, *who* Stilleth the Waves, *and* Quieteth *the Billows.* 515, 516

These Pagans *also apprehended a Necessity of permitting men to worship the* Invisible God *in his* Visible Works. *This account given by them in* Eusebius. Plato *himself approved of worshipping the* Invisible God *in the Sun, Moon, and Stars, as his Visible Images. And though* Maximus Tyrius *would have men endeavour, to rise above the Starry Heavens, and all Visible things, yet does he allow the weaker, to worship* God *in his* Progeny. *And* Socrates *perswades* Euthydemus *to be contented herewith. Besides which, some* Pagans *worshipping the* Elements, *directed their Intention to the* Spirits of those Elements, *as* Julian *in* Ammianus *(these being supposed also to be Animated) or else to those* Dæmons, *whom they conceived to inhabit them, or preside over them.* Page 516, 518

XXXIII. *Further to be observed, That amongst those* Natures of things, *some were meerly* Accidental, *as* Hope, Love, Desire, Memory, Truth, Vertue, Piety, Faith, Justice, Concord, Clemency, Victory, Echo, Night. *According to which, the vulgar* Athenians *supposed S.* Paul *to have* Deified Anastasis, *or made a* Goddess *of the* Resurrection, *as well as a* God *of* Jesus. *Vices also sometimes thus* Deified *by them, as* Contumely, *and* Impudence, (*to whom were Temples dedicated at* Athens) *though to the end that these things might be* Deprecated. *These* Accidents *sometimes* Deified *under Counterfeit Proper Names, as Pleasure under the name of* Volupia, *and* Lubentina Venus; *Time under the name of* Chronos *or* Saturn; Prudence *or* Wisedom, *under the names of* Athena *or* Minerva: *against which* Origen *in his answer to* Celsus. Cicero *himself allowed of Dedicating Temples to Mind, Vertue, Piety, Faith,* &c. 518, 520

But such Accidents *and* Affections *of Things* Deifyed, *could not possibly be Accounted* True *and* Proper Gods, *they having not* ὑπόστασιν καὶ ἰδίαν, *any* Reall Subsistence, *or* Substantiall Essence *of their own. And thus does* Origen *again dispute against* Minerva's Godship, *as* Tropologized *into* Prudence. *As he doth also elsewhere, upon the same Ground, against that of* Memory *the* Mother *of the* Muses, *and that of the* Graces: *he concluding, these and such like therefore, to be nothing but* Figments *of the* Greeks, *they being* Things Personated, *and* Feigned *with* Humane

Humane Members. *Thus the* Pagans *condemned by* Prudentius *alſo, for* Feigning Things Incorporeal, with Counterfeit Members. *Theſe* Gods *plainly Exploded by* Cotta, *or* Cicero *in diſguiſe; as having onely* Vim Rerum, *but not* Deorum, *the* Force of Things, *but not* of Gods in them; *or being but* Naturæ Rerum, *and not* Figuræ Deorum. Page 520, 521

Wherefore the True meaning of theſe Deified Natures *of* Things *could be no other then this, that* God *was to be acknowledged and worſhipped in* All things; *or, as the* Pagans *themſelves declare it, that the* Force of every thing was, *both* governed by God, *and* it ſelf Divine. Pliny *of this* Breaking *and* Crumbling of the Deity into Parts, *Every one Worſhipping that* in God, *and* for a God, *which himſelf moſt ſtood in need of. This dividing of the* Simple Deity, *and Worſhipping it Brokenly by parcells and piecemeal, as manifeſted in all the Several Things of Nature, and Parts of the world, Juſtly Cenſured, and Elegantly Perſtringed, by* Prudentius *againſt* Symmachus. *Where* Prudentius *grants, that* Symmachus, *who declared, that it* was One thing which all worſhipped; *when he ſacrificed to Victory, did ſacrifice to* God Almighty, *under that* Partiall Notion, *as the* Giver of Victory. *This in the* Egyptian Allegory, Oſiris Mangled, *and* Cut in pieces *by* Typhon. Victory *and* Vertue, *as well as* Neptune, Mars, *and* Bellona, *but ſeveral names or Notions of* Jupiter, *in the* Prologue *of* Plautus his Amphitryo. 521, 522

Voſſius *his opinion, that theſe* Deified Accidents, *and* Natures *of* Things, *as well as the other* Pagan Inviſible Gods, *were commonly lookt upon by the Vulgar, as ſo many* Single Subſtantiall Minds, *or* Spirits Created by the Supreme God, *and appointed to preſide over thoſe ſeveral things reſpectively. Where it is acknowledged: that neither the* Political, *nor the* Poetical Gods *of the* Pagans, *were taken ſo much as by the Vulgar, for ſo many* Independent Deities. 523, 524

Probable, that by theſe Gods, *the* Wiſer Pagans *ſometimes underſtood,* Demons *in* Generall, *or* Collectively; *that is, whoſoever they were that were appointed to preſide over thoſe ſeveral Things, or diſpenſe them. As* Æolus *in* Arrianus, *ſeems to be taken for the* Demons *appointed by* God Almighty *to preſide over the* Winds. Page 524, 525

Lactantius *his Reaſon, why the* Conſentes *and* Select Gods, *vulgarly worſhipped by the* Romans, *could not be* Single Demons *or* Angels. 525

And from Ariſtotle's *Obſervation, againſt* Zeno, *That according to* Law *or* Civil Theology, *One God was chief for one thing, and another for another; Concluded, that theſe* Political Gods *were not properly the* Subſervient Miniſters *of the* Supreme; *and therefore could be nothing, but ſeveral* Names *and* Notions *of* One Natural God, *according to his Various* Powers *and* Effects. 525, 526

And thus does Voſſius *himſelf afterwards confeſs, That, according to the* Natural Theology, *all the* Pagan Gods *were but* Several Denominations of one God. *Where notwithſtanding this Learned and Induſtrious* Philologer, *ſeems to take the* Natural *and* Philoſophick Theology, *for the* Phyſiological, *he making the* God thereof, *the* Nature of things. *Whereas the* Natural Theology, *was the* True and Real, *and* Philoſophical, *oppoſed both to the* Fictions *of the* Poets, *and the* Inſtitutes *of* Law-makers *and* Politicians. *As* Varro *affirmeth, that in Cities thoſe things were Worſhipped and believed, according to Falſe Opinions, which had no* Nature, *nor* Real Subſiſtence, *neither in the World, nor without it. The* God *of the* Pagans *not the* Nature of things, *which could be the* Numen *of none but of* Atheiſts; *but an* Underſtanding Being, *the* Great Mind, *or* Soul *of the* whole World, *pervading all things. Thus unqueſtionably true, that the Many* Poetical and Political Gods, *were but ſeveral* Names *or* Notions, *of* One Natural, Real, *and* True God. *Beſides which, there were other* Inferiour Miniſters *of this* Supreme God, *acknowledged to be the* Inſtruments

of his Providence, *and Religiously worshipped also. A brief, but full accompt, of the* Pagans Natural Theology, *set down by* Prudentius. Page 526, 527

And when the more high-flown Pagans *referred these* Poetical *and* Political Gods *to the* Divine Idea's, *or* Patterns of things *in the* Archetypal World; *which besides the* Platonists, *the* Egyptians *in* Celsus *are said to have done, making the* Brute Animals *worshipped by them, but* Symbols of the Eternal Idea's; *They hereby made these* Gods *to be but so many* Partiall Considerations *of* One God *neither, as being* All things, *or Containing in himself the* Causes of all things; *as* Julian *himself declareth in his Sixth Oration.* 527, 528

An Anacephalæosis, *That much of the* Pagan Polytheism, *was but the* Polyonymy *of* One God; *he being worshipped under* several Names. *First, according to several* General Notions *of him; as of* Janus, Genius, Saturn, Minerva, Urania, *or the* Heavenly Venus, *or* Love, *and others before declared. So also of* Summanus, *according to S.* Austin, *and* Themis, *afterwards to be mentioned.* 528, 529

And Secondly, according to other more Particular Notions *of him,* (*in their* Special Gods) *as Acting in some* Parts *of the world onely, or exercising some* Particular Powers. 529, 530

And Lastly, as Pervading All things, *and* Being All things, *or the* Cause of All things, *he was thereupon called by the Name of Every thing, or Every thing by* his Name. *The* Pagans *in S.* Austin; *That their* Ancestors *were not so sottish, as not to understand, that those* Things of Nature *were but* Divine Gifts, *and not* Themselves Gods. *And the* Pagans *in* Eusebius; *That the* Invisible God, *the Cause of* All things, *ought to be worshipped in his* Visible Effects, *wherein he hath displayed himself.* 530

Though the Two former Kinds *of these* Gods *onely, called by* Athanasius Poetical *and* Fictitious, *he opposing them to those of the* Third sort, *that were* Natural *and* Real things; *yet may these also be well called* Poetical, Fictitious, *and* Phantastical Gods *too; because though themselves were* Real things, *Existing in* Nature, *yet was their* Personation, *and* Deification, *meer* Fiction, Fancy *and* Poetry. *And accordingly, were they before called by* Origen Ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα, *meer* Figments of the Greeks. Page 530, 531

XXXIV. *Of those* Pagans *who supposed the* Supreme God *to be the* Whole Animated World. *Hitherto shewed, that even the most Refined of the* Pagans *agreed in these* Two things. *First, in* Breaking *and* Crumbling *the* One Simple Deity, *and multiplying it into* Many Gods; *or* Parcelling *it out into* several Particular Notions, *according to its several* Powers *and* Virtues. (Πολυώνυμον *being, to these* Pagans, *the same thing with* Πολυδύναμον.) *And then, in* Theologizing the whole World, Personating *and* Deifying *the* Natures *of* Things, Accidents, *and* Inanimate Bodies. *They supposing* God *to* Pervade all things, *and* Himself *to be in a manner* All things: *Therefore every thing to the* Religious, Sacred *and* Divine; *and* God *to be Worshipped* in All. 531, 532

We shall now add, that both those forementioned Principles, *of* God's Pervading all things, *and his* Being all things, *were carried on farther, by those* Pagan Theologers, *who had no* higher Notion *of the* Supreme Deity *then as the* Soul of the World. *For First, Whereas the more* Refined Pagans *supposed God to* Pervade all things Unmixedly; *These* Mingled *and* Confounded *him with the whole* World. *Some of them supposing him also to be a* Subtile Body. 532, 533

Again, Whereas the other more Sublimated Pagans *affirmed* God *so to* be All, *as nevertheless to be* something also Above all; *These concluded him, to be nothing Higher then the* Animated World. 533

And though they supposed, that as well in this Mundane Animal, *as in other* Animals, *there was something* Principal *and* Hegemonical, (*whether the* Sun, *or* Æther, *or* Fire,) *which therefore was* Emphatically *called* God; *yet did they conceive the whole Matter thereof to be* Animated, *and*

and ſo to be All God. *Not barely as Matter, but by reaſon of the* Soul *thereof.* Page 534, 535

Now if the Whole World Animated *be the* Supreme God, *then muſt all the* Parts *and* Members *of the World be the* Parts *and* Members *of* One God; *but not themſelves therefore properly ſo* Many Gods. *This affirmed by* Origen, *as the* True Senſe *of theſe* Pagans, *againſt that unwary Aſſertion of* Celſus, *That If the* Whole were God, then muſt the ſeveral Parts thereof needs be Gods. 535

Wherefore though theſe Pagans Deified *the* Parts of the World *and* Natures of Things, *as well as the* Powers of the Mundane Soul; *yet did not the Intelligent amongſt them Worſhip them ſeverally, as ſo many* True and Proper Gods, *but onely as the* Parts *and* Members *of one* Great Animal *or* God; *or rather Worſhip the great* Mundane Soul (*the Life of the whole World*) *in them all. This proved from S.* Auſtin. 536, 537

The ſame plainly declared alſo by the Pagans *in* Athanaſius, *That not the* Divided Parts *of the World were by them accounted ſo many* ſeveral Gods, *but the Whole, made up of them All,* One God; *which yet might be worſhipped in its* ſeveral Parts. 537

The Pagans *being thus divided, as to their Opinions, concerning the* Natural *and* True Theology; *ſome of them Worſhipped the* World *as the* Body of God, *but others only as his* Image *or* Temple. *Thus* Plutarch, *though diſliking the* Deifying *of* Inanimate Things, *did notwithſtanding approve of Worſhipping* God in the Whole World, *as his moſt* Sacred Temple. *And the* Perſian Magi, *allowing of no* Artificiall Temples, *made with mens hands, Worſhipped God* ſub Dio, *and upon the* Tops of Mountains, *as conceiving the* Whole World *to be his* Natural Temple. *For the ſame Reaſon did they condemn alſo* Artificiall Statues *and* Images, *concluding Fire, Earth, and Water, and the like Parts of the World, to be the* Natural Images of the Deity. *Thus* Dino *in* Clemens Alexandrinus. *This Difference amongſt the* Pagan Theologers *noted by* Macrobius. *Thus were all the* Pagans World-Worſhippers, *in different Senſes: but not as a* Dead *and* Inanimate Thing, *but either as the* Body of God, *or elſe as his* Temple *or* Image. Page 537, 539

Furthermore, the Pagans *Univerſally acknowledging the World to be an* Animal, *thoſe of them who ſuppoſed it not to be the* Firſt and Higheſt God, *conceived it to be either a* Second, *or elſe a* Third God; *and ſo Worſhipped it, not onely as a* Temple *or* Image, *but alſo as the* Son *of the* Firſt God. Celſus *pretended the* Chriſtians *to have called their* Jeſus, *the* Son of God, *in Imitation of theſe* Pagans, *who ſtyled the World ſo.* 539, 540

Thus have we made it fully to appear, That, according to the Saying of Antiſthenes, *the Many* Popular Gods *of the* Pagans *were but* One and the Same Natural God; *or, according to that of* Euclides, *their* Many Gods *were but* Many Names. *So that neither their* Poetical, *nor yet their* Political Theology, *was lookt upon by them as* True and Natural. 540

Nevertheleſs, the Wiſer Pagans *generally concluded, that there ought to be another* Theology, *beſides the* Natural, *fitly Calculated for the* Vulgar, *and having a* Mixture *of* Falſehood *and* Fabuloſity *in it.* Varro *and* Scævola *agreed, that the Vulgar being Uncapable of the* True and Natural Theology, *it was expedient for them to be* Deceived in their Religion. Strabo *alſo, that the Vulgar cannot by* Philoſophick Reaſon, *and* Truth, *be carried on to* Piety; *but this muſt be done by* Superſtition, *and by the help of* Fables, *and* Prodigious Relations. *The ſame partly acknowledged by* Syneſius *for true.* Plato *alſo; That it is* Hard to find out God, *but* Impoſſible to declare him to the Vulgar; *and therefore a neceſſity of a* Civil Theology, *diſtinct from the* Natural *and* Philoſophical. 540, 542

XXXV. *We come now to the next thing Propoſed, That, beſides this* Seeming and Phantaſtick Polytheiſm *of the* Pagans, *which was nothing but the* Polyonymy of One God, *they had another* Reall Polytheiſm, *even in their* Natural *and* Philoſophick

ſophick Theology *it ſelf. But this not of* Self-exiſtent Gods, *but* Generated *or* Created ones onely. *Thus, according to* Plutarch, One Higheſt Unmade God, *is the* Maker *and* Father *of all the other* Gods, *Generated or Derived from him. And* Proclus *concludes, All the Gods to* derive their Godſhip from the Firſt God; *who therefore is the* Fountain of the Godhead. Page 542, 543

Theſe Inferiour Pagan Gods, *ſtyled by* Ammianus Marcellinus, Subſtantiall Powers, *in way of oppoſition to thoſe other* Poetical *and* Political Gods, *that were not* Subſtantiall *or* Reall, *but onely ſeveral* Names *or* Notions *of* One Supreme God. *Thoſe* Subſtantiall Powers (*as* Divination *and* Prophecy *was by them imparted to men*) *ſaid to be all Subject to that* One Sovereign Deity, *called* Themis, *placed by* Pagan Theologers *in the* Throne of Jupiter. *This* Themis *alſo another* Name *or* Notion *of the* Supreme God, *beſides thoſe before mentioned.* Poetry *and* Phantaſtry *intermingled by the* Pagans *with their* Natural *or* Philoſophick Theology. 543, 544

Thus the Pagans *held both* One God, *and* Many Gods, *in different Senſes.* Onatus *and* Plotinus, *That the* Majeſty of the Supreme God *conſiſteth, in haveing* Multitudes of Gods *Dependent on him, and Ruled by him; and that the Honour done to them, redounds to him. The* Gods *of the* Oriental Pagans, *not meer* Dead Statues *and* Images, *but* Living Underſtanding Beings, *Repreſented by them. That* Chriſtians *aſſerted no* Solitary Deity, *as* Pagans *pretended, but agreed with this of* Seneca, *That* God hath Generated, *or* Created, innumerable Underſtanding Beings Superiour to Men, *Miniſters of his Kingdom; The onely difference being this, that they gave them no* Religious Worſhip: *Out of* Lactantius. 544, 546

XXXVI. *That beſides the* Inferiour Gods, *generally received by all the* Pagans; (*namely*, Animated Stars, Demons, *and* Heroes) *the more refined of them, who accounted not the* Animated World *the* Supreme Deity, *acknowledged a* Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes, *Superiour to them all. Which Doctrine affirmed by* Plotinus *to have been very Ancient, and no* Invention of Plato's. Page 546

Parmenides *an Aſſerter of a* Trinity, *long before* Plato. *This imputed to the* Pythagoreans, *by* Moderatus *in* Simplicius, *and* Iamblichus *in* Proclus. *Before* Pythagoras, Orpheus *had his* Trinity, Phanes, Uranus, *and* Chronus; *the ſame with* Plato's Three Kings or Principles. *Probable, that* Pythagoras *and* Orpheus *derived the ſame from the* Theology *of the* Egyptian Hermes. *Some Footſteps of ſuch a* Trinity, *in the* Mithraick Myſteries, *amongſt the* Perſians, *and the* Zoroaſtrian Cabala. *The ſame expreſly declared in the* Magick *or* Chaldaick Oracles. *A* Trinity of Gods *worſhipped Anciently by the* Samothracians, *and called by an* Hebrew *name* Cabiri, *the* Mighty Gods. *From thence the* Roman Capitoline Trinity *derived; The Second whereof,* Minerva, *or the* Divine Wiſedom. *The* Ternary, *a Number uſed by the* Pagans, *in their* Religious Rites, *as* Myſterious. 546, 547

It being no way Probable, that ſuch a Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes *ſhould have ſprung from* Humane Wit, *we may reaſonably aſſent to what* Proclus *affirmeth, that it was at firſt* Θεοπαράδοτος Θεολογία, *a* Theology of Divine Tradition *or* Revelation: *As having been firſt Imparted to the* Hebrews, *and from them communicated to other* Nations. *Nevertheleſs, as this* Divine Cabbala *was but little underſtood by theſe* Pagans; *ſo was it by many of them* Depraved *and* Adulterated. 547, 548

This called Univerſally by them, a Trinity of Gods; *or a* Firſt, Second, *and* Third God: *by ſome a* Trinity of Cauſes, *and of* Principles, *and of* Opificers. *The Tradition of the* Three Gods, *in* Proclus, *Ancient and Famous.* Numenius *his* Three Gods, *called by him, the* Father, *the* Son, *and the* Nephew, (*or* Grandſon.) Nous *or* Intellect, *to* Plotinus, *a* Second God: *as alſo the* World *an* Image *of all the* Three Gods. Plotinus

tinus *and* Porphyrius, *their ſuppoſed* Ecſtatick Union *with the* Firſt *of theſe* Three Gods. Page 548, 549

That Philo, *a Religious* Jew, *and Zealous Oppoſer of the* Pagan Polytheiſm, *called, notwithſtanding, the* Divine Word *alſo, a* Second God. *This not agreeable to the* Principles of Chriſtianity. *Nevertheleſs S.* Auſtin *partly excuſes this Language in the* Pagans. 549, 550

And They perhaps the more excuſable, becauſe they ſometimes called alſo thoſe Three Hypoſtaſes, *taken all together, the* Firſt God. 551

Nor was this Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes *Ill-Languaged onely by the* Pagans, *but alſo the* Cabbala *thereof much* Depraved *and* Adulterated, *by ſome* Platoniſts *and* Pythagoreans. *As Firſt, ſuch as made the* World *to be the* Third God. *Such a* Trinity, *a Confounding of* God *and* Creature *together.* 551, 552

And that this an Adulterated Notion *of the* Trinity, *evident from hence; becauſe no Reaſon why theſe* Philoſophers *ſhould ſtop here, ſince the* Sun, Moon *and* Stars, *and their other* Generated Gods, *differ not in* Kind, *but onely in* Degree, *from the* World. 552

Neither will this excuſe them, that they underſtood this chiefly of the Soul of the World; *Since if there were ſuch a* Mundane Soul, *as together with the World made up One* Animal, *this it ſelf muſt needs be a* Creature *alſo.* ibid.

This probably the Reaſon, why Philo, *though acknowledging the* Divine Word, *as a* Second God, *and* Second Cauſe, *yet no-where ſpeaketh of a* Third God; *leſt he ſhould thereby ſeem to* Deify *the whole* Created World. *Though he call* God *alſo, in ſome Senſe, the* Soul of the World *too, (whether meaning thereby his* Firſt, *or his* Second God.) *So that* Philo *ſeems to have acknowledged onely a* Duality, *and not a* Trinity, *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes. 552, 553

Another Depravation *of this* Θεοπαράδοτος Θεολογία, Theology of Divine Tradition, *or* Cabbala of the Trinity, *That ſome of theſe* Platoniſts *and* Pythagoreans, *concluding all thoſe ſeveral* Idea's *of the* Divine Intellect, *or* Archetypall World, *to be ſo many diſtinct* Subſtances, Animals, *and* Gods; *have thereby made their* Second Hypoſtaſis, *not One, but a Heap of* Innumerable Gods *and* Hypoſtaſes; *and conſequently deſtroyed their* Trinity. Page 553

Though Philo *again here* Platonized *ſo far, as to ſuppoſe an* Incorporeal Heaven *and* Earth, *and an* Intelligible Sun, Moon, *and* Stars, *to have been made before the* Corporeal *and* Senſible; *yet does he no-where declare them to be ſo many diſtinct* Subſtances *and* Animals; *much leſs* Gods; *but on the contrary cenſures that for* Pagan Idolatry. *This Pretence of worſhipping the* Divine Idea's, *in all* Senſible things, *that which gave Sanctuary and Protection to the Fouleſt and Sottiſheſt of all the* Pagan Idolatries; *The* Egyptians *worſhipping* Brute Animals *thus, and the* Greeks, *the Parts of the* World Inanimate, *and* Natures of Things. 554

A Third Depravation *or* Adulteration *of the* Divine Cabbala *of the* Trinity, *by* Proclus *and other latter* Platoniſts, *aſſerting an innumerable Company of* Henades, Particular Unities, *Superiour to the* Firſt Nous, *or* Intellect, *their* Second Hypoſtaſis; *as alſo innumerable* Noes, Subſtantiall Minds *or* Intellects, *Superiour to the* Firſt Pſyche, *their* Third Hypoſtaſis. 555

Theſe Noes *ſeem to be aſſerted by* Plotinus *alſo; as likewiſe the* Henades *and* Agathotetes *were by* Simplicius. 555, 556

A Swarm of Innumerable Pagan Gods *from hence; beſides their* Intelligible Gods, *or* Idea's, *Particular* Henades *and* Noes, Unities *and* Intellects. ibid.

Now ſince theſe Particular Henades *and* Noes *of theirs muſt needs be* Creatures; *the* Trinity *of* Proclus *and ſuch others, nothing but a* Scale *or* Ladder *of* Nature, *wherein* God *and the* Creature *are* Confounded *together; the* Juncture *or* Commiſſure *betwixt them being no-where diſcernible; as if they differ'd onely in Degrees: A groſs Miſtake and* Adulteration

ration *of the* Ancient Cabbala *of the* Trinity. Page 556, 557

This that Platonick, *or rather* Pseudo-Platonick Trinity, *by us opposed to the* Christian; viz. *such a* Trinity, *as confounds the* Differences *betwixt* God *and the* Creature; *bringing the* Deity, *by degrees, down lower and lower, and at length scattering it into all the* Animated Parts *of the World*; *A* Foundation *for* Infinite Polytheism, Cosmolatry *or* World-Idolatry, *and* Creature-Worship. *Hence the* Platonists *and* Pythagoreans, *the Fittest men to be* Champions *for* Paganism *against* Christianity. 557, 558

Concerning the Christian Trinity, *Three things to be Observed. First, that it is not a* Trinity *of meer* Names *and* Words, *nor* Logicall Notions, *or* Inadequate Conceptions *of God*; *this Doctrine having been condemned by the* Christian Church, *in* Sabellius *and others*; *but a* Trinity *of* Hypostases, Subsistences, *or* Persons. 558, 559

The Second thing Observable in the Christian Trinity, *That though the* Second Hypostasis *thereof were Begotten from the* First, *and the* Third *Proceedeth both from the* First *and* Second; *yet neither of them* Creatures. *First, because not made* ἐξ ὀκ ὄντων, *or from an* Antecedent Non-existence *brought forth into Being, but both of them* Coeternall *with the* Father. *Secondly, because all* Necessarily existent, *and* Un-Annihilable. *Thirdly, because all of them* Universall, *or* Infinite, *and* Creatours *of all other* Particular Beings. 559

The Third Observable as to the Christian Trinity, *That the* Three Hypostases *thereof are all Truly and Really* One God; *not onely by Reason of* Agreement of Will, *but also of a* Mutuall περιχώρησις and ἐνύπαρξις, Permeation *of each other, and* Inexistence. *Though no Instance of the like* Unity *to be found elsewhere in* Nature; *yet since two distinct Substances, Corporeal, and Incorporeal, make one Man and Person in our Selves*; *much more may* Three Divine Hypostases *be* One God. ibid.

Though much of Mystery *in the* Christian Trinity, *yet nothing of plain Contradiction to Reason therein*; *that is, no* Nonsense, *and* Impossibility. *The Ill Design of those, who represent the* Christian Trinity *as absolutely Contradictious to* Reason, *that they may thereby* debauch *mens Understandings, and make them swallow down other things which unquestionably are such.* Page 560

The Christian Trinity *much more agreeable to Reason, then the* Pseudo-Platonick, *in the* Three Particulars *before mentioned. First, its making their* Third Hypostasis *the* Animated World, *or* Mundane Soul. *Which, not onely too great a Leap betwixt the* Second *and* Third, *but also a gross Debasement of the* Deity, *and* Confounding it with the Creature; *a Foundation for* World-Idolatry, *and worshipping* Inanimate Things, *as* Parts *and* Members of God. ibid.

God to Origen, *but Quasi Anima Mundi*, As it were the Soul of the World, *and not Truly and Properly such. All the Perfection of this* Notion *to be attributed to God, but not the* Imperfection *thereof.* 560, 561

Certain, that according to the more refined Platonists, *their* Third Divine Hypostasis, *not a* Mundane, *but* Supra-mundane Soul, *and the* δημιεργὸς *or* Opificer *of the* whole World. *So to* Amelius, Porphyrius, *and* Plotinus. *A* Double Soul *of the World to* Plato *likewise. The* Third Hypostasis, *to these, no* Creature, *but a* Creatour. 562

So in their Second Particular, (whereby the forementioned Pseudo-Platonick Trinity, *no* Trinity) *its making all the* Idea's *and* Archetypal Paradigms *of things, so many* Hypostases, Animals, *and* Gods. *This a Monstrous Extravagancy. Not to be doubted, but that* Plato *well understood these* Idea's *to be Nothing but* Noemata, *or Conceptions of the* Divine Mind, *existing no-where apart by themselves*; *however called* ἰδέαι, Essences *or* Substances, *because not such* Accidental *and* Evanid *things as our* Humane Thoughts *are, they being the* Standing *and* Eternall Objects *of all* Science: *As also* ζῶα, *or* Animals; *to signify that they*

they were not meer Dead Forms, *as* Pictures *upon Paper, or* Carved Statues. *And thus did not onely* Amelius *underſtand S.* John, *concerning the* Logos, *Whatſoever was made was Life in him, but alſo divers of the* Ancient Fathers, Greek *and* Latin. *This* Deifying *of* Idea's, *but a Piece of* Pagan Poetry. Page 562, 563

Laſtly, whereas Proclus *and others intermingle many* Particular Gods, *with thoſe* Three Univerſal Hypoſtaſes, *as* Henades *and* Agathotetes, Unities *and* Goodneſſes, Subſtantiall *above the* Firſt Intellect; *and* Noes, *Particular* Minds *or* Intellects, *above the* Firſt Soul; *This* Hypotheſis *of theirs, altogether Irrationall and Abſurd; there being Nothing Eſſentially Goodneſs, Wiſedom, and Sanctity, but the* Three Divine Hypoſtaſes, *all other Beings having onely a Participation thereof. Thus* Origen *expreſly; who therefore acknowledgeth no higher Rank of Created Beings, then ſuch as the* Platoniſts *call* Souls, *that are* Self-moveable, Vitally Unitable *to* Bodies, *and* Peccable. *With whom agreeth S.* Jerome, *and others of the* Fathers, *That* God *is the onely* Impeccable Being; *but all* Underſtanding Creatures, Free-willed, *and* Lapſable. 564, 565

An Opinion of Simplicius, *that even in that Rank of Beings called* Souls (*though not Eſſentially* Immutable, *but* Self-moveable) *ſome are of ſo high a Pitch, as that they can never Degenerate, nor Sink or Fall into Vicious Habits. Inſomuch that he makes a Queſtion whether* Proæreſis *belong to them or no.* 565, 566

But whatever is to be thought of this, Origen *too far in the other Extream, in denying any other Ranks of* Souls *above* Humane; *and ſuppoſing all the Difference, that is now betwixt the higheſt* Angels, *and* Men, *to have proceeded only from their* Merits, *and different uſes of their* Free Will; *his Reaſon being this, becauſe God would be otherwiſe a* Proſopoleptes *or* Accepter of Perſons. *This alſo Extended by him to the* Soul *of our Saviour* Chriſt; *as not Partially choſen to that* Dignity, *but for its Faithfull adherence to the* Divine Word *in a Præexiſtent State; which he would prove from Scripture. But if a Rank of* Souls *below* Humane, *and Specifically differing from them, as* Origen *himſelf confeſſes thoſe of Brutes to be; no reaſon why there might not alſo be other* Ranks *or* Species *Superiour to them.* Page 566, 567

But leaſt of all can we aſſent to Origen, *when from this Principle, That all* Souls *are* Eſſentially endued *with* Free Will, *and therefore in their* Nature Peccable, *he infers thoſe* Endleſs Circuits of Souls, Upwards *and* Downwards, *and conſequently denies them any Fixed State of* Holineſs *and* Happineſs *by* Divine Grace: *an Aſſertion contrary to the Tenour and Promiſes of the* Goſpell. *Thus perhaps that to be underſtood, That* Chriſt brought Life and Immortality to Light thorough the Goſpell: *not as if he were the Firſt who taught the* Soul's Immortality, *a thing believed before by the* Phariſaick Jews, *and Generality of* Pagans; *but becauſe theſe held their* Endleſs Tranſmigrations *and* Circuits, *therefore was he the firſt who brought* everlaſting Life and Happineſs to Light. 567, 568

That Origen, *a man well skilled in the* Platonick Learning, *and ſo much addicted to the* Dogmata *thereof, would never have gone ſo far into that other Extreme had there been any* Solidity of Reaſon, *for either thoſe* Henades, *or* Noes, *of the* Latter Platoniſts. *This Opinion all one, as if a* Chriſtian *ſhould ſuppoſe, beſides the Firſt Perſon, or* Father, *a Multitude of* Particular Paternities, *Superiour to the* Second Perſon; *and alſo beſides the One* Son, *or* Word, *a Multitude of Particular* Sons *or* Words, *Superiour to the* Third, *the* Holy Ghoſt. *This plainly to make a* Breach *upon the* Deity, *and to introduce a company of ſuch* Creaturely Gods, *as imply a Contradiction in their very* Notion. 568

Laſtly, this not the Catholick Doctrine *of the* Platonick School *neither, but a Private Opinion onely of ſome late Doctours. No Footſteps of thoſe* Henades *and* Agathotetes *to be found any-where in* Plato; *nor yet in* Plotinus. *This* Lan-

guage

guage *little Older then* Proclus. *Nor does* Plato *ſpeak of any* Abſtract *or* Separate Mind, *ſave onely One: His* Second things *about the Second, being* Idea's; *as his* Thirds *about the Third* Created Beings. Plotinus *alſo doubtfull and ſtaggering about theſe* Noes, *he ſeeming ſometimes to make them but the* Heads *or* Summities *of* Souls. *Wherefore this* Pſeudo-Platonick Trinity *to be Exploded, as* Confounding *the Differences betwixt* God *and the* Creature. *Whereas the* Chriſtian Trinity Homogeneall, *all* Deity *or* Creatour; *all other things being ſuppoſed to be the* Creatures *of thoſe* Three Hypoſtaſes, *and produced by their Joynt-Concurrence and Influence; they being all Really but* One God. Page 568, 570

Nevertheleſs, theſe forementioned Depravations *and* Adulterations *of that* Divine Cabbala *of the* Trinity, *not to be charged upon* Plato *himſelf, nor all the other* Ancient Platoniſts *and* Pythagoreans; *ſome of which approached ſo near to the* Chriſtian Trinity, *as to make their* Three Hypoſtaſes *all truly* Divine, *and* Creatours, *other things being the* Creatures *of them.* ibid.

Firſt therefore, Plato *himſelf, in his* Timæus, *carefully diſtinguiſheth betwixt* God *and the* Creature, *and determineth the bounds of each, after this manner. That the* Firſt, *is that which* Always Is, and was never Made; *the* Second, *that which is* Made and had a Beginning, *but truely* Is not. *His meaning here perverted by* Junior Platoniſts, *whom* Boetius *alſo followed. Where* Plato *takes it for granted, That whatſoever hath a* Temporary *and* Succeſſive Duration, *had a Beginning; and whatſoever had no Beginning, hath no* Succeſſive, *but* Permanent Duration; *and ſo concludes, That whatſoever is* Eternall, *is* God; *but whatſoever exiſts in Time, and hath a Beginning,* Creature. 570, 572

Now to Plato, *more* Eternall Gods *then* One. *Which not* Idea's *or* Noemata, *but true* Subſtantiall Things; *his* Firſt, Second, *and* Third, *in his Epiſtle to* Dionyſius, *or* Trinity *of* Divine Hypoſtaſes, *the* Makers *or* Creatours *of the* whole World. Cicero's Gods, *by whoſe Providence the World and all its Parts were framed.* Page 572, 573

The Second Hypoſtaſis *in* Plato's Trinity, *to wit,* Mind *or* Intellect, *unqueſtionably* Eternal, *and without* Beginning. *The ſame affirmed by* Plotinus *alſo, of the* Third Hypoſtaſis, *or* Pſyche, *called the* Word of the Second, *as the* Second, *the* Word of the Firſt. Porphyrius *his Teſtimony to this purpoſe in S.* Cyril; *where alſo* Mind, *or the* Second Divine Hypoſtaſis, *(though ſaid to have been Begotten from the Firſt, yet) called* αὐτοπάτωρ, *and* αὐτογέννητος, Its Own-Parent, *and its* Own-Offſpring, *and ſaid to have ſprung out* αὐτογόνως, Self-begottenly. Page 573, 574.

This Myſterious Riddle *expounded out of* Plotinus. *The plain meaning thereof no more then this, That though this* Second Hypoſtaſis *proceeded from the* Firſt, *yet was it not produced by it after a* Creaturely manner, *nor Arbitrariouſly by* Will *and* Choice, *but in way of* Natural *and* Neceſſary Emanation. *Thus have ſome* Chriſtians *ventured to call the* Logos, αὐτόθεον, *and* Ex ſeipſo Deum, God from himſelf. 574, 575

Dionyſius Petavius, *having declared the Doctrine of* Arius, *that the* Father *was the onely* Eternal God, *and the* Son, *or* Word, *a* Creature, *made in Time, and out of Nothing; Concludes it undeniably manifeſt from hence, that* Arius *was a* German, True, *and* Genuine Platoniſt. *Whereas it is moſt certain from hence, that* Arius *was no* Platoniſt *at all; and that* Petavius *himſelf did not well underſtand the* Platonick Doctrine. *Had* Plato *denied the* Eternity *of his* Second Hypoſtaſis, *called* Nous, *he muſt have denied the* Eternity *of* Wiſedom *and* Underſtanding *it ſelf; this being to him that* Wiſedom *by which* God *himſelf is* Wiſe, *and whereby he made the World. With which agreeth alſo* Athanaſius; *Our* Lord is Wiſedom, *and not* Second to any other Wiſedom: *and,* The Father of the Word is not himſelf Word: *and,* That was not Word and Wiſedom, which produced Word and Wiſedom. *This in oppoſition to* Arius,

The Contents.

Arius, *who maintained Another* Word *and* Wiſedom, *Senior to that* Word *and* Wiſedom *in* Chriſt. *Theſe* Platoniſts, *ſo far from denying the* Eternity of the Word, *that they rather attributed too much to it, in making it* Self-begotten. *Wherefore* Plato, *aſſerting the* Eternity *of his* Second Hypoſtaſis, Nous *or* Logos, *and not of the World, did thereby, according to* Athanaſius *his own Doctrine, make it to be no* Creature. Page 575

Nor is there any force at all in that Teſtimony of Macrobius, *cited by* Petavius, *to the contrary, wherein the* Firſt Hypoſtaſis *is ſaid to have* Created Mind *from it ſelf, and the* Second *to have* Created Soul; *becauſe theſe* Ancient Pagans *did not confine the word* Creare, *to ſuch a narrow ſenſe as* Chriſtians *commonly do; but uſed it generally for all manner of Production.* Petavius *his miſtake, chiefly from that* Spurious Trinity *of the latter* Platoniſts, *whoſe* Third God *is by themſelves called* πτίσμα, a Creature. *But this not the* Doctrine *of the* Ancients. 576

Nevertheleſs, ſome more Reaſon to doubt, whether Plato's Third Hypoſtaſis *were* Eternal, *becauſe in his* Timæus, *he Generates the* Mundane Soul. *This Controverſy decided, by ſuppoſing a* Double Pſyche, ἐγκόσμιον, *and* ὑπερκόσμιον, a Mundane, *and* Supra-Mundane Soul; *the firſt of theſe called by* Plotinus, *a* Heavenly Venus, *and a* Separate Soul. *Wherefore though the* Lower Venus, *or* Mundane Soul, *according to* Plato, *made in Time together with the World; yet the* Higher Divine Soul, *or* Heavenly Venus, *the Son of* Chronus *without a Mother, his* Third Hypoſtaſis, Eternal, *and without Beginning.* 576, 577

This further Evident from hence, Becauſe Plato *in his Epiſtle to* Dionyſius, *affirmeth as well of the* Second, *and* Third, *as of the* Firſt, *that in all thoſe things that are Cognate to our* Humane Soul, (*or* Creaturely) *there is* οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο, Nothing like thereunto. 577

Secondly, The Three Hypoſtaſes *of* Plato's Trinity, *not onely all* Eternall, *but alſo* Neceſſarily Exiſtent, *and* Abſolutely Unannihilable. *Nor could the* Firſt *any more Exiſt without the* Second *and* Third, *then the* Sun *without its* Primary Light, *and* Secundary Splendor. *Theſe according to* Plotinus, *the* Three Principles *of the* Univerſe; *ſo that there could be neither More, nor Fewer. They alſo who called the* Second, Autopator, *ſignified thereby, the* Neceſſity *of its* Exiſtence. 577, 578

Thirdly, Theſe Three Platonick Hypoſtaſes, *as* Eternall, *and* Neceſſary, *ſo likewiſe* Univerſal, *or* Comprehenſive *of the* Whole World, *that is*, Infinite *and* Omnipotent. *Therefore called* Principles, *and* Cauſes, *and* Opificers. *Though* Nous *or* Mind *vulgarly look upon as the Higheſt Principle of all things, yet* Plato *ſet before it, One* Moſt Simple Good. *When* Nous *ſaid by* Plato, *to be* γενέσις, *of the* Same Kind, *with the* Firſt Cauſe *of all things; this all one as if he had affirmed it to be* ὁμοούσιον, Co-Eſſential *or* Conſubſtantial *with it.* Pag. 578, 579

Plato's Third Hypoſtaſis, Pſyche, *or the* Superiour Mundane Soul, *called by him* Zeus, *from* ζῆν, *as alſo the* Cauſe *and* Fountain of Life, *and the* Prince *and* King of all things. *And when ſaid to be* ἔκγονος, *the* Offspring *of the* Higheſt Mind, *thereby made* Conſubſtantiall *with it alſo. So that* Plato's whole Trinity Homoouſian. 579

Though by the Demiurgus *or* Opificer, Plato *commonly meant the* Second Hypoſtaſis, Mind *or* Intellect; *yet* Atticus, Amelius, Plotinus *and others, called the* Third *or the* Higher Pſyche *alſo, by that Name. Wherefore according to the* Genuine Platonick, *and* Parmenidian Trinity, *all the* Three Hypoſtaſes Joynt-Creatours *of the whole World. Thus* Ficinus *often, and* Proclus. Porphyrius *his Affirmation, that the* Deity *according to* Plato, *Extends to* Three Hypoſtaſes. Ibid.

Certain therefore, that Arius *did not* Platonize, *but rather* Athanaſius *and the* Nicene *Fathers; who notwithſtanding made not* Plato, *but the* Scriptures, *their* Foundation. *The* Genuine Trinity *of* Plato *and* Parmenides, *a Middle betwixt that of* Sabellius, *and that of* Arius: *it being neither a* Trinity *of* Words *and* Names, *as the Former; nor an* Heteroouſious Trinity, *a Confuſed* Jumble *of* God *and* Creature *together; but* Homoouſious *and* Homogeneall: *all* Eternall, Neceſſarily Exiſtent, Infinite *or* Omnipotent, *and* Creatour. 579, 580

But that it may yet more fully appear, how far the moſt refined Platonick *and* Parmenidian Trinity, *does either Agree or Diſagree, with the* Scripture *and* Chriſtian Doctrine, *Two things further to be Obſerved concerning it.* Firſt, *that the* Platoniſts Univerſally *aſſerted an* Eſſentiall Dependence *of their* Second *and* Third Hypoſtaſes *upon the* Firſt, *as alſo a* Graduall Subordination *in them. Thus* Plotinus; Chronos, *or the* Second Hypoſtaſis, *is in a* Middle State *betwixt his* Father who is Greater, *and his* Son who is Inferiour. *And that in this* Eternal Generation *or* Emanation, *no Progreſs Upward, but all Downward, and a Graduall Deſcent.* 580, 581

More of the Dependence *and* Graduall Subordination *of the* Second *and* Third Hypoſtaſes *of the* Platonick Trinity, *to the* Firſt. *Each following* Hypoſtaſis *called* ἔσχατος, *and* ὕστερος,

and εἰκὼν, *and* εἴδωλον, *and* μίμημα *of that before it.* Philo's *Offensive Expression, That the* Logos, *or* Word, is the Shadow of God. *This* Gradation *commonly Illustrated by the* ἔκλαμψις *or* ἀπαύγασμα, *the* Effulgency *or* Out-shining Splendor of the Sun. Page 581, 582

The same further manifested, from the several Distinctive Characters, *given to each* Hypostasis, *in the* True Platonick *or* Parmenidian Trinity. *The* First, ἓν πρὸ πάντων, One before all things; *The* Second, ἓν πάντα, One All things, *as to their* Distinct Idea's; *The* Third, ἓν καὶ πάντα, One Really producing All things. *The* First, Unity and Goodness Essentiall; *the* Second, Understanding and Wisedom; *the* Third, Self-Active Love and Power. *The* First *or* Father ἀνενέργητος, Above Action: *The* Second *or* Son *the* Demiurgus, *The Maker or contriving Architect of the World, but an* Immovable Nature: *The* Third *a* Movable Deity; *and the* Immediate Governour *of the whole World.* Amelius *his Distinction of them into* τὸν ὄντα, τὸν ἔχοντα, τὸν ὁρῶντα. 582, 583

The greatest Difficulty in the distinctive Characters *of these* Three Platonick Hypostases; *That* Understanding, Reason, *and* Wisedom, *should be made Peculiar to the* Second, *as if the* First *were therefore devoid of* Mind, Reason *and* Wisedom. *This an* Arcanum *of the* Platonick *and* Pythagorick Theology: *That whereas* Anaxagoras, Aristotle, *and the Vulgar, make* Mind *and* Understanding, *the* Oldest *of all* things, *and the* Highest Principle *in the* Universe; *this supposes* Mind, Knowledge, *and* Wisedom, *to be, not the* First, *but* Second. *Partly because there is* Multiplicity *in* Knowledge, *but there must be* Unity *before* Multiplicity. *And partly because there must be* Νοητὸν *before* Νοῦς, *An* Object *or* Intelligible *before* Intellect. *As also, because* Intellection, *or* Knowledge, *is not the* Highest Good, *or* Happiness; *and therefore to be some* Substantiall thing, *in order of* Nature Superiour *to* Mind. *Hence concluded, that the* Supreme Deity *is* Better then Logos, Reason, Word, or Intellect. *That not* Logos, *from whence* Logos is derived. *Thus* Philo; *The* God *before* Reason or Word, *better then* all the Rationall Nature. *But this Difficulty common to* Platonism, *with* Christianity; *which likewise makes* Word *or* Reason *and* Wisedom, *not the* First, *but* Second Hypostasis. *Thus does* Athanasius *denie that there is any* Word, Reason, *or* Wisedom, *before the* Son of God. *What then? Is the* First Hypostasis *therefore* ἄνους *and* ἄλογος, *Devoid of* Reason *and* Mind? Plotinus *his Attempts to answer this; That the* First *hath* Φῶς ἁπλοῦν, *A* Simple Light, *different from that* Multiform Light *of* Knowledge. *Again, That the* First *is* Νόησις αὐτὴ, Intelligence it self, *and therefore* Superiour *to* Intellect, *or that which* hath Intellection. (*For* ἡ νόησις ἓ νοεῖ, Intelligence it self doth not Understand.) *Besides which, another Attempt also to salve this* Difficulty. Page 583, 586

The Ground of this Platonick Dependence *and* Subordination *in the* Divine Hypostases; *Because there is but* One Fountain of the Godhead; *so that the* Second *must needs differ from the* First, *as the* ἀπαύγασμα *from the* Φῶς, *The* Splendor from the Sun. 586, 587

Though the Second Hypostasis *said to have been Begotten, from the* First; *yet this not to be taken for such a* Generation, *as that of Men, where Three Men, (Father, Son, and Grandson) all Adult, have no Essential* Dependence *upon one another, nor* Gradual Subordination. *This but an* Imperfect Generation. 587

Furthermore, the Platonists *would recommend this their* Gradation *in the* Deity, *or* Subordination *of* Hypostases, *from hence, Because by this means, not so great a* Leap *or* Jump *in the* Creation, *as otherwise there must be; nor the* Whole Deity screwed up *to such a* Disproportionate Height, *as would render it Uncapable of having any* Intercourse *with the* Lower World. *Were the whole* Deity, *either* One Simple Monade, *or else an* Immovable Mind, *it could have no such* Liberty of Will *as is commonly attributed to it, nor be* Affectible *with any thing here below; nor indeed any fitter Object for mens Devotion, then an* Adamantine Rock. *Whereas all the* Phænomena *of the* Deity *salvable by this* Platonick Gradation. 587, 588

As also according to this Hypothesis, *some reasonable satisfaction to be given, why just so many Divine* Hypostases, *and neither Fewer, nor More.* 588

The Second *thing to be Observed, concerning the* Genuine Platonick, *or* Parmenidian Trinity; *That though the* Hypostases *thereof be called* Three Natures, *and* Three Principles, *and* Three Opificers, *and* Three Gods; *yet they all Really make up but* One Divinity. *For the World, being Created by all* Three, *and yet having but* One Creation, *they must needs be all* One Creatour. Porphyrius *in S.* Cyril *explicitly, That, according to* Plato, *the* Essence of the Deity extendeth to Three Hypostases. 588, 589

Platonists *further adde, That were it not for this* Essential Dependence, *and* Subordination, *the* Three Divine Hypostases *must needs be* Three Co-ordinate Gods; *and no more* One God, *then Three Men are One Man, or Three Suns One Sun. Whereas the Sun, its Splendor, and Derivative Light, may all well be accounted* One and the same Thing. 589, 590

These Platonists *therefore suppose, so close a* Union,

The Contents.

Union, *and ſo near a* Conjunction, *betwixt their* Three Hypoſtaſes; *as no where elſe to be found in Nature.* Plotinus, *That there is* Nothing between them, *and That they are Onely* Not the very ſame. *They acknowledge alſo, their* Perichoreſis *or* Mutuall Inexiſtence. *The* Three Hypoſtaſes One Divinity *to the* Platoniſts, *in the ſame manner, as the* Centre, Radious Diſtance Immovable, *and* Movable Circumference of a Sphear, *all* One Sphear. *The Firſt* Infinite Goodneſs, *the Second* Infinite Wiſedom, *the Third* Infinite Active Love, *and* Power Subſtantiall. Page 590, 591

From this full Account of the True *and* Genuine Platonick Trinity, *its both Agreement and Diſagreement with the* Chriſtian, *Plainly appeareth. Firſt, its* Agreement *in the Three* Fundamentall things *before mentioned; and conſequently its Diſcrepance from* Arianiſm. 591, 592

Secondly, its Diſagreement *notwithſtanding, from the Now-received Doctrine, in that it ſuppoſes the* Three Hypoſtaſes *not to have* One *and the* ſame Singular Eſſence, *nor yet an Abſolute* Co-Equality, *but a* Graduall Subordination, *and* Eſſentiall Dependence. *Upon which account, ſaid by ſome, to* Symbolize with Arianiſm, *however different from it in the Main Point.* 592

Beſides which, the beſt of the Platoniſts, *ſometimes Guilty of* Extravagant Expreſſions. Plotinus *his* ὁμοειδὴς δὲ καὶ ἡμετέρα, *That our* Humane Soul *is of the* ſame Species *with the* Mundane Soul, *or* Third Hypoſtaſis; *That being but the* Elder Siſter. *Which indeed is to make it* Co-Eſſentiall *or* Conſubſtantiall *with us Men, as S.* Auſtine *underſtood it. This a Foundation for* Creature-Worſhip *or* Idolatry. *Why the* Arians *by* Conſtantine *called* Porphyrianiſts. *But this Doctrine, as Repugnant to* Plato, *ſo elſewhere Contradicted by* Plotinus *himſelf.* 593, 594

That notwithſtanding, a Platonick Chriſtian *would* Apologize *for* Plato *and the Genuine* Pythagoreans, *after this manner. Firſt, That having no Scriptures, Councills, nor Creeds, to direct them in the Darkneſs of this Myſtery, and to guide their Language, they the more excuſable, if not always* Uniform, *and ſometimes* Extravagant. *More to be wondred at, that they ſhould approach ſo near the* Chriſtian Truth. 594, 595

And for their Gradual Subordination *of* Hypoſtaſes, *and* Dependence *of the* Second *and* Third *upon the* Firſt; *That theſe* Platoniſts *herein the more excuſable, becauſe the Majority of* Chriſtian *Doctors, for the firſt Three* Centuries, *ſeem to have aſſerted the ſame.* 595, 596

The Platonick Chriſtians *further* Apologie; *That the* Platoniſts *Intention in Subordinating their* Three Hypoſtaſes, *onely to exclude a* Plurality *of* Co-ordinate Independent Gods. *That none of* Plato's Three Hypoſtaſes, *Creatures, but that the Eſſence of the* Godhead *belongeth to them All; they being all* Eternal, Neceſſarily Exiſtent, Infinite, *or* Omnipotent, *and* Creatours. *Therefore in the ſenſe of the* Nicene *Councill,* Conſubſtantiall *and* Co-equall. *The Eſſence of the* Godhead, *wherein all the* Three Hypoſtaſes *agree, as well to the Fathers, as* Platoniſts, Generall *and* Univerſall. Page 596, 597

Beſides which, the Genuine Platoniſts *would acknowledge alſo, all their* Three Hypoſtaſes *to be* Homoouſian, Co-eſſentiall *or* Conſubſtantiall, *yet in a further Senſe, as making up* One Entire Divinity: *As the Root, Stock, and Branches,* Co-eſſentiall *to a Vine. The* Trinity *not ſo* Undivided, *as if* Three *were not* Three *in it. The* Inequality *and* Subordination *in the* Platonick Trinity, *within the* Deity *it ſelf onely, and in the Relation of the* Hypoſtaſes *to one another; they being* ad extrà *all* One *and the* ſame God, *Joyntly Concurring in the ſame Actions, and in that reſpect, devoid of* Inequality. 597, 598

Furthermore, the Platonick Chriſtian *would urge, That according to the Principles of* Chriſtianity *it ſelf, there muſt needs be ſome* Dependence *and* Subordination *in theſe* Hypoſtaſes, *in their Relation to one another; a* Priority *and* Poſteriority *of* Order *and* Dignity: *That which is Originally of it Self, having ſome kind of* Priority *and* Superiority, *over that which is wholly* Derived *from it. The* Second *and* Third Hypoſtaſes, *not ſo* Omnipotent *as the* Firſt, *becauſe not able to Beget or Produce that. Hence the Firſt ſtyled by* Macrobius, *the* Moſt Omnipotent of all. *Sundry paſſages in Scripture, favouring this* Hypotheſis, *as alſo* Orthodox Fathers. Athanaſius *his Reſemblances to the* Originall Light *and the* Secondary Splendor; *to the Fountain and the Stream, the Root and the Branch, the Water and the Vapour. The* Equality *aſſerted by the* Orthodox, *in way of oppoſition to the* Arian Inequality, *of* God *and* Creature; *That they* Equally God, *or* Uncreated. *Notwithſtanding which, ſome* Inequality *amongſt them allowed by* Petavius *and others, as This* God, *and That* Perſon. 599, 600

However, no neceſſity of any more Inequality *and* Subordination *in the* Platonick, *then in the* Chriſtian Trinity; *they being but* Infinite Goodneſs, *and* Infinite Wiſedom, *and* Infinite Active Love, *and* Power Subſtantiall. *Another* Hypotheſis *of ſome* Platoniſts, *hinted by S.* Auſtine *out of* Porphyry, *which makes the* Third Hypoſtaſis *a* Myddle *betwixt the* Firſt

and Second; *and implies, not so much a* Gradation, *as a* Circulation *in the* Trinity. Page 600, 601

As for the Platonists *supposing their* Three Hypostases (*though One* Entire Divinity) *to have their Distinct* Singular Essences, *without which they conceive they could be nothing but* Three Names; *the* Platonick Christian *would make this* Apology; *That the* Orthodox Fathers *themselves were generally of this persuasion, That the* Essence *of the* Godhead *wherein all the* Three Persons *agree, not One* Singular, *but onely One* Common *or* Universal Essence. *Their Distinction to this purpose, betwixt* ὐσία *and* ὑπόστασις *that the former was* Common *or* Generical, *the latter* Singular *or* Individual. Theodoret, Basil, *and many others.* Petavius *his acknowledgement, that the* Greeks *Universally agreed herein.* 601, 602

The Opinion of Gregory Nyssen, Cyril, Damascen, *and others; That the* Persons *of the* Trinity *no otherwaies One, then as* Three Individuals *under the same* Species, *or as* Three Men *agree in the same common* Humanity. *These the Chief* Asserters *of an* Absolute, Independent, *and* Un-subordinate Co-equality. *This the onely fault that S.* Cyril *finds in the* Platonists, *that they did not assert such a* Consubstantiality. *Whereas this* Trinity, Tritheism: *the* Three Persons *thereof being no more* One God, *then* Three Men *are* One Man, *However this certain, that these* Fathers *did not suppose, the* Three Hypostases *of the* Trinity *to have all the same* Singular Essence. *Another Extream, that sprung up afterwards in the room of the former* Tritheism, *and owned by no other Authority, then of a* Lateran Councill. 603, 604

And that this Sameness *of* Singular Essence *was not asserted by the* Nicene Fathers, *and first Opposers of* Arius; *First, clearly acknowledged by* Petavius. 604, 605

But this further Evident from hence; Because the same Orthodox Fathers, *who opposed* Arianism, *did also condemn* Sabellianism; *which asserted,* Father, Son, *and* Holy Ghost, *to be but One* Hypostasis, *that is, to have but One and the same* Singular Essence; *and consequently acknowledged no other* Trinity *then of* Names *or* Words. 605

It appeareth also from hence, Because the Word Homoousios *had never any other* Sense, *then to signify the* Agreement *of things* Numerically *differing, in some Common and General* Nature *or* Essence. *S.* Basil, *That the same thing is not* Homoousious, Co-essential, *or* Consubstantial *with it self; but always* One thing with another. Τὸ ὁμοούσιον *the same with* συγγένεια *in* Plotinus. *So also in* Athanasius, *he affirming the* Branches *to be* Homoousious *and* Congenerous *with the Root. Besides which,* ὁμογενὴς, ὁμοειδὴς, *and* ὁμοφυὴς, *used by* Athanasius, *and others, as* Synonymous *with* ὁμοούσιος. *None of which words signify an* Identity *of* Singular Essence, *but* General *or* Universal *onely. The Council of* Chalcedon, *That our* Saviour Christ *as to his Humanity, was* Homoousious *or* Consubstantial *with us Men. Thus does* Athanasius *deny, the* Son *or* Word, *as such, to be* Homoousious *or* Consubstantial *with Creatures; as also he affirmeth men to be* Consubstantial *with one another; every* Son Consubstantial *and* Co-essential *with his* Father. Page 605, 606

Moreover the Sense of the Nicene Fathers, *in their* Consubstantiality, *may more fully appear from the Doctrine of* Arius *opposed by them; which made the* Son *a* Creature, *and therefore* (*as* Athanasius *writeth*) ἑτερούσιον *or* ἀλλοτριούσιον, *of a* different Essence *or* Substance *from the* Father. *Proved clearly from* Athanasius, *that by the* Consubstantiality *of the* Word, *was meant no more then its being not a* Creature, *or* Uncreated. 606, 608

Further Proof, out of Athanasius, *that by* Consubstantiality, *is not meant a* Sameness *of* Singular, *but onely of* General Essence. *As also out of S.* Austine. 608, 611

Lastly, That the Homoousian Fathers *did not assert against* Arius, *a* Sameness *of* Singular Essence, *evident from their Disclaiming those two other words,* Ταυτούσιον, *and* Μονούσιον, (*as having a* Sabellian *Sense in them,*) *the former by* Epiphanius, *the latter by* Athanasius. *So that they who asserted the* Son *to be* Homoousious, Consubstantial *with the* Father, *denied him to be* Monoousious *or* Tautoousious, *that is, to have the* same Singular Essence. 612, 613

From all these Considerations, concluded by the Platonick Christian, *That as the* Genuine Trinity *of* Plato *agreed with that of the* Orthodox Christians, *in being not* Heteroousian, *but* Homoousian, Co-essential *or* Consubstantial; *not made up of* God *and* Creature, *but all* Homogeneal *of* Uncreated, *or* Creatour: *so did the* Trinity *of the First* Orthodox Anti-Arians *herein agree with the* Platonick Trinity; *that it was not* Monoousian, *or* Tautoousian, One *and* the same Singular Essence, *under* Three Names *or* Notions *onely; but really* Three Hypostases *or* Persons. 612

Nevertheless, here remaineth a Question *to be* Answered; *Whether* Athanasius, *the* Nicene Fathers, *and all the First* Anti-Arians *did therefore assert the same thing with* Greg. Nyssen, Cyril, *and others, That the* Three Persons *in the* Trinity, *were but* Three Co-ordinate Individuals, *under the same* Species, *having onely a* Specifick Unity *or* Identity; (*besides* Consent of Will) *or that they all agree in the* Uncre-

The Contents.

Uncreated Nature *onely. This Grosly asserted in the* Dialogues of the Trinity, *Vulgarly Imputed to* Athanasius, *and to that purpose also, That* Three Men *are not* Three Men, *but onely then, when they Dissent from one another in Will and Opinion. But these* Dialogues Pseudepigraphous. *Nevertheless to be Granted, that* Athanasius *himself, in that Book of the* Common Essence *of the* Persons, *seems to lay something too much Stresse upon this* Common Nature, Essence, *or* Substance, *of the* Three Persons, *as to the making of them all but* One God. *However, it is certain he does not there rely upon that alone; and elsewhere acknowledgeth it to be insufficient. The true Reason, why* Athanasius *laid so great a Stresse upon the* Homoousiotes, *not because this alone would make them* One God, *but because they could not possibly be* One God *without it. For if the* Father *be* Uncreated, *and the* Son *a* Creature, *then can they not both be* One God. *Several Passages of* Athanasius *Cited to this purpose. Those Expressions in him of* One Godhead, *and the* Sameness *of the* Godhead, *and One* Essence *or* Substance *in the* Trinity, *not so to be understood, as if the* Three Persons *were but several* Names, Notions, *or* Modes *of* One Thing. Page 612, 616

Wherefore though Athanasius *lay his Foundation in this* εἰδικὴ ἑνότης, Common Specifick Unity *of the* Persons, (*which is their* Consubstantiality,) *in order to their being* One God; *yet does he superadde other* Considerations *also thereunto. As first of all this, That they are not* Three Principles, *but onely* One; *the* Essence *of the* Father *being the* Root *and* Fountain *of the* Son *and* Spirit: *and the* Three Hypostases, *gathered together under* One Head. *Where* Athanasius *implies, That were they perfectly* Coordinate *and* Independent, *they would not be* One, *but* Three Gods. 616

In the next place, he further addeth; That these Three Hypostases *are not* Three Separated Disjoined Things, *but* Indivisibly United; *as the* Splendor *is* Indivisible *from the* Sun, *and* Wisedom *from him that is* Wise. *That neither of these Persons could be without the other; nor any thing come between them: they so immediately Conjoyned together, as that there is a kind of* συνέχεια *or* Continuity *betwixt them.* 616, 617

Thirdly, Athanasius *goes yet higher; affirming these* Three Hypostases, *not onely to be* Indivisibly Conjoyned, *but also to have a* Mutual Inexistence *in each other. This afterwards called an* Emperichoresis. *That of our* Saviour, I am in the Father, and the Father in me, *therefore Quarrelled at by the* Arians, *because they conceived of* Things Incorporeal, *after a* Corporeal manner. *That the* Godhead *of the* Son, *is the* Godhead *of the* Father; *and* the Father exercises a Providence over all, in the Son. Page 617, 619

Lastly, Athanasius *also in Sundry Places, supposes the* Three Divine Hypostases *to make up one* Entire Divinity; *as the* Fountain *and the* Stream *make up one* entire River; *the* Root, Stock, *and* Branches, *one* entire Tree. *Accordingly the word* Homoousios *used by* Athanasius, *in a further Sense, not onely to signify things Agreeing in one* Common *and* General Essence, *but also such as* Essentially Concurr *to the making up of One Entire thing. That the* Three Hypostases *do Outwardly, or* Ad extrà, *produce all,* μίαν ἐνέργειαν, One and the self-same Action; *the* Father, *By the* Word, *In the* Holy Spirit, *doing all things. That all this Doctrine of* Athanasius *would have been readily assented to by* Plato *and his* Genuine Followers. *The* Platonick Christian *therefore Concludeth, That there is no such Real Difference, betwixt the* Genuine Platonick Trinity, *and that of the First* Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers, *as some conceive. From which notwithstanding that* Tritheistick Trinity, *of S.* Greg. Nyssen, Cyril, *and others, of* Three Co-ordinate Individuals *under the same* Species, (*as* Three Men) *seems to have been a* Deviation. 619, 620

Hitherto the Platonick Christians Apology, *for the* Genuine Platonick Trinity; *or Endeavour to reconcile it with the Doctrine of the* Ancient Church: *Where nothing is asserted by our selves, but all Submitted to the Judgement of the Learned in these Matters. And whatsoever in* Plato's Trinity *shall be found Discrepant from the sense of the First* Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers, *utterly disclaimed by us.* Athanasius *a great Instrument of* Divine Providence, *for preserving the* Christian Church *from Lapsing into a kind of* Paganick *and* Idolatrous Christianity, ibid.

The Reason of this Apology, *for the* Genuine Platonick Trinity; *Because it is against the Interest of* Christianity, *that this should be made more Discrepant from the* Christian, *then indeed it is. Moreover certain, that this* Genuine Platonick Trinity *was* Anti-Arian; *or rather the* Arian, Anti-Platonick. *Wherefore* Socrates *wondered, that* Georgius *and* Timotheus Presbyters, *should adhere to the* Arian Faction; *when one of them was accounted much a* Platonist, *the other an* Origenist. 620, 621

Furthermore, Platonick Pagans *after* Christianity, *highly approved of the* Beginning of *S.* John's Gospell, *concerning the* Logos, *as exactly agreeing with their* Platonick Doctrine. *Thus* Amelius *in* Eusebius, *and others. A* Platonist *in S.* Austine, *That it deserved to be writ in* Golden Letters, *and set up in some* Eminent places, *in every* Christian Church. *But that*

which is most of all Considerable, to Justify this Apology, *The generality of* Christian Fathers, *before and after the* Nicene Councill, *look'd upon this* Platonick Trinity, *if not as really the Same thing with the* Christian, *yet as approaching so near thereunto, that it differed chiefly in Circumstances, or Manner of Expression. Thus* Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, *S.* Cyprian, *or the Authour of the Book* De Spiritu Sancto, Eusebius Cæsarienſis; *and, which is most of all to the purpose,* Athanasius *himself; he giving a* Signal Testimony *thereunto. To which may be added, S.* Austine, *and* Theodoret. *S.* Cyril, *though blaming the* Platonick Subordination, *(Himself supposing the* Trinity *to be* Three Co-ordinate Individuals, *under the same* Specifick Nature *of the* Godhead *) yet acknowledges that* Plato *was* not altogether ignorant of the Truth, &c. *But that* Plato's Subordination, *of his* Second Hypostasis *to the* First, *was not (as the* Arian *) of a* Creature *to the* Creatour; *already made unquestionably* Evident. Page 621, 625

Wherefore a Wonderfull Providence of Almighty God here to be taken notice of; That this Doctrine, *of a* Trinity *of* Divine Hypostases, *should be entertained in the* Pagan World *before* Christianity, *as it were to prepare a way for the Reception of it amongst the Learned. Which the* Junior Platonists *were so sensible of, that besides their other Adulterations of the* Platonick Trinity *before mentioned, (for the Countenancing of their* Polytheism *and* Idolatry *) they at length Innovated and Altered the whole* Cabbala; *now no longer acknowledging a* Trinity, *but at least a* Quaternity *of* Divine Hypostases; *namely, before and besides the* Trinity, *another* Hypostasis *superiour thereunto, and standing alone by it self. This first started by* Iamblichus, *carried on by* Proclus, *taken notice of by S.* Cyril: *besides which,* Proclus *also added other* Phantastick Trinities *of his own.* 625, 627

Another Advantage of this Platonick Trinity, *extending to the present time; perhaps not Unintended also by Divine Providence, to abate the Confidence of those Conceited Wits, who so boldly decry the* Trinity *for* Non-sense, *Absolute* Contradiction to Reason, *and* Impossibility; *when they shall find, that the Best and Freest Wits amongst the* Pagans, *though having no Scripture-Revelation to impose upon them, were yet fond of this* Hypothesis. 627

And now it sufficiently appears, That *the* Ancient Platonists *and* Pythagoreans, *were not to be taxed for* Polytheists *and* Idolaters, *in giving* Religious Worship *to their* Three Divine Hypostases. *One grand Design of* Christianity, *to free the World from* Idolatry *and* Creature-Worship: *And this the reason, why the* Ancient Fathers *so zealously opposed* Arianism, *because it thwarted that Design; it* Paganizing *and* Idolatrizing *that, which was intended for the* Unpaganizing of the World. *One Remarkable Passage of* Athanasius *to this purpose.* Page 627, 629

Where First Observable, That Athanasius *expressly affirmeth the* Pagans *to have Worshipped* onely One Uncreated, *and* Many Created Gods. *Thus* Greg. Naz. *That there was but* One Divinity *amongst the* Pagans *also. And* Irenæus, *That they* attributed the first place of the Deity to One Supreme God, *the* Maker *of this* Universe. *And Secondly, That to* Athanasius, *and all those other* Fathers, *who charged the* Arians *with* Idolatry, *this was supposed not to consist in Worshipping Many* Independent, *and* Self-Existent Gods, *but in giving* Religious Worship *to* Creatures: *As the* Arians *gave a Religious Worship to the* Son *or* Word, *supposed by themselves to be but a* Creature. 629, 630

But if Arians *guilty of* Polytheism *or* Idolatry, *for bestowing* Religious Worship *upon the* Son, *or* Word, *as a* Creature, *(though the Chief of* Creatures, *and that by which all others were Made) much more they guilty hereof, who* Religiously worshipped *other* Inferiour Beings. Athanasius; *That no* Creature *the Object of* Religious Worship, *and That the* Orthodox *worshipped the* Divinity, *in the* Humanity *of our* Saviour Christ. Nestorius *branded with the name of a* Man-worshipper. *Some suppose That necessary to* Idolatry, *which is Impossible; to Worship more then One, as* Omnipotent, *or with* Mental Latria. 630, 632

And now have we sufficiently Answered the Objection *against the* Naturality of the Idea of God; *as including* Onelinesse *in it; from the* Pagan Polytheism. *What farther here intended concerning the same, (as a Foundation for our* Defence *of* Christianity*) differred, to make room for a* Confutation *of all the* Atheistick Arguments.

CHAP. V.

A Particular Confutation of all the *Atheistick Grounds.*

THE *First* Atheistick Argument; *That* there is no Idea of God. *That in Answer to this, The* Idea of God *hath been already declared: viz. A Perfect* Understanding Being, Unmade, *or* Self-Existent *from* Eternity, *and the* Cause of all other Things. *In which, Nothing* Unconceivable, *nor* Contradictious. *That these Confounded* Atheists *themselves, who deny that*

that there is any Idea of God *at all, muſt notwithſtanding of neceſſity ſuppoſe the contrary; becauſe otherwiſe, denying his* Exiſtence, *they ſhould deny the* Exiſtence *of* Nothing. *And that they agree alſo with* Theiſts *in the ſame* Idea; *The one denying the* Exiſtence *of that, which the other Aſſerteth, That an* Underſtanding Nature *is the* Original *of all things. This* Idea of God, *as containing* Onelineſs *and* Singularity *in it, not onely largely Defended and made good againſt that* Objection *from the* Pagan Polytheiſm; *but alſo Proved, that the* Generality of Mankind *have a* Natural Prolepſis *or* Anticipation *in their Minds, concerning the* Real and Actual Exiſtence *of ſuch a Being.* Atheiſts *but* Monſters, *and* Anomalies *of mankind. This a ſufficient Confutation of the Firſt* Atheiſtick Argument. Page 633, 634

Nevertheleſs, That Atheiſts *may not Pretend, any of their Strength to be Concealed; all their* Particular Exceptions *againſt the* Idea of God *here Declared, being Five. Their* Firſt Exception, *That we can have no* Idea *nor* Thought *of any thing not* Subject to Senſe; *much leſs any* Evidence of the Exiſtence thereof. *The* Anſwer. *Firſt, That whereas the* Atheiſts *ſuppoſe* Senſe *to be the* Onely Knowledge, *or at leaſt* Original Knowledge; Senſe *as ſuch is not* Knowledge, *or* Underſtanding; *becauſe if it were, then every one that ſees* Light *and* Colours, *or feels* Heat *and* Cold, *would underſtand* Light *and* Colours, Heat *and* Cold. *Plainly proved alſo, from that* Atomick Philoſophy, (*which the* Epicurean Atheiſts *ſo much pretend to,*) *That there is a* Higher Faculty *of the Soul, which Judges of* Senſe, *detects the* Phantaſtry *thereof, reſolves* Senſible Things *into* Intelligible Principles, &c. *No Paſſion able to make a Judgement, either of it ſelf, or of other things. The* Confounded Democritus *himſelf, ſometimes acknowledged* Senſe *to be but* Seeming *and* Phantaſy, *and not to reach to the* Abſolute Truth *and* Reality *of* Things. *He therefore Exploded* Qualities *out of the Rank of* Entities, *becauſe* Unintelligible; *concluding them to be but our Own* Phantaſms. *Undeniably Evident, that we have* Idea's, Notions, *and* Thoughts, *of many things that never were in* Senſe, *and whereof we have no* Genuine Phantaſms. Atheiſts *attend not to their own* Cogitations. *That* Opinion, *That there is Nothing in the* Underſtanding *which was not before in* Senſe, Falſe *and* Atheiſtical. *Men having a* Notion *of a* Perfect Underſtanding Being, *the* Cauſe of all things, *as the* Object *of their* Devotion; *the* Atheiſts *notwithſtanding, would here Perſwade them that they have none, and that the thing is a* Non-Entity, *meerly becauſe they have no* Senſible Idea, *or* Phantaſm *thereof. And ſo may they as well prove, not onely* Reaſon *and* Underſtanding, Appetite *and* Volition, *to be* Non-Entities; *but alſo* Phancy *and* Senſe *it ſelf; neither of theſe falling under* Senſe, *but onely the* Objects *of them. Were God indeed* Corporeal, *as ſome miſtaken* Theiſts *ſuppoſe, yet his* Eſſence *chiefly conſiſting in* Mind *and* Underſtanding, *this of him could not poſſibly be ſubject to* Senſe. *But that there is alſo* Subſtance Incorporeal, *which therefore in its own Nature is* Inſenſible, *and that the* Deity *is ſuch, will be elſewhere* Demonſtrated. Page 634, 637

Though the Evidence *of* Singular Bodies Exiſting, *depend upon the Information of* Senſe; *yet the* Certainty *of this very* Evidence, *not from* Senſe *alone, but a* Complication *of* Reaſon *and* Underſtanding *with it.* Senſe Phantaſtical, *not reaching to the* Abſolute Truth *of things; and obnoxious to* Deluſion. *Our own* Imaginations, *taken for* Senſations *and* Realities, *in* Sleep, *and by* Melancholized perſons *when awake.* Atomick Atheiſts *themſelves, aſſert the* Exiſtence *of ſuch things as they have no* Senſe *of*; Atoms, Membranes, *or* Exuvious Images *of* Bodies, *nay* Incorporeal Space. *If the* Exiſtence *of Nothing, to be acknowledged, which falls not under* Senſe, *then not the* Exiſtence *of* Soul *and* Mind. God *the* Great Mind, *that Rules the whole* Univerſe; *whence our* Imperfect Minds *derived. The* Exiſtence *of that* God, *whom* no Eye can ſee, Demonſtrated *by* Reaſon *from his* Effects. 637, 638

The Second Atheiſtick Pretence *againſt the* Idea of God, *and his* Exiſtence; *from* Theiſts *own acknowledging Him to be* Incomprehenſible; *from whence they infer him to be a* Non-Entity. *Here perhaps it may be Granted, in a right Senſe, that whatſoever is altogether* Unconceivable, *is either in It ſelf, or at leaſt to Us,* Nothing. *How that of* Protagoras, *That* Every man is the meaſure of all things to himſelf, in *his* Senſe falſe. *Whatſoever any man's ſhallow underſtanding cannot clearly comprehend, not therefore to be preſently expunged out of the* Catalogue of Beings. *Nevertheleſs according to* Ariſtotle, *the* Soul *and* Mind *in a manner* All things. *This a* Cryſtalline Globe, *or* Notional World, *that hath ſome* Image *in it of whatſoever is contained in the* Real Globe *of* Being. 638

But this Abſolutely Falſe; That whatſoever cannot be fully Comprehended by us, is therefore utterly Unconceivable, *and conſequently* Nothing. *For we cannot fully* Comprehend Our ſelves, *nor have ſuch an* Adequate Conception *of any* Subſtance, *as perfectly to Maſter and Conquer the ſame. That of the* Scepticks *ſo far True, That there is Something* Incomprehenſible *in the* Eſſence *of Every thing; even of* Body *it ſelf.*

ſelf. Truth Bigger *then our* Minds. *Proper to* God Almighty, *(who alone is wiſe) perfectly to* Comprehend *the* Eſſences *of all things. But it follows not from hence, that therefore we have no* Idea *nor* Conception *at all of any thing. We may have a* Notion *or* Idea *of a* Perfect Being, *though we cannot fully Comprehend the ſame by Our* Imperfect Minds; *as we may* See *and* Touch *a Mountain, though we cannot Enclaſp it all round within our* Arms. *This therefore a* Falſe Theorem *of the* Atheiſts, *That whatſoever cannot be fully* Comprehended *by Mens Imperfect Underſtandings, is an* Abſolute Non-Entity. Page 638, 639

Though God more Incomprehenſible *then other Things, becauſe of his* Tranſcendent Perfection; *yet hath he alſo more of* Conceptibility: *as the Sun, though dazling our Sight, yet hath more of* Viſibility, *alſo, then any other Object. The* Dark Incomprehenſibility *of the* Deity, *like the Azure Obſcurity of the Tranſparent* Æther, *not any thing* Abſolutely *in it ſelf, but onely* Relative *to us.* 639, 640

This Incomprehenſibility *of the* Deity *ſo far from being an Argument againſt its* Exiſtence, *that certain, on the Contrary, were there Nothing* Incomprehenſible *to our* Imperfect Minds, *there could be* no God. *Every thing Apprehended by ſome* Internal Congruity. *The Scantneſs and Imperfection of our* Narrow Underſtandings, *muſt needs make them* Aſymmetral *or* Incommenſurate, *to what* Abſolutely Perfect. 640

Nature *it ſelf Intimates, That there is Something* Vaſtly Bigger *then our* Mind *and* Thoughts, *by thoſe* Paſſions Implanted *in us, of* Devout Veneration, Adoration, *and* Admiration, *with* Ecſtaſie *and* Pleaſing Horrour. *That of the* Deity *which cannot enter into the Narrow Veſſels of our Minds, muſt be otherwiſe apprehended, by their being* Plunged *into it, or* Swallowed *up and* Loſt *in it. We have a* Notion *or* Conception *of* a Perfect Being, *though we cannot fully Comprehend the ſame; becauſe our ſelves being Imperfect, muſt needs be Incommenſurate thereunto. Thus no Reaſon at all, in the* Second Atheiſtick Pretence, *againſt the* Idea *of* God, *and his* Exiſtence; *from his* Confeſſed Incomprehenſibility. ibid.

The Third *follows, That* Infinity, ſuppoſed to be Eſſentiall to the Deity, *is a thing Perfectly* Unconceivable, *and therefore an* Impoſſibility, *and* Non-Entity. *Some Paſſages of a* Modern Writer *to this purpoſe. The meaning of them. That there is Nothing of* Philoſophick Truth in the Idea or Attributes of God, *nor any other Senſe in the words, then onely to ſignify the* Veneration *and* Aſtoniſhment *of mens own* Minds. *That the word* Infinite, *ſignifies Nothing in the Thing it ſelf ſo called, but onely the* Inability *of our* Underſtandings, *and* Admiration. *And ſince* God *by* Theiſts *is denied to be* Finite, *but cannot be* Infinite, *therefore an* Unconceivable Nothing. *Thus another Learned Well-willer to* Atheiſm, *That we have no* Idea *of* Infinite, *and therefore not of* God. *Which in the Language of* Atheiſts, *all one as to ſay, that He is a* Non-Entity. Page 640, 641

Anſwer. This Argument, *That there can be nothing* Infinite, *and therefore no* God; *proper to the* Modern *and* Neoterick Atheiſts *onely; but Repugnant to the Senſe of the* Ancients. Anaximander's Ἄπειρον Infinite Matter, *though* Meliſſus *his* Ἄπειρον *the* True Deity. *Formerly both* Theiſts *and* Atheiſts *agreed in this; That there muſt be Something or other* Infinite, *either an* Infinite Mind, *or* Infinite Matter. *The ancient* Atheiſts *alſo aſſerted, a* Numericall Infinity *of Worlds. Thus do* Atheiſts *Confute or Contradict* Atheiſts. 641, 642

That the Modern Atheiſts *do no leſs Contradict Plain Reaſon alſo, and their very Selves, then they do their* Predeceſſours, *when they would diſprove a* God *from hence, Becauſe there can be Nothing* Infinite. *For Firſt, Certain, that there was ſomething or other* Infinite in Duration, *or* Eternal without Beginning: *Becauſe, If there had been once* Nothing, *there could never have been Any thing. But hardly any* Atheiſts *can be ſo Sottiſh, as in good earneſt to think there was once* Nothing *at all, but afterward* Senſleſs Matter Happened *to Be. Notorious Impudence in them, who aſſert the* Eternity of Matter, *to make this an* Argument *againſt the* Exiſtence *of a* God; *Becauſe Infinite* Duration *without Beginning, an* Impoſſibility. 642, 643

A Conceſſion to the Atheiſts *of theſe Two Things; That we neither have a* Phantaſm *of any* Infinite, *becauſe there was never any in* Senſe; *and that* Infinity *is not fully* Comprehenſible *by* Finite Underſtandings *neither. But ſince,* Mathematically *Certain, That* there was ſomething Infinite *in* Duration, *Demonſtrated from hence, againſt* Atheiſts, *That there is Something* Really Exiſting, *which we have neither any* Phantaſm *of, nor yet can fully* Comprehend *in our* Minds. ibid.

Further Granted, That as for Infinity of Number, Magnitude, *and* Time *without beginning; as we have no* Phantaſm *nor full* Comprehenſion *of them, ſo have we neither any* Intelligible Idea, Notion *or* Conception: *From whence it may be Concluded, That they are* Non-Entities. *Number* Infinite *in* Ariſtotle, *onely in a* Negative Senſe, *becauſe we can never come to an End thereof by* Addition. *For which very Reaſon alſo, there cannot poſſibly be any* Number Poſitively Infinite, *ſince One or More may always*

The Contents.

always be Added. *No Magnitude ſo* Great *neither, but that a* Greater *may be Suppoſed. By* Infinite Space, *to be Underſtood, Nothing but a* Poſſibility *of more and more* Body, *further and further* Infinitely, *by Divine Power; or that the World could never be made ſo* Great, *as that God was not able to make it ſtill* Greater. *This* Potential Infinity, *or* Indefinity *of* Body, *ſeems to be miſtaken, for an* Actual Infinity *of* Space. *Laſtly, no* Infinity of Time Paſt, *becauſe then there muſt needs be* Time Paſt, *which never was* Preſent. *An* Argument *of a* Modern Writer. *Reaſon therefore Concludes, neither the* World *nor* Time, *to have been* Infinite *in* Paſt Duration. Page 643, 644

Here will the Atheiſt *think he has got a Great Advantage, for diſproving the* Exiſtence of a God; *They who thus take away the* Eternity of the World, *taking away alſo the* Eternity of a God. *As if God could not be* Eternal *otherwiſe, then by a* Succeſſive Flux *of* Infinite Time. *But we ſay, that this affordeth a* Demonſtration of a God; *Becauſe ſince both the* World *and* Time *had a Beginning; there muſt of neceſſity be Something, whoſe Duration is not* Succeſſive, *but* Permanent, *which was the* Creatour *of them both. Wherefore the* Atheiſts *can here onely make* Grimaces, *and Quibble upon* Nunc-Stans; *as if this* Standing Eternity *of the* Deity, *were nothing but a Pitifull* Moment *of* Time Standing ſtill; *and as if all* Duration *muſt needs be the ſame with ours,* &c. 644, 645

Concluded, That Infinite *and* Eternal, *are not Words which ſignify Nothing in the thing it ſelf, but onely the* Idle Progreſs *of our* Minds, *or our own* Ignorance, Stupid Aſtoniſhment, *and* Veneration: *not meer Attributes of* Honour *and* Complement, *but* Attributes *belonging to the* Deity, *(and that alone) of the moſt* Philoſophick Truth. *And though we have no* Adequate Comprehenſion *thereof, yet muſt we have ſome* Notion *of that, which we can Demonſtrate to belong to Something.* 645, 646

But the Thing which the Atheiſts *Principally Quarrel with, is* Infinite Power, *or* Omnipotence; *which they pretend alſo to be utterly* Unconceivable, *and* Impoſſible, *and a* Name of Nothing. *Where indeed our* Modern Atheiſts *have the joint Suffrage of the Ancients alſo, who concerned themſelves in Nothing more, then Diſproving* Omnipotence, *or* Infinite Power. ib.

This Omnipotence, *either Wilfully or Ignorantly Miſrepreſented by* Atheiſts, *as if it were a* Power of doing things Contradictious. *An* Irony *of a* Modern Atheiſt; *That God could* turn a Tree into a Syllogiſm. *The Abſurd Doctrine of* Carteſius; *That God could have made* Twice two, not to have been Four; *or the* Three Angles of a Triangle, *not to be Equal to* two Right. *This to make one* Attribute *of the* Deity *Devour and Deſtroy another;* Infinite Will *and* Power, Infinite Underſtanding *and* Wiſedom. *To ſuppoſe God to* Underſtand *and be* Wiſe, *onely by* Will, *Really to give him no* Underſtanding *at all. God not ſo* Omnipotent, *as that he can deſtroy the* Intelligible Natures *of things; which were to Baffle and Befool his own* Wiſedom. Infinite Power, *That which can doe all that is* Poſſible; *that is,* Conceivable, *or Implies no* Contradiction. *The very* Eſſence *of* Poſſibility, Conceptibility. *And thus all the Ancient* Theiſts. *Abſurd for* Atheiſts *to ſay, that a Power of doing Nothing but what is* Conceivable, *is* Unconceivable. ibid. 646

But becauſe Atheiſts *look upon* Infinity *as ſuch a* Mormo, *we ſhall take off the* Vizard *from it; by declaring, That it is Really nothing elſe but* Perfection. Infinite Underſtanding *and* Knowledge, Perfect Underſtanding, *without any* Defect, *and the* Knowledge *of all things* Knowable. Infinite Power, Perfect Power; *or a* Power *of doing all things* Poſſible. Infinite Duration, Perfection *of* Eſſence. *Becauſe* Infinity, Perfection; *therefore Nothing which includeth any thing of* Imperfection *in the* Eſſence *of it, can be truly and properly* Infinite; *as* Number, Magnitude, *and* Time: *all which can but Counterfeit* Infinity. *Nothing One way* Infinite, *which is not ſo Every way, or a* Perfect Being. 647, 648

Now, That we have an Idea *of* Perfection, *plain from that of* Imperfection. Perfection *Firſt in Order of Nature, as the Rule and Meaſure. This not the want of* Imperfection, *but* Imperfection *the want of* Perfection. *A* Scale *or* Ladder *of* Perfections *in Nature, Perceived by means of that* Idea, *which we have of a* Being Abſolutely Perfect, *the Meaſure of them. Without which, we could not take notice of* Imperfection, *in the moſt* Perfect *of all thoſe things which we ever had Senſe of.* Boëtius; *That whatſoever is* Imperfect *in any kind, Implies ſomething* in that kind Perfect, *from whence it was derived. And that the* Nature of things *took not Beginning, from any thing* Incompleat *and* Imperfect; *but deſcended downward, from what was* Abſolutely Perfect, *by ſteps and degrees, Lower and Lower.* 648

Wherefore ſince Infinite, *the ſame with* Perfect; *we having a* Notion *of the* Latter, *muſt needs have of the* Former. *And though the Word* Infinite *be* Negative, *yet is the* Senſe Poſitive. Finite *the* Negation *of* Infinite, *as which in order of Nature is before it; and not* Infinite *of* Finite. *However, in things Uncapable of* True Infinity; Infinity *being here a meer*

The Contents.

Imaginary *thing and* Non-Entity, *can be onely conceived by the* Negation of Finite, *as* Nothing *is*, *by the* Negation of Something. *An* Infinite Being, *Nothing but a* Perfect Being, *such as never* Was Not, *and could produce all things* Possible, *or* Conceivable. Page 648, 649

The Fourth Atheistick Pretence *against the* Idea *of* God; *That it is an* Arbitrarious Compilement *of* Contradictious Notions. *Where First we deny not, but that as some* Religionists *Extend the* Divine Power *to things* Contradictious, *so may others compound* Contradictions *together in the* Nature *of the* Deity. *But it does not follow from thence, that* Theology *it self is therefore* Contradictious, *no more then that* Philosophy *is so, because some* Philosophers *also hold* Contradictious *things: Or that Nothing is* Absolutely True, *neither in* Divinity, *nor* Philosophy, *but all* Seeming, *and* Phantastical; *according to the* Protagorean Doctrine. 649, 650

But though it be True, That whatsoever really Implies a Contradiction, *is a* Non-Entity; *yet is this Rule Obnoxious to much* Abuse, *when whatsoever mens shallow Understandings cannot reach to, is therefore presently cried down by them, as an* Impossibility *or* Nothing. *At when the* Atheists, *and* Materialists, *explode* Incorporeal Substance *upon this Pretence; or make it onely an* Attribute of Honour, *expressing the* Veneration *of* Mens Minds, *but signifying* Nothing in Nature, *nor having any* Philosophick Truth. *But the* Atheists *true meaning in this* Objection, *and what kind of* Contradictions *they are, which they impute to all* Theology, *may appear from a Passage of a* Modern Writer: *Namely, such as these; when God is said to Perceive* Sensible Things, *and yet to have no* Organs *of* Sense; *as also to* Understand, *and yet to have no* Brains. *The Un-disguised meaning of the Writer, That* Religion *is not* Philosophy, *but* Law, *and all meer* Arbitrary Constitution; *nor God a Subject of* Philosophy, *as all Real Things are; he being no* True Inhabitant *of the World or Heaven, but onely of mens* Brains *and* Phancies; *and his* Attributes *signifying neither* True *nor* False, *nor any thing in* Nature, *but onely mens* Reverence *and* Devotion, *towards what they Fear. And so may any thing be said of God, no matter what, so it be agreeable to* Civil Law. *But when men mistake* Attributes of Honour, *for* Attributes of Philosophick Truth; *that is, when they will suppose such a thing as a* God *Really to* Exist; *then is all* Absurd Nonsense *and* Contradiction. *God's* Understanding *without* Brains, *no* Contradiction. 650, 651

Certain, That no Simple Idea, *as of a* Triangle, *or a* Square, *can be* Contradictious *to it self; much less can the* Idea *of a* Perfect Being, *the most* Simple *of all. This indeed Pregnant of many* Attributes, *which if* Contradictious, *would render the whole a* Non-Entity; *but all the* Genuine Attributes *of the* Deity, *as* Demonstrable *of a* Perfect Being, *as the* Properties *of a* Triangle, *or a* Square; *and therefore can neither be* Contradictious *to it, nor one another.* Page 652

Nay, the Genuine Attributes *of the* Deity, *not onely not* Contradictious, *but also all* Necessarily Connected together. ibid.

In Truth, All the Attributes *of the* Deity, *but so many* Partial *and* Inadequate Conceptions *of One and the Same* Perfect Being, *taken into our Minds, as it were, by Piece-meal.* ibid.

The Idea *of God, neither* Fictitious, *nor* Factitious. *Nothing* Arbitrarious *in it; but a most* Natural *and* Simple Idea, *to which not the Least can be Added, nor any thing Detracted from it. Nevertheless, may there be different Apprehensions concerning God; every one that hath a* Notion *of a* Perfect Being, *not Understanding all that Belongeth to it; no more then of a* Triangle, *or of a* Sphear. ibid. 653

Concluded therefore, That the Attributes *of God,* No Confounded Non-sense of Religiously Astonished Minds, *huddling up together all* Imaginable Attributes *of* Honour, Courtship, *and* Complement; *but the* Attributes *of* Necessary Philosophick Truth: *and such as do not onely speak the* Devotion *of mens* Hearts, *but also declare the* Reall Nature *of the thing. Here the Wit of a* Modern Atheistick Writer, *ill placed. (Though no doubt, but some, either out of* Superstition, *or* Ignorance, *may Attribute such things to the* Deity, *as are* Incongruous *to its Nature.) Thus the* Fourth Atheistick Pretence, *against the* Idea *of God, Confuted.* 653, 654

In the next place, The Atheists *think themselves concerned, to give an Account of this* Unquestionable Phænomenon; *the General* Persuasion *of the* Existence *of a God, in the Minds of men, and their* Propensity *to* Religion; *whence this should come, if there were no* Reall Object *for it in* Nature. *And this they would doe by Imputing it, partly to the* Confounded Nonsense *of* Astonished Minds, *and partly to the* Imposture *of* Politicians. *Or else to these* Three Things; *To* Mens Fear; *and to their* Ignorance *of* Causes; *and to the* Fiction *of* Law-Makers *and* Civil Sovereigns. 654

The First of these Atheistick Origins of Religion; *That Mankind by reason of their* Natural Imbecillity, *are in continual* Solicitude *and* Fear *concerning* Future Events, *and their* Good *and* Evil Fortune. *And this* Passion *of* Fear *raises*

raiſes up in them for an Object to it ſelf, *a moſt* Affrightfull Phantaſm; *of An* Inviſible Underſtanding Being, Omnipotent, *&c. They afterwards Standing in awe of this their own* Imagination, *and* Tremblingly Worſhipping the Creature *of their own* Fear *and* Phancy. Page 654

The Second Atheiſtick Origin of Theiſm and Religion; *That Men having a* Naturall Curioſity, *to Enquire into the* Cauſes of things, *whereſoever they can diſcover no* Viſible *and* Naturall Cauſes, *are prone to Feign* Cauſes Inviſible *and* Supernatural. *As* Anaxagoras *ſaid, never to have betaken himſelf to a* God, *but onely when he was at a loſs for* Neceſſary Materiall Cauſes. *Wherefore no wonder if the Generality of* Mankind, *being Ignorant of the Cauſes of all or moſt Things, have betaken themſelves to a* God, *as to a* Refuge *and* Sanctuary *for their* Ignorance. 654,655

Theſe *two* Accounts *of the* Phænomenon of Religion; *from mens* Fear *and* Solicitude *and from their* Ignorance of Cauſes *and* Curioſity; *Joyned together by a Modern* Writer. *As if the* Deity *were but a* Mormo *or* Bugbear, *raiſed up by mens* Fear, *in the* Darkneſs *of their* Ignorance *of* Cauſes. *The Opinion of other* Ghoſts *and* Spirits *alſo, deduced from the ſame* Originall. *Mens taking things* Caſuall *for* Prognoſticks, *and being ſo addicted to Omens, Portents, Prophecies,* &c. *From a* Phantaſtick *and* Timorous Suppoſition, *That the things of the World are not diſpoſed of by* Nature, *but by* ſome Underſtanding Perſon. 655

But leſt theſe Two Accounts of the Phænomenon *of* Religion, *ſhould prove Inſufficient; the* Atheiſts *ſuperadde a* Third, *Imputing it alſo to the* Fiction *and* Impoſture *of Civill* Soveraigns; *who perceiving an advantage to be made from hence, for the better keeping men in Subjection, have thereupon* Dextrouſly laid hold of mens Fear and Ignorance; *and Cheriſhed thoſe* Seeds *of* Religion *in them, from the* Infirmities *of their Nature: Confirming their Belief of* Ghoſts *and* Spirits, *Miracles, Prodigies, and Oracles, by* Tales, *publickly Allowed and Recommended. And that Religion might be every way Obſequious to their Deſigns; have perſwaded the People, that Themſelves were but the* Interpreters *of the* Gods, *from whom they Received their* Laws. Religion *an* Engin of State; *to keep men buſily Employed; Entertain their Minds; render them* Tame *and* Gentle, *apt for* Subjection *and* Society. 655, 656

All this not the Invention *of* Modern Atheiſts. *But an* Old Atheiſtick Cabbal; *That the* Gods made by Fear. Lucretius; *That the* Cauſes *of* Religion, Terrour *of* Mind *and* Darkneſs: *and that the* Empire of the Gods *owes all its Being to mens* Ignorance of Cauſes, *as alſo, that the* Opinion *of* Ghoſts *proceeded from mens not knowing how to diſtinguiſh their* Dreams, *& other Frightfull* Phancies, *from* Senſations. 656, 657

An Old Atheiſtick *Surmize alſo; That* Religion *a* Political Invention. *Thus* Cicero: *The* Atheiſts *in* Plato, *That the Gods are not by* Nature, *but by* Art *and* Laws onely. Critias, *one of the Thirty Tyrants of* Athens, *his Poem to this purpoſe.* 657, 658

That the Folly *and* Falſneſs *of theſe* Three Atheiſtick Pretences, *for the* Origin *of* Religion, *will be fully Manifeſted. Firſt, As to that of* Fear *and* Phancy. *Such an* Exceſs of Fear, *as makes any one conſtantly Believe the* Exiſtence *of that, for which no manner of Ground, neither in* Senſe *nor* Reaſon, *highly tending alſo to his own Diſquiet; Nothing leſs then* Diſtraction. *Wherefore, the generality of mankind here affirmed by* Atheiſts, *to be* Frighted *out of their* Wits, *and* Diſtempered *in their brains; onely a few of themſelves, who have eſcaped this* Panick Terrour, *remaining* Sober *or in* their Right Senſes. *The* Sobriety *of* Atheiſts, *nothing but* Dull Stupidity, *and* Dead Incredulity; *they Believing onely what they can* See *or* Feel. 658

True, That there is a Religious Fear, Conſequent *upon the* Belief *of a* God; *as alſo that the* Senſe *of a* Deity, *is often awakened in mens Minds, by their* Fears *and* Dangers. *But* Religion *no* Creature of Fear. *None leſſe Solicitous about their* Good *and* Evill Fortune, *then the* Pious *and* Vertuous, *who place not their Chief Happineſs in things* Aliene, *but onely in the Right Uſe of their* own Will. *Whereas the* Good *of* Atheiſts, *wholly in things* Obnoxious *to* Fortune. *The* Timorous Complexion *of* Atheiſts; *from building all their* Politicks *and* Juſtice *upon the* Foundation of Fear. 658, 659

The Atheiſts Grand Errour *here; That the* Deity, *according to the generall* Senſe *of Mankind, Nothing but a* Terriculum, *a* Formidable, Hurtfull *and* Undeſirable *thing. Whereas men every where agree, in that* Divine Attribute *of* Goodneſs *and* Benignity. ibid.

Φοβερὸν τὸ Δαιμόνιον, *in the worſt Senſe, taken by none but a few Ill-natured Men; painting out the Deity according to their own Likeneſs. This condemned by* Ariſtotle *in the* Poets, *(he calling them therefore* Liars*) by* Plutarch *in* Herodotus, *as ſpoken* Univerſally; Plutarch *himſelf reſtraining the Senſe thereof to his* Evill Principle. Plato's *aſcribing the* World *to the Divine Goodneſs: who therefore made all things moſt like* Himſelf. *The true meaning of this* Proverb; *That the* Deity *affecteth to* Humble *and* Abaſe *the Pride of men.* Lucretius *his* Hidden Force, *that hath as it were a Spite to all* Overſwelling Greatneſſes; *could be no other then the* Deity. *Thoſe*

The Contents.

amongſt Chriſtians, *who make the worſt Repreſentation of* God, *yet Phanſy him* Kind *and* Gracious *to Themſelves.* Page 659, 660

True, that Religion *often expreſſed by the* Fear of God. Fear, Prima Menſura Deitatis, *the* Firſt Impreſſion *that* Religion *makes upon men in this Lapſed State. But this not* a Fear *of* God, *as* Miſchievous *and* Hurtfull, *nor yet as a meer* Arbitrary Being, *but as* Juſt, *and an* Impartiall Puniſher *of* Wickedneſs. Lucretius *his acknowledging, mens* Fear of God *to be conjoyned with a* Conſcience *of* Duty. *A Naturall* Diſcrimination *of* Good *and* Evill, *with a Senſe of an* Impartiall Juſtice, *preſiding over the World, and both* Rewarding *and* Puniſhing. *The* Fear of God, *as either a* Hurtfull, *or* Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Being, *(which muſt needs be joyned with ſomething of* Hatred*) not* Religion, *but* Superſtition. *Fear, Faith, and Love*; Three Steps *and* Degrees *of* Religion, *to the* Son of Sirach. *Faith better Defined in* Scripture, *then by any* Scholaſticks. *God ſuch a Being, as if he were not, Nothing more to be Wiſhed for.* 660, 661

The Reaſon *why* Atheiſts *thus miſtake the* Notion of God, *as a Thing onely to be* Feared, *and conſequently* Hated; *from their own* Ill Nature *and* Vice. *The latter diſpoſing them ſo much to think, that there is no* Difference *of* Good *and* Evill *by* Nature, *but onely by* Law; *which* Law *Contrary to* Nature, *as* Reſtraint *to* Liberty. *Hence their denying all* Naturall Charity, *and Acknowledging no* Benevolence, *or* Good Will, *but what ariſes from* Imbecillity, Indigency, *and* Fear. *Their Friendſhip at beſt no other, then* Mercatura Utilitatum. *Wherefore if there were an* Omnipotent Deity, *this (according to the* Atheiſtick Hypotheſis) *could not have ſo much, as that* Spurious Love *or* Benevolence *to any thing, becauſe ſtanding in* Need *of* Nothing, *and* Devoid *of* Fear. *Thus* Cotta *in* Cicero. *All this aſſerted alſo, by a late* Pretender *to* Politicks; *He adding thereunto, that God hath no other* Right of Commanding, *then his* Irreſiſtible Power: *nor men any* Obligation *to* obey *him, but onely from their* Imbecillity *and* Fear, *or becauſe they* cannot Reſiſt *him. Thus do* Atheiſts *Transform the* Deity *into a* Monſtrous Shape; *an* Omnipotent Being *that hath neither* Benevolence *nor* Juſtice *in him. This indeed a* Mormo *or* Bugbear. 661, 662

But as this a falſe Repreſentation *of* Theiſm; *ſo the* Atheiſtick Scene *of things, moſt* Uncomfortable, Hopeleſs, *and* Diſmall; *upon ſeverall Accounts. True, that no* Spightfull Deſigns *in* Senſleſs Atoms; *in which Regard*, Plutarch *Preferred, even this* Atheiſtick Hypotheſis, *before that of an* Omnipotent Miſchievous Being. *However, no* Faith, *nor* Hope *neither, in* Senſleſs Atoms. Epicurus *his* Confeſſion, *that it was better to believe the* Fable *of the* Gods, *then that* Materiall Neceſſity *of all things, aſſerted by the other* Atheiſtick Phyſiologers, *before himſelf. But he not at all mending the Matter, by his ſuppoſed* Free Will. *The* Panick Fear *of the* Epicureans, *of the Frame of Heaven's* Cracking, *and this* Compilement *of* Atoms *being diſſolved into a* Chaos. Atheiſts *running from* Fear, *plunge themſelves into* Fear. Atheiſm, *rather then* Theiſm, *from the* Impoſture *of* Fear, Diſtruſt, *and* Disbelief *of Good. But* Vice *afterwards prevailing in them, makes them Deſire, there ſhould be No* God. Page 663, 664

Thus the Atheiſts, *who derive the* Origin of Religion *from* Fear, *Firſt put an* Affrightfull Vizard *upon the* Deity, *and then conclude it to be but a* Mormo *or* Bugbear, *the Creature of* Fear *and* Phancy. *More likely of the Two, that the* Opinion *of a* God, *ſprung from* Hope of Good, *then* Fear of Evill; *but neither of theſe True, it owing its Being to the* Impoſture *of no* Paſſion, *but ſupported by the Strongeſt and cleareſt* Reaſon. *Nevertheleſs a* Naturall Prolepſis, *or* Anticipation *of a* God *alſo, in mens Minds*, Preventing Reaſon. *This called by* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, *a* Vaticination. 664, 665

The Second Atheiſtick Pretence, *to* ſalve *the* Phænomenon *of* Religion, *from the* Ignorance of Cauſes, *and mens innate* Curioſity, *(Upon which Account the* Deity *ſaid by them, to be nothing but an* Aſylum of Ignorance, *or the* Sanctuary of Fools,) *next to be Confuted.* 665

That the Atheiſts, *both* Modern *and* Ancient, *here commonly Complicate theſe Two together*, Fear, *and* Ignorance of Cauſes; *making* Theiſm *the* Spawn *of both*: *as the* Fear *of Children in the* Dark, *raiſes* Bugbears *and* Spectres. Epicurus *his Reaſon, why he took ſuch great pains in the Study of* Phyſiology; *that by finding out the* Naturall Cauſes *of things, he might free men from the* Terrour of a God, *that would otherwiſe Aſſault their Minds.* ibid.

The Atheiſts *thus Dabbling in* Phyſiology, *and finding out* Materiall Cauſes *for ſome of thoſe* Phænomena, *which the unskilfull Vulgar ſalve onely from a* Deity; *therefore Confident, that* Religion *had no other* Originall, *then this* Ignorance of Cauſes: *as alſo, that* Nature, *or* Matter,

The Contents.

Matter, *does all things alone without a* God. *But we shall make it manifest, That* Philosophy *and the* True Knowledge of Causes *Lead to a* Deity; *and that* Atheism; *from* Ignorance of Causes, *and want of* Philosophy. Page 665, 666

For First, No Atheist, *who derives all from Senseless Matter, can possibly assign any* Cause *of* Himself, *his own* Soul *or* Mind: *it being Impossible, that* Life *and* Sense *should be* Naturally *produced, from what* Dead *and* Senseless; *or from* Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, *and* Motions. *An* Atheistick Objection, *nothing to the purpose; That* Laughing *and* Crying things *are made out of* Not-Laughing *and* Crying Principles: *because these result from the* Mechanism *of the* Body. *The* Hylozoists *never able neither, to produce* Animal Sense, *and* Consciousness, *out of what* Senseless *and* Inconscious. *The* Atheists, *supposing their own* Life *and* Understanding, *and all the* Wisedom *that is in the World, to have sprung, meerly from* Senseless Matter, *and* Fortuitous Motion; *Grossely* Ignorant of Causes. *The* Philosophy *of* Our Selves, *and* True Knowledge *of the* Cause *of our own* Soul *and* Mind, *brings to* God. Page 666, 667

Again, Atheists Ignorant *of the* Cause of Motion, *by which they suppose all things done: this* Phænomenon *being no way* Salvable, *according to their* Principles. *First, undeniably certain, That* Motion *not* Essential *to all* Body *or* Matter *as such, because then there could have been no* Mundane System, *no* Sun, Moon, Earth, &c. *All things being continually* Torn in Pieces, *and Nothing* Cohering. *Certain also, That* Dead *and* Senseless Matter, *such as that of* Anaximander, Democritus, *and* Epicurus, *cannot* Move *it self* Spontaneously, *by* Will *or* Appetite. *The* Hylozoists *further considered elsewhere.* Democritus *could assign no other* Cause *of* Motion, *then this, That one* Body moved *another from* Eternity *Infinitely; without any* First Cause *or* Mover. *Thus also a* Modern Writer. *To Assert an* Infinite Progress *in the* Causes of Motion, *according to* Aristotle, *to assign no* Cause *thereof at all.* Epicurus, *though an* Exploder of Qualities, *forced here to fly to an* Occult Quality, *of* Gravity. *Which, as Absurd in Infinite Space, and without any* Centre of Rest; *so indeed nothing but to make his own* Ignorance, *and* He Knows not Why, *to be a* Cause. *The* Motion of Body, *from the* Activity *of something* Incorporeal. *Though* Motion *taken for* Translation, *be a* Mode of Matter; *yet as it is taken for the* Vis Movens, *a* Mode, *or* Energy, *of Something that is* Incorporeal, *and* Self-Active. *The* Motion *of the whole* Corporeal Universe, *Originally from the* Deity. *Thus the* Ignorance *of the* Cause *of* Motion, *another* Ground of Atheism. Page 667, 669

Thirdly, The Atheists *also* Ignorant *of the* Cause *of that* Grand Phænomenon, *the* τὸ εὖ καλῶς, *the* Regular and Artificial Frame *of the* Mundane System, *and of the Bodies of Animals; together with the* Harmony *of all. They who boast they can give* Causes *of all things, without a God, able to give no* Cause *of this, but onely, that it* Happened by Chance *so to be. This, either to make the* Absence of a Cause, *a* Cause; (Chance *being but the* Absence *of an* Intending Cause) *or their Own very* Ignorance *of the* Cause, *and* They Know not Why, *to be a* Cause; *or to make* One Contrary, *the* Cause *of* Another; (Confusion *of* Order *and* Harmony, Chance *of* Art *and* Skill,) *or Lastly, to deny it to have any* Cause *at all, since they deny an* Intending Cause. 669

But here the Atheists *make several* Pretences, *for this their* Ignorance. *First, That the World is not so* Well Made, *but that it might have been much Better; and many* Flaws *to be found therein: whereas a God, or Perfect Being, would have* Bungled *in* Nothing, *but have made all things after the* Best manner. *But this a* Twelfth Atheistick Argumentation, *and the* Confutation *thereof to be expected afterward. Reasons why some* Modern Theists *give* Atheists *so much advantage here, as to acknowledge Things be* Ill Made; *whilst the* Ancient Pagan Theists *stood their Ground, and generously maintained, that* Mind *being the* Maker *of all things, and not* Blind Fortune *or* Chance, *nor* Arbitrary Will, *and* Irrational Humane Omnipotent; *the* Τὸ βέλτιστον, *That which is* Absolutely the Best, *in order to the* Good *of the* Whole, (*so far as the Necessity of things would admit*) *the* Measure *and* Rule *of* Nature, *and* Providence. 669, 670

Again, the Atomick *and* Epicurean Atheists *Pretend, That though many things serve for* Uses, *yet it does not therefore follow, that they were made* Intentionally *for those* Uses; *because things that* Happen by Chance, *may have* Uses Consequent. *Thus* Lucretius, *and the old* Atheistick Philosophers *before* Aristotle, *of the Parts of the Bodies of Animals, and all other things. The* Answer, *That when things consist of many Parts, all* Artificially *Proportioned together, with much Curiosity, as for example the* Eye; *no man who considers the* Anatomy *thereof, and its whole Structure, can reasonably conclude, that it* Happened *so to be made; and the* Use of Seeing Followed: *but that it was made Intentionally for the* Use of Seeing. *But to maintain, that not onely* Eyes *Happened to be so made, and the* Use of Seeing Followed, *but also* Ears, *and a* Mouth, *and* Feet, *and* Hands,

and all the other parts Organical and Similar, (without any of which, the Whole would be Inept or Uſeleſs) all their ſeveral Uſes, *Un-Intended, following; Groſs* Inſenſibility, *and* Stupidity. Galen *of the* Uſe of Parts. Page 671, 672

Democritus *his Dotages; Countenanced alſo by* Carteſius *His Book of* Meteors, *(firſt written with deſign to* Salve *all thoſe* Phænomena without a God,) *but Unſucceſsfully. Nevertheleſs we acknowledge, That* God *and* Nature *doe all things in the moſt* Frugal *and* Compendious *way; and that the* Mechanick Powers *are taken in, ſo far as they will ſerviceably comply with the* Intellectual Platform. *But Nature not* Mechanical *and* Fortuitous *onely, but alſo* Vital *and* Artificial; *the* Archeus *of the whole* World. ibid.

Again, Atheiſts *further* Pretend, *That though it may well ſeem ſtrange, that* Matter Fortuitouſly Moved, *ſhould, at the very Firſt, fall into ſuch a* Regularity *and* Harmony, *as is now in the World; yet not at all ſtrange, that* Atoms, *moving from all Eternity, and making all manner of* Combinations *and* Contextures, *and trying all* Experiments, *ſhould after innumerable other* Inept, *and* Diſcongruous Forms, *at length fall into ſuch a* Syſtem *as This. They ſay therefore, That the* Earth, *at firſt, brought forth divers* Monſtrous *and* Irregular Shapes *of* Animals; *ſome wanting* Feet, *ſome* Hands, *ſome without a* Mouth, &c. *to which the* Ancients *added* Centaurs, Scylla's, *and* Chimæra's; *mixtly* Boviform, *and* Hominiform Animals. *Though* Epicurus, *aſhamed to own theſe, would ſeem to exclude them, but without Reaſon. But becauſe we have now no ſuch* Irregular Shapes *Produced out of the* Earth, *they ſay that the Reaſon is, becauſe none could Continue and Propagate their kind by* Generation, *but onely ſuch as Happened to be fitly made. Thus* Epicurus, *and the* Atheiſts *before* Ariſtotle. *They alſo adde hereunto, their* Infinite Worlds; *amongſt which they Pretend, not one of a Thouſand, or of Ten thouſand, hath ſo much Regularity in it as this of ours. Laſtly, they Preſage likewiſe, that this World of ours ſhall not always continue ſuch, but after a while fall into* Confuſion *and* Diſorder again; *and then may we have* Centaurs, Scylla's, and Chimæra's *as before.* 672, 674

Nevertheleſs, becauſe this Univerſal *and* Conſtant Regularity *of things, for ſo many Ages together, is ſo Puzzling; they would perſwade us, that the* Senſleſs Atoms, *Playing and Toying up and down, from Eternity, without any Care or Thought; were at length* Taught, *by the Neceſſity of things, and driven to a kind of* Trade *or* Habit *of* Artificialneſs *and* Methodicalneſs. 674, 675

To all which Atheiſtick Pretences *Replied. Firſt, That this an* Idle Dream, *or* Impudent Forgery, *That there was once an* Inept Mundane Syſtem; *and in this World of ours all manner of* Irregular Shapes *of* Animals: *not onely becauſe no* Tradition *of any ſuch thing; but alſo becauſe no* Reaſon *poſſibly to be given, why ſuch ſhould not be Produced out of the Earth ſtill, though they could not Continue long. That alſo Another* Atheiſtick Dream, *That in this World of ours, all will quickly fall into* Confuſion *and* Nonſenſe *again. And as their* Infinite Worlds, *an* Impoſſibility, *ſo their Aſſertion of the* Irregularity *of the ſuppoſed other* Worlds, *well enough Anſwered, by a Contrary Aſſertion; That were every* Planet *a* Habitable Earth, *and every* Fixed Star, *a* Sun, *having all more or fewer ſuch* Habitable Planets *moving round about them, and none of them* Deſert *or* Un-inhabited; *there would not be found ſo much as one* Ridiculous *or* Inept Syſtem *amongſt them all; the* Divine Act *being* Infinite. Page 675

Again, That the Fortuitous Motions *of* Senſleſs Atoms, *ſhould in length of Time grow* Artificial, *and contract a* Habit *or* Trade *of* Acting *as* Regularly, *as if directed by perfect* Art *and* Wiſedome; This Atheiſtick Fanaticiſm. 675, 676

No more Poſſible, That Dead *and* Senſleſs Matter, Fortuitouſly Moved, *ſhould at length be* Taught, *and* Neceſſitated *by it ſelf, to produce this* Artificial Syſtem *of the World; then that a dozen or more Perſons, unskilled in Muſick, and ſtriking the Strings as it* Happened, *ſhould at length be* Taught, *and* Neceſſitated *to fall into* Exquiſite Harmony; *Or that the Letters in the Writings of* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, *though having ſo much* Philoſophick Senſe, *ſhould have been all Scribbled at randome. More* Philoſophy *in the* Great Volume of *the* World, *then in all* Ariſtotle's *and* Plato's *Works; and more of* Harmony, *then in any* Artificial Compoſition *of* Vocall Muſick. *That the* Divine Art *and* Wiſedom, *hath printed ſuch a* Signature *of it ſelf upon the* Matter *of the* Whole World, *as* Fortune *and* Chance *could never* Counterfeit. 676, 677

But in the next place, the Atheiſts *will for all this undertake to* Demonſtrate, *That things could not Poſſibly be made by any* Intending Cauſe, *for* Ends *and* Uſes; *as* Eyes for Seeing, Ears for Hearing; *from hence, Becauſe things were all in Order of* Time, *as well as* Nature, *before their* Uſes. *This Argument ſeriouſly propounded by* Lucretius *in this manner; If* Eyes *were made for the* Uſe *of* Seeing, *then, of neceſſity, muſt* Seeing *have been before* Eyes; *But there was no* Seeing *before* Eyes; *Therefore could not* Eyes *be made for the ſake of* Seeing. 677, 678

Evi-

The Contents.

Evident, that the Logick *of these* Atheists, *differs from that of all other* Mortalls; *according to which, the* End *for which any thing is designedly made, is onely in* Intention First, *but in* Execution Last. *True, that Men are Commonly excited, from Experience of things, and Sense of their Wants, to* Excogitate Means *and* Remedies: *but it doth not therefore follow, that the* Maker *of the* World *could not have a* Preventive Knowledge *of whatsoever would be* Usefull *for Animals, and so make them Bodies Intentionally for those Uses. That Argument ought to be thus framed: Whatsoever is made Intentionally for any* End, *as the Eye for that of Seeing; that End must needs be in the* Knowledge *and* Intention *of the* Maker, *before the* Actual Existence *of that which is made for it; But there could be no* Knowledge *of Seeing before there were* Eyes; *Therefore Eyes could not be made* Intentionally *for the sake of* Seeing. Page 678

This the True Scope *of the Premised* Atheistick Argument, *however disguised by them in the first* Propounding. *The Ground thereof, Because they take it for granted, That all* Knowledge *is derived from* Sense, *or from the Things* Known, Pre-Existing *without the* Knower. *And here does* Lucretius *Triumph. The Controversy therefore at last resolved into this; Whether all* Knowledge *be in its own Nature,* Junior *to* Things; *for if so, it must be Granted, that the World could not be Made by any* Antecedent Knowledge. *But this afterwards fully* Confuted; *and* Proved, *That* Knowledge *is not, in its own Nature,* Ectypall, *but* Archetypall; *and that* Knowledge *was* Older then the World, *and the* Maker thereof. 679

But Atheists *will Except* against the Proving of a God, *from the* Regular *and* Artificiall *frame of things; That it is unreasonable to think, there should be no* Cause in Nature, *for the* Common Phænomena *thereof; but a* God *thus Introduced to salve them. Which also, to suppose the world* Bungled *and* Botcht *up. That* Nature *is the* Cause *of* Naturall things, *Which* Nature *doth not* Intend, *nor* Act *for* Ends. *Wherefore the Opinion of* Finall Causality *for things in* Nature, *but an* Idolum Specûs. *Therefore rightly banished, by* Democritus, *out of* Physiology. 679, 680

The Answer: *Two* Extreams *here to be avoided, One of the* Atomick Atheists, *who derive all things from the* Fortuitous Motion *of* Senseless Matter; *Another of* Bigoticall Religionists, *who will have* God *to doe all things Himself Immediately, without any* Nature. *The Middle betwixt both, That there is not onely a* Mechanicall *and* Fortuitous, *but also an* Artificiall Nature, *Subservient to the* Deity, *as the* Manuary Opificer, *and* Drudging Executioner *thereof. True, that some Philosophers have absurdly attributed their own* Properties *or* Animal Idiopathies *to* Inanimate Bodies. *Nevertheless, this no* Idol *of the* Cave *or* Den, *to suppose the* System *of the* World *to have been framed by an* Understanding Being, *according to whose Direction,* Nature, *though not it self* Intending, Acteth. Balbus *his Description of this* Artificiall Nature *in* Cicero. *That there could be no* Mind *in us, were there none in the* Universe. *That of* Aristotle *True, That there is more of* Art *in some things of* Nature, *then in any thing Made by* Men. *Now the Causes of* Artificiall things, *as a* House *or* Clock, *cannot be declared, without* Intention for Ends. *This Excellently pursued by* Aristotle. *No more can the* Things *of* Nature *be rightly Understood, or the* Causes *of them fully Assigned, meerly from* Matter *and* Motion, *without* Intention *or* Mind. *They who banish* Finall *or* Mentall Causality *from Philosophy, look upon the* Things of Nature, *with no other* Eyes *then* Oxen *and* Horses. *Some pitifull Attempts of the* Ancient Atheists, *to salve the* Phænomena *of* Animals, *without* Mentall Causality. Democritus *and* Epicurus *so cautious, as never to pretend, to give an* Account *of the* Formation *of the* Fœtus. Aristotle's *Judgement here to be Preferred before that of* Democritus. Page 680, 683

But nothing more Strange, then that these Atheists *should be justified in this their* Ignorance, *by* Professed Theists *and* Christians; *who* Atomizing *likewise, in their* Physiology, *contend that this whole* Mundane System, *resulted onely from the* Necessary *and* Unguided Motion *of* Matter, *either Turned Round in a* Vortex, *or Jumbled in a* Chaos, *without the Direction of any* Mind. *These* Mechanick Theists *more* Immodest *then the* Atomick Atheists *themselves; they supposing these their* Atoms, *though* Fortuitously *moved, yet never to have produced any* Inept System, *or* Incongruous Forms; *but from the very first, all along, to have Ranged themselves so Orderly, as that they could not have done it better, had they been directed by a* Perfect Mind. *They quite take away that Argument for a God, from the* Phænomena, *and that* Artificiall Frame *of things, leaving onely some* Metaphysicall Arguments; *which though never so good, yet by reason of their* Subtlety, *cannot doe so much* Execution. *The* Atheists *Gratified to see the* Cause *of* Theism *thus betrayed, by its professed* Friends; *and the Grand* Argument *for the same, totally* Slurred *by them.* 683, 684

As this, Great Insensibility *of* Mind, *to look upon the Things of Nature with no other Eyes then*

The Contents.

then Brute Animals do; ſo are there Sundry Phænomena, *partly Above the Mechanick Powers; and partly* Contrary *to the ſame, which therefore can never be* Salved, *without* Mentall *and* Finall Cauſality. *As in Animals, the* Motion *of the* Diaphragma *in Reſpiration; the* Syſtole *and* Diaſtole *of the* Heart (*Being a Muſcular* Conſtriction *and* Relaxation.) *To which might be added others in the* Macrocoſm: *as the* Interſection *of the* Planes *of the* Equator *and* Ecliptick; *or the* Earth's Diurnall Motion *upon an* Axis *not* Parallell *with that of its* Annual. Carteſius *his Confeſſion, that according to* Mechanick Principles, *theſe ſhould continually come nearer and nearer together; which ſince they have not done,* Finall *or* Mentall Cauſality *here to be acknowledged; and becauſe it was* Beſt *it ſhould be ſo. But the* Greateſt Phænomenon *of this kind, the* Formation *and* Organization *of* Animals; *which theſe* Mechaniſts *never able to give any Account of. Of that* Poſthumous Piece *of* Carteſius, De la Formation Du Fœtus. Page 684,685

Pretended, *That to aſſign* Finall Cauſes, *is to preſume our ſelves to be as* Wiſe *as* God Almighty, *or to be* Privy to his Counſells. *But the Queſtion, not Whether we can always reach to the* Ends *of* God Almighty, *or know what is* Abſolutely Beſt *in every Caſe, and accordingly Conclude things therefore to be ſo; but Whether any thing in the* World *be made for* Ends, *otherwiſe then would have reſulted from the* Fortuitous Motion *of* Matter. *No* Preſumption, *nor* Intruſion *into the* Secrets of God Almighty, *to ſay, that* Eyes *were made by him* Intentionally *for the ſake of* Seeing. Anaxagoras *his* Abſurd Aphoriſm, *That* Man was therefore the moſt Solert of all Animals, *becauſe he* Chanced to have Hands. *Far more Reaſonable to think, (as* Ariſtotle *concludeth) That becauſe Man was the* wiſeſt *of all* Animals, *therefore* he had Hands given him. *More* proper *to give* Pipes, to one that hath Muſicall skill, *then* upon him that hath Pipes, *to beſtow* Muſicall skill. 685

In the Laſt place, The Mechanick Theiſts Pretend, *and that with ſome more plauſibility, That it is below the Dignity of* God Almighty, *to perform all thoſe Mean and* Triviall Offices *of* Nature, *Himſelf* Immediatly. *This* Anſwered *again; That though the* Divine Wiſedom, *it ſelf Contrived the* Syſtem *of the* whole, *for* Ends; *yet is there an* Artificial Nature *under him, as his* Inferiour Miniſter *and* Executioner. Proclus *his Deſcription hereof. This* Nature *to* Proclus, *a* God *or* Goddeſs; *but onely as the Bodies of the* Animated Stars *were called Gods, becauſe the* Statues *of the* Gods. 685, 686

That we cannot otherwiſe Conclude, concerning theſe Mechanick Theiſts, *who derive all things in the* Mundane Syſtem, *from the* Neceſſary Motions *of* Senſleſs Matter, *without the* Direction *of any* Mind *or* God; *but that they are* Imperfect Theiſts, *or have a certain* Tang *of the* Atheiſtick Enthuſiaſm, (*the* Spirit *of* Infidelity) *hanging about them.* Page 687

But theſe Mechanick Theiſts *Counterbalanc'd by another ſort of* Atheiſts, *not* Fortuitous *nor* Mechanicall; *namely the* Hylozoiſts; *who acknowledge the* works of Nature *to be the* works of Underſtanding, *and deride* Democritus *his* Rough *and* Hooky Atoms, *devoid of Life; they attributing* Life *to all* Matter *as ſuch, and concluding the* Vulgar Notion *of a* God, *to be but an* Inadequate Conception *of* Matter, *its* Energetick Nature *being taken alone by it ſelf as a* Compleat Subſtance. *Theſe* Hylozoiſts, *never able to ſatisfy that* Phænomenon, *of the* One Agreeing *and* Conſpiring Harmony *throughout the* whole Univerſe: *every* Atom of Matter, *according to them, being a Diſtinct* Percipient; *and theſe Unable to confer* Notions *with One another.* 687

Nor can the other Coſmo-Plaſtick Atheiſts (*to whom the whole World, but one* Huge Plant *or* Vegetable, *Endued with a* Spermatick, Artificiall Nature, *Orderly diſpoſing the whole, without* Senſe *or* Underſtanding,) *doe any thing towards the* Salving *of This, or any other* Phænomena: *it being* Impoſſible, *That there ſhould be any ſuch* Regular Nature, *otherwiſe then as* Derived from, *and* Depending on, *a* Perfect Mind. ibid.

Beſides theſe Three Phænomena, *of* Cogitation, Motion, *and the* Artificial Frame *of things, with the* Conſpiring Harmony *of the Whole, (no way Salvable by* Atheiſts) *Here further Added, That thoſe who aſſerted the* Novity *of the* World, *could not poſſibly give an Account neither, of the* Firſt Beginning *of* Men, *and other* Animals, *not now* Generated *out of* Putrefaction. Ariſtotle *ſometimes doubtfull and ſtaggering concerning the* World's Eternity. Men *and all other* Animals *not produced at firſt by* Chance, *either as* Worms *out of* Putrefaction, *or out of* Eggs, *or* Wombs, *growing out of the Earth; Becauſe no Reaſon to be given, why* Chance *ſhould not as well produce the ſame out of the Earth ſtill.* Epicurus *his vain* Pretence, *that the* Earth, *as a* Child-bearing Woman, *was now grown* Effete *and* Barren. *Moreover,* Men *and* Animals, *whether firſt* Generated *out of* Putrefaction, *or excluded out of* Wombs *or* Egge-ſhells, *ſuppoſed by theſe* Atheiſts *themſelves, to have been produced in a* Tender, Infant-like State, *ſo that they could neither ſupply themſelves with nouriſhment, nor defend themſelves from harms. A Dream of* Epicurus, *That*

The Contents.

That the Earth *ſent forth* ſtreams *of* Milk *after thoſe her* New-born Infants *and* Nurſlings; *Confuted by* Critolaus *in* Philo. *Another* Precarious Suppoſition *or* Figment *of* Epicurus; *That then no* immoderate *Heats nor Colds, nor any bluſtering Winds.* Anaximander's *way of* Salving *this* Difficulty; *That Men were firſt generated and nouriſhed in the bellies of Fiſhes, till able to ſhift for themſelves; and then diſgorged upon dry land.* Atheiſts *ſwallow any thing, rather then a* God. Page 688, 689

Wherefore here being Dignus Vindice Nodus, *a* Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, *Reaſonably introduced, in the* Moſaick Cabbala, *to* ſolve *the ſame. It appearing, from all Circumſtances put together, that this whole* Phænomenon *ſurpaſſes, not onely the* Mechanick, *but alſo the* Plaſtick Powers; *there being much of* Diſcretion *therein. However, not denied, but that the* Miniſtery *of Spirits (Created before* Man, *and other* Terreſtrial Animals) *might be here made uſe of. As in* Plato, *after the* Creation *of* Immortal Souls, *by the* Supreme God, *the Framing of* Mortal Bodies *is committed to* Junior Gods. 689,690

Furthermore, Atheiſts no more able to Salve *that* ordinary Phænomenon, *of the* Conſervation of Species, *by the Difference of* Sexes, *and a due Proportion of Number, kept up between* Males *and* Females. *Here a Providence alſo, Superiour, as well to the* Plaſtick, *as* Mechanick Nature. ibid.

Laſtly, Other Phænomena, *as* Real, *though not* Phyſical; *which Atheiſts cannot poſſibly* Salve, *and therefore do commonly Deny; as of* Natural Juſtice *or* Honeſty, *and* Obligation; *the Foundation of* Politicks, *and the* Mathematicks *of* Religion. *And of* Liberty *of Will, not onely That of* Fortuitous Self-determination, *when an equal* Eligibility *of* Objects; *but alſo That which makes men* deſerve Commendation *and* Blame. *Theſe not commonly diſtinguiſhed, as they Ought.* Epicurus *his endeavour to* Salve Liberty of Will, *from Atoms* Declining *Uncertainly from the* Perpendicular, *meer* Madneſs *and* Frenzy. 690,691

And now have we already Preventively Confuted the Third Atheiſtick Pretence, *to Salve the* Phænomenon of Theiſm, *from the* Fiction *and* Impoſture *of* Politicians; *we having proved, That* Philoſophy, *and the true* Knowledg of Cauſes, *inferre the Exiſtence of a God. Nevertheleſs this to be here further* Anſwered. 691

That States-men *and* Politicians *could not have made ſuch uſe of* Religion, *as ſometimes they have done, had it been a meer* Cheat *and* Figment *of their own. Civil Sovereigns in all the diſtant places of the World, could not have ſo univerſally conſpired, in this one Piece of* State-craft *or* Cozenage: *nor yet have been able, to poſſeſs the Minds of men every-where with ſuch a conſtant Awe and Dread of an* Inviſible Nothing. *The World would long ſince have diſcovered this* Cheat, *and ſuſpected a Plot upon their* Liberty, *in the* Fiction of a God; *at leaſt Governours themſelves would have underſtood it; many of which notwithſtanding as much awed with the Fear of this* Inviſible Nothing, *as any Others. Other* Cheats *and* Juggles, *when once Detected, no longer Practiſed. But Religion now as much in Credit as ever, though ſo long ſince Decried by* Atheiſts, *for a* Political Cheat. *That* Chriſtianity, *a Religion Founded in no* Humane Policy, *prevailed over the* Craft *and* Power *of all* Civill Sovereigns, *and Conquered the* Perſecuting World, *by ſuffering Deaths and Martyrdoms. This Preſignified by the* Prophetick Spirit. Page 691; 692

Had the Idea *of* God, *been an* Arbitrarious Figment, *not conceivable, how men ſhould have univerſally agreed in the ſame, and the Attributes belonging thereunto: (This Argument uſed by* Sextus:) *Nor that Civil Sovereigns themſelves ſhould ſo univerſally have* Jumped *in it.* 692,693

Furthermore; Not Conceivable, how this Thought *or* Idea *of a God ſhould have been Formed by any, had it been the* Idea of Nothing. *The* Superficialneſs of Atheiſts, *in Pretending, that* Politicians, *by telling men of Such a thing, put the* Idea *into their Minds. No* Notions, *or* Idea's, *put into mens minds by* Words, *but onely the* Phantaſms of the Sounds. *Though all* Learning *be not* Remembrance; *yet is all* Humane Teaching, *but* Maieutical *or* Obſtetricious; *not the* Filling of the Soul *as a Veſſel, by Pouring into it from without; but the* Kindling of it *from within. Words ſignifie nothing, to him that cannot raiſe up within himſelf the* Notions, *or* Idea's, *correſpondent to them. However, the Difficulty ſtill remains; How* States-men *themſelves, or the firſt* Inventer *of this* Cheat, *could have framed any* Notion *at all of a* Non-Entity. 693,694

Here the Atheiſts *Pretend, That there is a* Feigning *Power in the Soul, whereby it can make* Idea's *and* Conceptions *of* Non-Entities; *as of a* Golden Mountain, *or a* Centaur: *and that by this, an* Idea *of God might be framed, though there be no* ſuch Thing. *Anſwer; That all the* Feigning Power *of the Soul, conſiſteth onely in* Compounding Idea's *of things, that Really Exiſt Apart, but not in that* Conjunction. *The Mind cannot make any* New Conceptive Cogitation, *which was not Before; as the* Painter *or* Limner *cannot Feign* Colours. *Moreover the whole of theſe* Fictitious Idea's, *though it have no* Actual, *yet*

hath it a Possible Entity. *The* Deity *it Self, though it could Create a World out of Nothing, yet can it not* Create *more* Cogitation *or* Conception, *then* Is, *or was always contained in its own* Mind *from* Eternity; *nor frame a* Positive Idea *of that, which hath no* Possible Entity. Page 694, 695

The Idea of God, *no* Compilement *or* Aggregation *of things, that Exist Severally, apart in the World; because then it would be a meer* Arbitrarious thing, *and what Every one Pleased; the contrary whereunto hath been before manifested.* 695

Again; Some Attributes *of the* Deity, *nowhere else to be found in the whole World; and therefore must be* Absolute Non-Entities, *were there no* God. *Here the* Painter *must Feign* Colours, *and Create* New Cogitation, *out of* Nothing. ibid.

Lastly; Upon Supposition, That there is no God, *it is Impossible not onely, that there should be any for the Future, but also, that there should ever have been any; whereas all* Fictitious Idea's *must have a* Possible Entity, *since otherwise they would be* Unconceivable, *and No* Idea's. ibid.

Wherefore some Atheists *will further Pretend; That besides this* Power *of* Compounding *things together, the* Soul *hath another* Ampliating, *or* Amplifying Power; *by both which together, though there be no* God Existing, *nor yet Possible; the* Idea *of him might be* Fictitiously Made: *those* Attributes *which are nowhere else to be found, arising by way of* Amplification *or* Augmentation *of Something found in* Men. 695, 696

Answer; *First, That according to the Principles of these* Atheists, *that all our* Conceptions *are nothing but* Passions *from* Objects without; *there cannot Possibly be any such* Amplifying Power *in the* Soul, *whereby it could make* More then Is. *Thus* Protagoras *in* Plato; No man can Conceive any thing, but what he suffers. *Here also, (as* Sextus *Intimateth,) the* Atheists *guilty of that* Fallacy, *called a* Circle *or* Dialle-lus. *For having First undiscernedly made the* Idea of Imperfection, *from* Perfection; *they then goe about again, to make the* Idea of Perfection, *out of* Imperfection. *That men have a* Notion of Perfection, *by which, as a* Rule, *they Judge things to be* Imperfect; *Evident from that Direction given by all* Theologers, *To Conceive* of God, *in way of* Remotion *or* Abstraction *of all* Imperfection. *Lastly,* Finite Things *added together, can never make up* Infinite; *as more and more* Time *backward, can never reach to* Eternity *without Beginning.* God *differs from* Imperfect things, *not in* Degree, *but* Kind. *As for* Infinite Space, *said to consist of* Parts Finite; *we certain of no more then this, that the* Finite World *might have been made* Bigger *and* Bigger Infinitely; *for which very* Cause, *it could never be* Actually Infinite. Gassendus *his* Objection, *That the* Idea *of an* Infinite God, *might as well be Feigned, as that of* Infinite Worlds. *But* Infinite Worlds, *are but* Words *or* Notions *ill Put together, or Combined;* Infinity *being a* Real Thing *in* Nature, *but* Misapplied, *it being Proper onely to the* Deity. Page 696, 697

The Conclusion; That since the Soul *can neither* Make *the* Idea *of* Infinite, *by* Amplification *of* Finite; *nor* Feign *or* Create *any* New Cogitation, *which was not before; nor make a* Positive Idea, *of a* Non-Entity; *certain, that the* Idea *of* God, *no* Fictitious Thing. 697

Further made Evident, That Religion *not the* Figment of Civil Sovereigns. Obligation *in* Conscience, *the* Foundation *of all* Civil Right *and* Authority. Covenants *without this, Nothing but* Words *and* Breath. Obligation, *not from* Laws *neither; but before them; or otherwise they could not Oblige. Lastly, This derived, not from* Utility *neither. Were* Obligation *to* Civil Obedience *Made by ment* Private Utility, *then could it be* Dissolved *by the Same. Wherefore if* Religion, *a* Fiction *or* Imposture; Civil Sovereignty *must needs be so too.* 697, 698

Had Religion *been a* Fiction of Politicians, *they would then have made it every way* Pliable, *and* Flexible; *since otherwise it would not Serve their Turn, nor consist with their* Infinite Right. 698

But Religion *in its own Nature, a* Stiff, Inflexible thing, *as also* Justice, *it being not* Factitious, *or* Made by Will. *There may therefore be a Contradiction, betwixt the Laws of God, and of Men; and in this case does Religion conclude, That* God *ought to be* Obeyed, rather then Men. *For this Cause,* Atheistick Politicians *of Latter times, declare against* Religion *as* Inconsistent *with* Civil Sovereignty; *It destroying* Infinite Right, *Introducing* Private Judgment, *or* Conscience, *and a* Fear *Greater then that of the* Leviathan; *to wit, of him who can Inflict* Eternal Punishments. Senseless Matter *the* Atheists Natural God; *the* Leviathan *or* Civil Sovereign, *his* Artificial One. *Religion thus disowned and disclaimed by* Politicians, *as Inconsistent with* Civil Power, *could not be the* Creature *of* Political Art. *Thus all the* Three Atheistick Pretences, *to* Salve *the* Phænomenon *of* Religion; *from* Fear, Ignorance of Causes, *and* Fiction *of* Politicians; *fully Confuted.* 698, 700

But because, besides these Ordinary Phænomena, *before mentioned, there are certain other* Extraordinary ones, *that cannot be* Salved *by* Atheists,

The Contents.

Atheists, *which therefore they will impute, Partly to* Mens Fear *and* Ignorance, *and Partly to the* Fiction *and* Impoſture *of* Civil Governours, *(viz.* Apparitions, Miracles, *and* Prophecies;) *the Reality of theſe, here alſo to be briefly* Vindicated. Page 700

Firſt, as for Apparitions; *Though much of* Fabuloſity *in theſe Relations, yet unqueſtionably ſomething of* Truth. Atheiſts *imputing theſe things to meus miſtaking their* Dreams *and* Phancies *for* Senſations, *Contradict their own* Fundamental Principle, *That* Senſe *is the onely* Criterion *of* Truth; *as alſo Derogate more from* Humane Teſtimony, *then they ought.* ibid.

That ſome Atheiſts *Senſible hereof, have acknowledged the* Reality of Apparitions, *concluding them nevertheleſs to be the Meer* Creatures of Imagination; *as if a* Strong Phancy *could produce* Real Subſtances, *or* Objects of Senſe. *The* Fanaticiſm *of* Atheiſts, *who will rather Believe the greateſt* Impoſſibilities, *then endanger the* Being of a God. Inviſible Ghoſts Permanent, *eaſily introduce* One Supreme Ghoſt *of the whole* World. 700, 701

Democritus *yet further Convinced; That there were* Inviſible Beings Superiour *to Men, Independent upon Imagination, and* Permanent; *(called by him* Idols*) but having nothing* Immortal *in them; and therefore that a* God *could be no more proved from the Exiſtence of them, then of Men. Granted by him, that there were, not onely* Terreſtrial, *but alſo* Aerial *and* Ætherial Animals; *and that all thoſe* Vaſt Regions *of the* Univerſe *above, were not* Deſert *and* Uninhabited. *Here ſomething of the* Fathers, *aſſerting* Angels *to have* Bodies: *but more afterwards.* 701, 702

To this Phænomenon *of* Apparitions, *may be added thoſe Two others, of* Witches *and* Demoniacks; *both of theſe proving, That* Spirits *are not* Phancies, *nor* Inhabitants of mens Brains *onely, but of the* World: *as alſo, That there are ſome* Impure Spirits, *a Confirmation of the* Truth of Chriſtianity. *The* Confident Exploders *of* Witchcraft, *ſuſpicable for* Atheiſm. *As for* Demoniacks *or* Energumeni, *certain from* Joſephus, *That the* Jews *did not take theſe* Demons *or* Devils, *for* Bodily Diſeaſes; *but* Real Subſtances, *poſſeſſing the* Bodies of Men. *Nor probable, that they ſuppoſed, as the* Gnoſticks *afterward, all Diſeaſes to be the* Infeſtation *of* Evil Spirits; *nor yet, (as ſome think) all* Demoniacks *to be* Mad-men. *But when there were any* Unuſual *and* Extraordinary Symptoms, *in any* Bodily Diſtemper, *but eſpecially that of* Madneſs, *they ſuppoſing this to be* Supernatural, *imputed it to the* Infeſtation *of ſome* Devil. *Thus alſo the* Greeks. 702, 704

That Demoniacks *and* Energumeni, *are a* Real Phænomenon; *and that there are ſuch alſo in theſe Times of ours, Aſſerted by* Fernelius *and* Sennertus. *Such* Maniacal Perſons, *as not onely diſcover* Secrets, *but alſo ſpeak* Languages, *which they had never learnt, Unqueſtionably* Demoniacks *or* Energumeni. *That there have been ſuch in the Times ſince our* Saviour, *proved out of* Pſellus; *as alſo from* Fernelius. *This for the Vindication of* Chriſtianity, *againſt thoſe who ſuſpect the Scripture-*Demoniacks *for* Figments. Page 704, 706

The Second Extraordinary Phænomenon *Propoſed; That of* Miracles, *and* Effects Supernatural. *That there have been ſuch things amongſt the* Pagans, *and ſince the Times of* Chriſtianity *too; Evident from their* Records. *But more Inſtances of theſe in* Scripture. 706

Two Sorts *of* Miracles. Firſt, *Such as, though they cannot be done by* Ordinary Cauſes, *yet may be effected by the* Natural Power *of* Inviſible Spirits, Angels, *or* Demons. *As* Illiterate Demoniacks, *ſpeaking* Greek. *Such amongſt the* Pagans *that* Miracle of the Whetſtone, *cut in two with a Razour.* Secondly, *Such as tranſcend the* Natural Power *of all* Second Cauſes, *and* Created Beings. 706, 707

That late Politico-Theological Treatiſe, *denying both theſe Sorts of* Miracles; *Inconſiderable, and not deſerving here a* Confutation. 707

Suppoſed in Deut. *That* Miracles *of the* Former ſort, *might be done by* Falſe Prophets, *in Confirmation of* Idolatry. *Wherefore* Miracles alone, *not ſufficient to confirm every* Doctrine. ibid.

Accordingly in the New Teſtament *do we read, of* Τέρατα Ψεύδους Lying Miracles; *that is,* Miracles *done in* Confirmation of a Lie, *and by the* Power of Satan, *&c. God permitting it, in way of* Probation *of ſome, and* Puniſhment *of others.* Miracles *done for the promoting of* Creature-Worſhip *or* Idolatry, *inſtead of* Juſtifying *the ſame, themſelves Condemned by it.* 708

Had the Miracles *of our* Saviour *been all of the* Former Kind *onely, yet ought the* Jews, *according to* Moſes Law, *to have acknowledged him for a* True Prophet, *he coming in the* Name of the Lord, *and not Exhorting to* Idolatry. *Suppoſed in* Deut. *That God would not Permit* Falſe Prophets *to doe* Miracles, *ſave onely in the Caſe of* Idolatry; *or when the* Doctrine *is diſcoverable to be* Falſe *by the Light of* Nature; *becauſe that would be an* Invincible Temptation. *Our* Saviour, *That* Eximious Prophet *foretold, by whom* God *would again reveal his Will to the World; and no more out of* Flaming Fire. *Nevertheleſs ſome* Miracles *of our* Saviour

Christ's *such also, as could be done onely by the* Power of God Almighty. Page 708, 709

All Miracles *evince* Spirits; *to disbelieve which is, to disbelieve* Sense, *or Unreasonably to Derogate from* Humane Testimony. *Had the* Gentiles *entertained the* Faith of Christ, *without* Miracles, *This it self would have been a* Great Miracle. 709

The Last Extraordinary Phænomenon, Divination *or* Prophecy. *This also evinces* Spirits, (*called* Gods *by the* Pagans:) *and thus that of theirs True*; If Divination, then Gods. 710

Two Sorts *of* Predictions *likewise, as of* Miracles. *First, such as might proceed from the* Natural Presageing Power *of* Created Spirits. *Such* Predictions *acknowledged by* Democritus, *upon account of his* Idols. *Not so much* Contingency *in* Humane Actions, *by reason of* Mens Liberty of Will, *as some suppose.* 710, 711

Another Sort of Predictions *of* Future Events, *Imputable onely to the* Supernatural Prescience *of* God Almighty. Epicurus *his Pretence, That* Divination *took away* Liberty of Will; *either as* Supposing, *or* Making *a* Necessity. *Some* Theists *also denying the* Prescience *of* God Almighty, *upon the same Account. Certain, That no* Created Being *can foreknow* Future Events, *otherwise then in their* Causes. *Wherefore* Predictions *of such* Events, *as had no* Necessary Antecedent Causes, *Evince a* God. 711, 712

That there is Foreknowledge *of* Future Events, Unforeknowable to Men; *formerly the general* Perswasion *of Mankind.* Oracles *and* Predictions *amongst the* Pagans, *which Evince* Spirits; *as that of* Actius Navius. *Most of the* Pagan Oracles, *from the* Natural Presageing Power *of* Demons. *Nevertheless some* Instances *of* Predictions *of a higher kind amongst them; as that of* Vectius Valens, *and the* Sibyls. *Thus* Balaam, Divinely *assisted to* Predict *our* Saviour. 712, 713

Scriptures *Triumphing over* Pagan Oracles. Predictions *concerning our Saviour* Christ, *and the* Conversion *of the* Gentiles. *Amongst which that remarkable one, of the* Seventy Weeks. 713, 714

Other Predictions *concerning the* Fates of Kingdoms, *and of the* Church. Daniel's Fourth Ten-Horned Beast, *the* Roman Empire. *This* Prophecy *of* Daniel's, *carried on further in the* Apocalyps. *Both of them* Prophetick Calendars *of* Times, *to the End of the World.* ibid.

That this Phænomenon *of* Scripture-Prophecies, *cannot Possibly be Imputed by* Atheists, *as some others, to* Fear, *or* Ignorance *of* Causes, *or to the* Fiction of Politicians. *They not onely Evince a* Deity, *but also the* Truth of Christianity. *To this Purpose, of more Use to us, who now live, then the* Miracles *themselves Recorded in Scripture.* Page 714, 715

These Five Extraordinary Phænomena, *all of them evince,* Spirits *to be no* Fancies, *but* Substantiall Inhabitants *of the* World; *from whence a* God *may be Inferred. Some of them,* Immediately *prove a* Deity. ibid.

Here have we not onely fully Confuted all the Atheistick Pretences *from the* Idea of God, *but also by the way, already Proposed several* Substantiall Arguments *for a* Deity. *The Existence whereof will now be further proved from its very* Idea. ibid.

True, That some of the Ancient Theists *themselves, Declare* God *Not to be* Demonstrable. *Thus* Alexander Aphrodis. Clemens Alexand. *But their meaning therein no more then this, That* God *cannot be* Demonstrated à Priori, *from any* Antecedent Necessary Cause. *Not follow from hence, That therefore no* Certainty, *or* Knowledge *of the* Existence *of a* God; *but onely* Conjectural Probability, Faith, *and* Opinion. *We may have a* Certain Knowledge *of things, the Non whereof cannot be* Demonstrated à Priori; *as,* That there was Something or other Eternal, without Beginning. *Whensoever a thing is Necessarily Inferred, from what is altogether* Undeniable, *this may be called a* Demonstration. *Many* Geometricall Demonstrations *such; or of the Non onely.* 715, 716

A Sceptical Position *of* Cartesius; *That there can be no Certainty of any thing, no not of* Geometrical Theorems, *nor* Common Notions; *before we be Certain of the* Existence *of a* God, *Essentially Good, who therefore cannot Deceive. From whence it would follow, That neither* Atheists, *nor such* Theists, *as assert an* Arbitrary Deity, *can ever be certain of any thing; as That,* Two and Two are Four. 716, 717

However some appearance of Piety in this Assertion; *yet is it a Foundation of* Eternal Scepticism, *both as to all other things, and the* Existence of a God. *That* Cartesius *here went Round in a Circle, proving the* Existence of a God, *from our* Faculties; *and then the* Truth *of our* Faculties, *from the* Existence of a God; *and consequently Proved nothing. If it be possible, that our* Faculties *might be False, then must we confess it possible, that there may be* no God; *and Consequently remain for ever* Sceptical *about it.* ibid.

Wherefore a Necessity of Exploding *and* Confuting *this* New Sceptical Hypothesis, *of the* Possibility *of our* Faculties *being so made, as to Deceive us, in all our* Cleerest Perceptions. Omnipotence *it self cannot make any thing to be Indifferently* True *or* False. Truth *not* Factitious.

As

The Contents.

As to the Universal Theorems *of* Abstract Science, *the* Measure *of* Truth, *no* Forrein *or* Extraneous thing, *but onely our own* Clear *and* Distinct Perception. *Here whatsoever is* Clearly Perceived, Is. *The very* Essence *of* Truth, Perceptibility. *Granted by all, That there can be no* False Knowledge *or* Understanding. *The* Perception *of the* Understanding, *never* False, *but onely* Obscure. *Not* Nature *that Erreth in us, but* We Our selves, *in Assenting to things not* Clearly Perceived. *Conclusion; That* Omnipotence *cannot* Create *any* Understanding Faculties, *so as to have as* Clear *and* Distinct Conceptions *of all* Falshoods *and* Non-Entities, *as of* Truths: *because whatsoever is* Clearly *and* Distinctly Perceived, *hath therefore an* Entity; *and* Omnipotence *it self (to speak with Reverence) cannot make* Nothing, *to be* Something, *or* Something Nothing. *This no more, then That it cannot doe* Things Contradictious. Conception *the* Measure of Power. Page 717, 719

True, That Sense as such, is but Phantastical *and* Relative: *and were there no other* Perception, *all* Truth *would be* Private, Relative, *and* Seeming; *none* Absolute. *This probably the Reason, why some have suspected the same of* Knowledge *also. But* Mind *and* Understanding *reaches beyond* Phancy *and* Appearance, *to the* Absoluteness *of* Things. *It hath the* Criterion *of* Truth *within it self.* 719, 720

Objected; *That this an* Arrogance, *for* Creatures *to Pretend to an* Absolute Certainty *of any thing.* Answer; *That* God *alone is* Ignorant *of Nothing, and* Infallible *in All things: but no* Derogation *from the* Deity, *to suppose, that he should make* Created Minds *such, as to have a* Certainty of Something; *as the* Whole to be Greater then the Part, *and the like: since otherwise they would be but a meer* Mockery. *Congruous to think, that* God *hath made Men so, as that they may Possibly attain to some Certainty of his own* Existence. Origen, *That* Knowledge is the onely thing that hath Certainty in it. 720, 721

Having now some Firm Ground or Footing to stand upon; a Certainty *of* Common Notions, *without which nothing could be proved by* Reason; *we shall endeavour by means hereof, to* Demonstrate *the* Existence *of a* God *from his* Idea. ibid.

Cartesius *his Undertaking to doe this with* Mathematical Evidence; *as this* Idea *includeth in it* Necessary Existence. *This Argument hitherto not so Successfull, it being by many concluded to be a* Sophism. *That we shall impartially set down all that we can, both For it, and Against it; leaving others to make a Judgment.* 721

First, Against *the* Cartesian Demonstration *of a* God. *That because we can frame an* Idea *of a* Necessarily Existent Being, *it does not at all follow, that* It Is; *since we can frame* Idea's *of things, that Never* Were, *nor* Will *be. Nothing to be gathered from hence, but onely that it is* Not Impossible. *Again, from this* Idea, *Including* Necessary Existence, *nothing else Inferrible, but That, what hath no* Necessary Existence, *is not* Perfect; *and, That if there be a* Perfect Being, *its* Existence *always was, and will be* Necessary: *but not* Absolutely, *That it doth* Exist. *A* Fallacy, *when from the* Necessity *of* Existence *affirmed onely* Hypothetically, *the* Conclusion *is made* Absolutely. *Though a* Perfect Being, Must Exist Necessarily; *yet not therefore follow, that it* Must *and* Doth Exist. *The Latter a thing Indemonstrable.* Page 721, 723

For *the* Cartesian Demonstration *of a* God. *As from the* Notion *of a thing* Impossible, *we conclude, That it never* Was *nor* Will be; *and of that which hath a* Contingent Schesis *to* Existence, *That it* Might be, *or* Might not be; *so from that which hath* Necessary Existence *in its Nature, That it* Actually Is. *The force of the* Argumentation, *not meerly* Hypothetical, *If there be a* Perfect Being, *then is its* Existence Necessary; *because this supposes, that a* Necessary Existent Being, *is* Contingent *to be, or not to be: which a Contradiction. The* Absurdity *of this will better appear, if instead of* Necessary Existence, *we put in* Actuall. *No* Theists *can otherwise prove, that a* God, *though supposed to* Exist, *might not* Happen *by* Chance *to Be. Nevertheless* God, *or a* Perfect Being, *not here* Demonstrated à Priori, *when from its own* Idea. *The Reader left to make a Judgment.* 723, 724

A Progymnasma, *or* Prælusory Attempt, *towards the proving of a* God *from his* Idea, *as including* Necessary Existence. *First, From our having an* Idea *of a* Perfect Being, *Implying no manner of* Contradiction *in it, it follows, that such a thing is* Possible. *And from that* Necessary Existence *Included in this* Idea, *added to the* Possibility *thereof, it further follows, that it* Actually Is. *A* Necessary Existent Being, *if* Possible, Is; *because upon the supposition of its* Non-Existence, *it would be* Impossible *for it, ever to have been. Not so in* Contingent things. *A* Perfect Being, *is either* Impossible *to have* Been, *or else it* Is. *Were* God Possible, *and yet* Not, *He would not be a* Necessary, *but* Contingent Being. *However no Stress laid upon this.* 724, 725

Another Plainer Argument, *for the* Existence of a God, *from his* Idea. *Whatsoever we can frame an* Idea *of in our* Minds, *implying no* Contradiction, *this* either Actually Is, *or else*

The Contents.

if it Be Not, *is* Possible to Be. But if God Be Not, *he is* not Possible to Be. *Therefore He* Is. *The Major before Proved, That we cannot have an* Idea *of any thing, which hath neither* Actuall *nor* Possible Existence. Page 725

A Further Ratiocination *from the* Idea *of* God, *as including* Necessary Existence, *by certain Steps. First, Certain, that* something *or* other *did Exist of It self from* Eternity, *without Beginning. Again, Whatsoever did Exist of It self from* Eternity, *did so Exist* Naturally *and* Necessarily, *and therefore there is a* Necessary Existent Being. *Thirdly, Nothing could Exist of It self from* Eternity Naturally *and* Necessarily, *but what contained* Necessary Self-Existence *in its* Nature. *Lastly, A* Perfect Being, *and nothing else, containeth* Necessary Existence *in its Nature. Therefore* It Is. *An Appendix to this* Argument; *That no* Temporary Successive *Being, could be from* Eternity *without Beginning. This Proved before.* 725,726

Again, The Controversie *betwixt* Atheists *and* Theists, *First* Clearly Stated *from the* Idea *of* God, *and then Satisfactorily* Decided. Premised; *That as every thing was not* Made, *so neither was every thing* Unmade. Atheists *agree in both. The State of the* Controversie *betwixt* Theists *and* Atheists; *Whether that which being it self* Unmade, *was the* Cause *of all other things* Made, *were the* Most Perfect, *or the* Most Imperfect Being. *A certain kind of* Atheistick Theism, *or* Theogonism, *which acknowledging a* God, *or* Soul of the World, *presiding over the Whole, supposed him notwithstanding, to have Emerged out of* Night *and* Chaos; *that is, to have been* Generated *out of* Sensless Matter. 726, 728

The Controversie *thus* Stated, *easily* Decided. *Certain, That* Lesser Perfection *may be derived from* Greater, *or from that which is* Absolutely Perfect; *but* Impossible, *That* Greater Perfection, *and* Higher *Degrees of* Entity, *should rise out of* Lesser *and* Lower. *Things did not* Ascend, *but* Descend. *That* Life *and* Sense *may* Naturally *rise from the meer* Modification *of* Dead *and* Sensless Matter; *as also* Reason *and* Understanding *from* Sense; *the* Philosophy *of the* Kingdom *of* Darkness. *The* Hylozoists *so Sensible of this, that there must be some* Substantial Unmade Life *and* Understanding; *that* Atheizing, *they thought it Necessary to Attribute* Life *and* Understanding *to all* Matter, *as such. This Argument, a* Demonstration *of the* Impossibility of Atheism. 728, 729

The Controversie *again more* Particularly Stated, *from the* Idea *of* God, *as including* Mind *and* Understanding *in it.* Viz. *Whether all* Mind *were* Made *or* Generated *out of* Senseless Matter; *or Whether there were an* Eternal Unmade Mind, *the Maker of all. This the Doctrine of* Theists, *That* Mind the Oldest of all things; *of* Atheists, *That it is a* Postnate *thing,* Younger *then the* World, *and an* Umbratile Image *of* Real Beings. Page 729

The Controversie *thus Stated, again Decided. Though it does not follow, That if once there had been no* Corporeal World *or* Matter, *there could never have been any; yet is it certain, That if once there had been no* Life *nor* Mind, *there could never have been any* Life *or* Mind. *Our* Imperfect Minds, *not Of Themselves from Eternity, and therefore Derived from a* Perfect Unmade Mind. 729, 730

That Atheists *think, their chief strength to lie here, in their Disproving a* God, *from the* Nature *of* Understanding *and* Knowledge. *According to them,* Things *made* Knowledge, *and not* Knowledge Things. *All* Mind *and* Understanding, *the* Creature *of* Sensibles, *and a* Phantastick Image *of them: and therefore no* Mind *their* Creatour. *Thus does a Modern Writer conclude, That* Knowledge *and* Understanding *is not to be Attributed to* God, *because it implieth* Dependence *upon Things without; which is all one as if he should have said, That* Sensless Matter *is the most* Perfect *of all things, and the* Highest Numen. 730

A Compendious Confutation of the Premised Atheistick Principles. Knowledge *not the* Activity *of* Sensibles *upon the* Knower, *and his* Passions. Sensible *things themselves, not* Known *by the* Passion, *or* Phancy *of* Sense. Knowledge *not from the* Force *of the* Thing Known, *but of the* Knower. *Besides* Phantasms *of* Singular Bodies, Intelligible Idea's *Universal. A late* Atheistick Paradox, *That* Universals, *nothing but* Names. Axiomatical Truths *in Abstract Sciences no* Passion *from* Bodies *by* Sense, *nor yet gathered by* Induction *from Many Singulars; we at once Perceiving it Impossible, that they should be otherwise. An Ingenious* Observation *of* Aristotle's; *That could it be* Perceived *by* Sense, *the Three* Angles *of a Triangle to be* Equal *to Two* Right; *yet would not this be* Science, *or* Knowledge, *Properly so called: which is of* Universals *First, and from thence descends to* Singulars. 730, 732

Again, We have Conceptions of things Incorporeal, *as also of such* Corporeals *as never did Exist, and whose Accuracy* Sense *could not reach to: as a* Perfect straight Line, *and* Plain Superficies, *an Exact* Triangle, Circle, *or* Sphear. *That we have a Power of framing* Idea's *of things that never were nor will be, but onely* Possible. 732

Inferred from hence, That Humane Science

it

it ſelf, not the meer Image *and* Creature *of* Singular *Senſibles, but* Proleptical *to them, and in order of Nature Before them. But ſince there muſt be* Νοητὸν, *before* Νῆς, Intelligibles, *before* Intellection; *the onely true Account of* Knowledge *and its* Original, *is from a* Perfect Omnipotent Being, *Comprehending it ſelf, and the Extent of its own Power, or the* Poſſibilities *of* all things, *their* Relations *and* Immutable Truths. *And of this one* Perfect Mind, *all* Imperfect Minds Partake. Page 732, 733

Knowledge *therefore in the Nature of it, ſuppoſeth the Exiſtence of a* Perfect Omnipotent Being, *as its* Νοητὸν, *or* Intelligible. *This* Comprehending *it ſelf, the Firſt* Original Knowledge, *a* Mind *before the* World, *and all* Senſibles, *not Ectypall, but Archetypall, and the Framer of all. Wherefore not* Atheiſm, *but* Theiſm, Demonſtrable *from* Knowledge *and* Underſtanding. 733, 734

This further Confirmed from hence; Becauſe there are Eternal Verities, *ſuch as were never* Made, *nor had any* Beginning. *That the* Diagonial *of a* Square, *Incommenſurable to the* Sides, *an* Eternal Truth *to* Ariſtotle. Juſtin Martyr's αἰώνια Δικαια, *or* Eternal Moralls, Geometrical Truths, *not* Made *by any man's* Thinking, *but before all Men; as alſo before the* World *and* Matter *it ſelf.* 734

Now if there be Eternal Verities, *the* Simple Reaſons *and* Intelligible Eſſences *of* Things, *muſt needs be* Eternal *likewiſe. Theſe called by* Plato, *Things* that Always Are, *but were* never Made, Ingenerable *and* Incorruptible. *However* Ariſtotle *quarrels with* Plato's Idea's, *yet does he alſo agree with him in this, That the* Forms *or* Species *of things, were* Eternal, *and* Never Made; *and that there is No* Generation *of them; and that there are other things beſides* Senſibles, *the* Immutable Objects *of* Science. *Certain, That there could be no* Immutable Science, *were there no other* Objects *of the Mind, but* Senſibles. *The Objects of* Geometrical Science, *no* Material Triangles, Squares, &c. *Theſe, by* Ariſtotle, *ſaid to be* No where. *The* Intelligible Natures *of things to* Philo, *the moſt* Neceſſary Eſſences. 735, 736

Now if there be Eternal Truths, *and* Intelligibles, *whoſe* Exiſtence *alſo is* Neceſſary; *ſince theſe can be no where but in a* Mind; *there muſt be an* Eternal, Neceſſarily Exiſting Mind, *Comprehending all theſe* Idea's *and* Truths *at once, or Being them. Which no other, then the* Mind of a Perfect Omnipotent Being, *Comprehending it ſelf, and all* Poſſibilities *of things, the Extent of its own Power.* 736, 737

Wherefore there can be but One *onely* Original Mind; *which all other* Minds Partake of. *Hence* Idea's, *or* Notions, *exactly alike in ſeveral men; and* Truths Indiviſibly the Same: *Becauſe their* Minds *all* Stamped *with the ſame* Original Seal. Themiſtius; *That One man could not Teach Another, were there not the ſame Notion both in the* Learner *and* Teacher. *Nor could men confer together as they doe, were there not* One Mind, *that All* Partaked of. *That* Anti-Monarchical Opinion, *of Many* Underſtanding *Beings* Eternal, *and* Independent; *Confuted. And now have we not onely aſſerted the* Idea *of* God, *and Confuted all the* Atheiſtick Pretences *againſt it; but alſo from this* Idea, *Demonſtrated his* Exiſtence. Page 737, 738

SECT. II.

A Confutation *of the* Second Atheiſtick Argument, *Againſt* Omnipotence *and* Divine Creation; *That* Nothing can by any Power whatſoever, be Made out of Nothing. *In* Anſwer *to which,* Three things *to be Inſiſted on. Firſt, That* De Nihilo Nihil, Nothing out of Nothing, *is in ſome Senſe an* Axiome *of Unqueſtionable* Truth, *but then makes Nothing againſt* Theiſm, *or* Divine Creation. *Secondly, That* Nothing out of Nothing, *in the Senſe of the* Atheiſtick Objectors, viz. *That* Nothing *which* once was Not, *could by* any Power whatſoever, *be brought into* Being, *is Abſolutely* Falſe; *and that if it were True, it would make no more againſt* Theiſm, *then it doth againſt* Atheiſm. *Laſtly, That from this very* Axiome, Nothing from Nothing, *in the* True Senſe *thereof, the* Abſolute Impoſſibility *of* Atheiſm *is* Demonſtrable. 738

De Nihilo Nihil, Nothing from Nothing, *in ſome Senſe, is a* Common Notion *of Unqueſtionable Truth. For Firſt, Certain, That Nothing which once was Not, could ever* Of It Self *come into Being; or, That Nothing* can take beginning *of* Exiſtence *from* It ſelf; *or, That Nothing can be* Made or Produced, *without an* Efficient Cauſe. *From whence Demonſtrated, That there* was never Nothing; *or, That* every thing *was not* Made, *but* Something did Exiſt *of* It Self from Eternity, Unmade, *or* Underived *from any thing elſe.* 738, 739

Again, Certain alſo, That Nothing *could* be Efficiently Produced *by what hath not at leaſt* Equal Perfection, *and a* Sufficient Active *or* Productive Power. *That of an Effect, which Tranſcends the Perfection of its* ſuppoſed Cauſe, *muſt* Come from Nothing, *or be* Made without a Cauſe. *Nor can any thing be Produced by another, though having* Equal Perfection, *unleſs it have alſo a* Sufficient Active *or* Productive

The Contents.

ductive Power. *Hence Certain, That were there once no* Motion *at all in the world, and no other* Subſtance *beſides* Body, *which had no* Self-Moving Power, *there could never Poſſibly be any* Motion *or* Mutation *to all* Eternity, *for want of a* Sufficient Cauſe, *or* Productive Power. *No* Imperfect Being, *hath a* Productive Power *of any* New Subſtance, *which was not before, but onely of* New Accidents *and* Modifications; *that is, No* Creature *can* Create. *Which Two forementioned* Senſes *reſpect the* Efficient Cauſe. Page 739

Thirdly, Nothing can be Materially Produced *out of* Nothing Præ-Exiſting *or* Inexiſting. *And therefore in all* Natural Generations (*where the* Supernaturall Power *of the* Deity *interpoſes not*) *No* New Reall Entity *or* Subſtance Produced, *which was not Before, but onely* New Modifications *of what* Subſtantially Præ-Exiſted. 739, 740

Nothing *out of* Nothing, *ſo much Inſiſted on by the old* Phyſiologers *before* Ariſtotle, *in this Senſe; commonly miſunderſtood by* Modern Writers, *as if they deſigned thereby, to take away all* Divine Creation *out of* Nothing Præ-Exiſting. *Granted, This to have been the Senſe of the* Stoicks *and of* Plutarch; *He affirming, the* World *to have been no otherwiſe Made by God, then a* Houſe *is by a* Carpenter, *or a* Garment *by a* Tailour. Plutarch *and the* Stoicks *therefore*, Imperfect Theiſts, *but nevertheleſs* Zealous Religioniſts. *But the* Ancient Italick Philoſophers *here Acted onely as* Phyſiologers, *and not as* Theologers, *or* Metaphyſicians; *they not directing themſelves, againſt a* Divine Creation out of Nothing Præ-Exiſting; *but onely contending, That neither in* Naturall Generations, *any new* Reall Entity *was* Created, *nor in* Corruptions, Annihilated; *but onely the* Modifications *of what before* Exiſted, *Changed: or, That No* New Reall Entity *could be* Made *out of* Matter. 740, 741

That this was the True meaning of thoſe Ancient Phyſiologers, *Evident from the* Uſe *which they made of this* Principle, Nothing out of Nothing; *Which Twofold. Firſt, Upon this Foundation, they Endeavoured to eſtabliſh a Peculiar Kind of* Phyſiology, *and ſome* Atomology *or other, either* Similar *or* Diſſimilar; Homœomery *or* Anomœomery. Anaxagoras *from hence concluded, becauſe* Nothing could be Made out of Nothing Præ-Exiſting and Inexiſting, *that therefore there were in every Body*, Similar Atoms, *of all Kinds, out of which, by* Concretions, *and* Secretions, *all* Naturall Generations Made; *ſo that* Bone *was Made out of* Bony Atoms Præ-Exiſting *and* Inexiſting; Fleſh *out of* Fleſhy, *and the like. This the* Anaxagorean Homœomery, *or* Similar Atomology, *built upon this Principle*, Nothing out of Nothing. Page 741, 742

But the Ancient Italicks, *both before and after* Anaxagoras, (*whom* Leucippus, Democritus, *and* Epicurus *here followed*) *with greater Sagacity concluded, from the ſame Principle*, Nothing out of Nothing; *That thoſe* Qualities *and* Forms *of Bodies, Naturally* Generated *and* Corrupted, *were therefore no* Reall Entities, *diſtinct from the* Subſtance of Matter, *but onely* Different Modifications *thereof, Cauſing* Different Phancies *in us; and this an* Anomœomery, *or* Diſſimilar Atomology, *the* Atoms *thereof being Devoid of* Qualities. *Thoſe Simple* Elements *or* Letters (*in* Nature's Alphabet) *out of which, variouſly Combined, theſe* Philoſophers Spelled *out, or* Compounded *all the* Syllables *and* Words (*or Complexions*) *of* Corporeall Things, *Nothing but Figure, Site, Motion, Reſt, and Magnitude of Parts. Were* Qualities *and* Forms, Reall Entities *diſtinct from theſe, and not* Præ-Exiſting, (*as* Anaxagoras *dreamed*) *they muſt then have come from* Nothing, *in* Naturall Generations; *which Impoſſible.* 742, 743

Another Improvement *of this* Principle, Nothing out of Nothing, *made by the* Italick Philoſophers; *That the* Souls *of* Animals, *eſpecially* Humane, *ſince they could not Poſſibly reſult from the meer* Modifications *of Matter, Figure, Site, Motion*, &c. *were not Produced in* Generations, *nor* Annihilated *in* Deaths *and* Corruptions; *but being* Subſtantiall things, *did* Præ *and* Poſt Exiſt. *This ſet down as the Controverſy betwixt* Atheiſts *and* Theiſts, *in* Lucretius; *Whether* Souls were Generated, *or* Inſinuated into Bodies. Generations *and* Corruptions *of* Animals, *to theſe* Pythagoreans, *but* Anagrammatical Tranſpoſitions. *That theſe* Philoſophers *who aſſerted the* Præ-Exiſtence *and* Ingenerability *of* Souls, *did not therefore Suppoſe them to have been* Self-Exiſtent *and* Uncreated, *but derived them all from the* Deity. *Thus* Proclus, *though maintaining the* Eternity of Souls, *with the* World. *The* Ingenerability of Souls *in* Plato's Timæus, *no more then this, that they were not* Generated *out of* Matter: *and for this Cauſe alſo, were they called* Principles, *in the ſame Senſe, as* Matter *was ſo accounted.* Souls *therefore to* Plato, Created by God, *though not* In *the* Generation of Animals, *but* Before. 743, 745

Saint Auſtine *himſelf, Sometime Staggering and* Sceptical, *in the Point of* Præ-Exiſtence. *That we have a* Philoſophick Certainty *of no more then this, That* Souls *were* Created *by* God, *out of* Nothing Præ-Exiſting, *ſome time or other; either* In Generations, *or* Before *them. That unleſs* Brutes *be meer* Machines, *the Reaſon the ſame alſo, concerning* Brutiſh Souls; *That theſe not* Generated *out of* Matter, *but* Created,

The Contents.

Created, *ſometime or other, by the* Deity; *as well as the* Matter *of their Bodies was.* Page 745

That all theſe Three *Forementioned Particulars, wherein it is* True, *that* Nothing *can Poſſibly* come from Nothing, *are reducible to this One* Generall Propoſition, *That* Nothing can be Cauſed by Nothing; *which will no way claſh with the* Divine Omnipotence *or* Creative Power, *as ſhall be ſhewed afterwards; but Confirm the ſame. But thoſe ſame words,* Nothing out of Nothing, *may carry another Senſe; when that* ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, Out of Nothing, *is not taken* Cauſally, *but onely to ſignify the* Terminus A Quo, *the* Term From which, *or an* Antecedent Non-Exiſtence: *and then the meaning thereof will be, That* Nothing *which before was* Not, *could afterwards, by any* Power *whatſoever, be brought into* Being. *And this the* Senſe *of the* Democritick *and* Epicurean Objectors; *viz. That no* Reall Entity *can be Made, or Brought out of* Non-Exiſtence *into* Being; *and therefore the* Creative Power *of* Theiſts, *an* Impoſſibility. ibid.

Our Second Undertaking, *in way of Anſwer hereunto; To ſhew That* Nothing out of Nothing, *in this Senſe, is* Falſe; *as alſo That, were it* True, *yet it would make no more againſt* Theiſm, *then it doth againſt* Atheiſm; *and therefore ought not to be uſed by* Atheiſts, *as an Argument againſt a* God. *If this Univerſally True, That* Nothing at all which once was Not, *could* ever be brought into Being, *then could there be no* Making, *nor* Cauſing *at all, no* Motion *nor* Action, Mutation *or* Generation. *But our ſelves have a Power of Producing* New Cogitation *in our* Minds, *and* New Motion *in our* Bodies. *Wherefore* Atheiſts *forced to reſtrain this Propoſition, to* Subſtantialls *onely. And here ſome Deceived with the* Equivocation, *in this* ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, Out of Nothing; *which may be taken either* Cauſally, *or elſe to ſignify the* Term From Which, *that is, From an* Antecedent Non-Exiſtence; *they confounding both theſe together; whereof the* Firſt *onely* True, *the* Latter Falſe. *Again, Others* Staggered *with the* Plauſibility *of this Propoſition; Partly, becauſe no* Artificiall thing *(as a Houſe or Garment) can be made by Men, but out of* Præ-Exiſting Matter; *and Partly, becauſe Ancient* Phyſiologers *maintained the ſame alſo, concerning* Naturall Generations, *That no* New Reall Entity *or* Subſtance, *could be therein Produced; and Laſtly, becauſe it is certain, that no* Imperfect Created Being, *can* Create *any* New Subſtance: *They being therefore apt to meaſure all Power whatſoever, by theſe* Scantlings. *But as eaſy, for a* Perfect Being *to* Create *a* World, Matter *and all,* Out of Nothing, *(in this Senſe, that is, out of an* Antecedent Non-Exiſtence,) *as for us to* Create a Thought, *or to* Move *a Finger, or for the Sun to* ſend out Rays. *For an* Imperfect Subſtance *which once was Not, to be brought into Being by God, this not* Impoſſible, *in any of the* Forementioned Senſes. *He having not onely* Infinitely Greater Perfection, *but alſo* Sufficient Productive *or* Emanative Power. *True, That* Infinite Power *cannot doe things in their own Nature* Impoſſible; *but Nothing thus* Impoſſible, *but what* Contradictious: *and though a* Contradiction *for any thing, at the ſame time, to Be and Not Be; yet none at all, for an* Imperfect Being, *(which is in its Nature* Contingent *to* Exiſtence) *after it had Not been, to Be. Wherefore ſince the making of a* Subſtance *to Be, which was not Before, is no way* Contradictious, *nor conſequently, in its own Nature* Impoſſible; *it muſt needs be an* Object of Perfect Power. Page 746, 748

Furthermore, If no Reall Entity *or* Subſtance, *could poſſibly be brought out of* Non-Exiſtence *into* Being; *then muſt the Reaſon hereof be, Becauſe no* Subſtance *can Derive its* Whole Being *from another* Subſtance. *But from hence, it would follow, That whatſoever is* Subſtantiall, *did not onely* Exiſt *from* Eternity, *but alſo* Of It Self, *Independently upon any thing elſe. Whereas, Firſt, The* Præ-Eternity *of* Temporary Beings, *not agreeable to Reaſon: and then, To ſuppoſe* Imperfect Subſtances, *to have* Exiſted Of Themſelves *and* Neceſſarily, *is to ſuppoſe* Something to come from Nothing, *in the Impoſſible Senſe; they having no* Neceſſary Self-Exiſtence *in their Nature. As they who affirm, all* Subſtance *to be* Body, *and no* Body *to be able to* Move it Self, *though ſuppoſing* Motion *to have been from* Eternity; *yet make this* Motion *to* Come from Nothing, *or be* Cauſed by Nothing. *What in its Nature* Contingently Poſſible, *to Be, or Not Be, could not* Exiſt Of It Self; *but muſt Derive its* Being *from Something elſe, which* Neceſſarily Exiſteth. Plato's *Diſtinction therefore, betwixt* Two kinds *of* Subſtances, *muſt needs be admitted,* That which always Is, *and* was never Made; *and,* That which is Made, *or* had a Beginning. 748, 749

Laſtly, If this True, that No Subſtance Makeable *or* Producible; *it would not onely follow from thence, (as the* Epicurean Atheiſt *ſuppoſes) that* Matter, *but alſo that all* Souls, *(at leaſt* Humane) *did* Exiſt Of Themſelves, *from* Eternity, *Independently upon any thing elſe; it being Impoſſible, that* Mind *or* Soul, *ſhould be a* Modification *of* Senſleſs Matter, *or Reſult from* Figures, Sites, Motions, *and* Magnitudes. Humane Souls Subſtantiall, *and therefore, according to this Doctrine, muſt have been* Never Made; *whereas* Atheiſts *ſtifly deny both their* Præ, *and* Poſt-Exiſtence. *Thoſe* Pagan Theiſts,

who held the Eternity of Humane Minds, *ſuppoſed them notwithſtanding, to have Depended upon the* Deity, *as their* Cauſe. *Before Proved; That there can be but* One Underſtanding Being Self-Exiſtent. *If* Humane Souls *Depend upon the* Deity *as their* Cauſe, *then Doubtleſs* Matter *alſo.* Page 749, 750

A Common, but Great Miſtake; That no Pagan Theiſt *ever acknowledged any* Creative Power out of Nothing; *or elſe, That God was the* Cauſe *of any* Subſtance. Plato's *Definition of* Effective Power, *in General, and his Affirmation*, That the Divine Efficiency is that, whereby things are Made, after they had Not been. *Certain, That he did not underſtand this, of the* Production of Souls out of Matter, *he ſuppoſing them to be Before* Matter, *and therefore Made by God out of* Nothing Præ-Exiſting. *All* Philoſophers, *who held the* Immortality *and* Incorporeity *of the* Soul, *aſſerted it to have been* Cauſed by God, *either in* Time, *or from* Eternity. Plutarch's *Singularity here. Unqueſtionable, That the* Platoniſts *ſuppoſed*, One Subſtance *to receive its whole Being from* Another; *in that they derive their* Second Hypoſtaſis *or* Subſtance, *though* Eternal, *from the* Firſt; *and their* Third *from* Both; *and all* Inferiour Ranks *of* Beings *from all* Three. Plotinus, Porphyrius, Iamblichus, Hierocles, Proclus, *and Others, derived* Matter *from the* Deity. *Thus the* Chaldee Oracles; *and the old* Egyptian, *or* Hermaick Theology *alſo, according to* Iamblichus. *Thoſe* Platoniſts *who ſuppoſed the* World *and* Souls Eternal, *conceived them to have received their Being, as much from the* Deity, *as if* Made in Time. 750, 752

Having now Diſproved this Propoſition, Nothing out of Nothing, *in the* Atheiſtick Senſe, viz. *That no Subſtance was Cauſed, or Derived its Being from Another; but whatſoever is* Subſtantial, *did Exiſt Of It ſelf from* Eternity, *Independently; we are in the next place, to make it appear alſo, That were it True, it would no more oppoſe* Theiſm, *then it doth* Atheiſm. Falſhoods (*though not* Truths) *may Diſagree.* Plutarch, *the* Stoicks, *and Others, who made God the* Creatour of no Subſtance, *though not* Genuine, *yet* Zealous Theiſts. *But the Ancient* Atheiſts, *both in* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, Generated *and* Corrupted All things; *that is, Produced* All things out of Nothing, *or* Non-Exiſtence, *and* Reduced them into Nothing again; *the bare* Subſtance *of* Matter *onely Excepted. The ſame done by the* Democritick *and* Epicurean Atheiſts *themſelves, the Makers of this* Objection: *though, according to the Principles of their own* Atomick Phyſiology, *it is Impoſſible, that* Life *and* Underſtanding, Soul *and* Mind, *ſhould be meer* Modifications *of* Matter. *As* Theiſts *give a* Creative Power *of All, out of Nothing, to the* Deity; *ſo do* Atheiſts, *to* Paſſive *and* Dead Matter. *Wherefore this can be no Argument againſt* Theiſm; *it Equally oppoſing* Atheiſm. Page 752, 756

An Anacephalæoſis; *wherein Obſervable, That* Cicero *makes* De Nihilo fieri, *and* Sine Cauſa, To be made out of Nothing, *and* to be made without a Cauſe, *One and the Self-ſame thing; as alſo that he doth not Confine this to the* Material Cauſe *onely. Our* Third *and* Laſt Undertaking; *To Prove that* Atheiſts *Produce* Real Entities *out of* Nothing, *in the Firſt Impoſſible Senſe; that is*, Without a Cauſe. 756, 757

A Brief Synopſis of Atheiſm; *That* Matter *being the onely* Subſtance, *is therefore the onely* Un-made Thing; *and That whatſoever elſe is in the World, beſides the* Bare Subſtance *thereof, was* Made out of Matter, *or* Produced *from that alone.* 757

The Firſt Argument; *When* Atheiſts *affirm*, Matter *to be the onely* Subſtance, *and all things to be* Made *out of that; they Suppoſe all to be* Made without an Efficient Cauſe; *which is to bring them from* Nothing, *in an* Impoſſible Senſe. *Though Something may be* Made, *without a* Material Cauſe Præ-Exiſting; *yet cannot any thing Poſſibly be* Made, *without an* Efficient Cauſe. *Wherefore if there be any thing* Made, *which was Not before, there muſt of Neceſſity be beſides* Matter, *ſome other* Subſtance, *as the* Active, Efficient Cauſe *thereof. The* Atheiſtick Hypotheſis *ſuppoſes, Things to be* Made, *without any* Active *or* Effective Principle. *Whereas the* Epicurean Atheiſts, *Attribute the* Efficiency *of all to* Local Motion; *and yet deny* Matter *or* Body (*their onely* Subſtance) *a* Self-moving Power. *They hereby, make all the* Motion *that is in the World to have been* Without a Cauſe, *or to* Come from Nothing; *all* Action, *without an* Agent; *all* Efficiency, *without an* Efficient. 758

Again; Should we grant theſe Atheiſts, Motion without a Cauſe; *yet could not* Dead *and* Senſleſs Matter, *together with* Motion, *ever beget* Life, Senſe, *and* Underſtanding; *becauſe this would be* Something *out of* Nothing, *in way of* Cauſality: Local Motion, *onely Changing the* Modifications *of* Matter, *as* Figure, Place, Site, *and* Diſpoſition *of* Parts. *Hence alſo, thoſe* Spurious Theiſts *Confuted, who Conclude God to have done no more in the Making of the* World, *then a* Carpenter *doth in the Building of a* Houſe, (*upon this Pretence, That* Nothing can be made out of Nothing;) *and yet ſuppoſe him, to* Make Souls *out of* Dead *and* Senſleſs Matter, *which is to bring them from* Nothing, *in way of* Cauſality. 758, 759

Decla-

The Contents.

Declared before, *That the Ancient* Italicks *and* Pythagoricks, *Proved in this manner*; *That Souls could not possibly be* Generated *out of* Matter; *because* Nothing can come from Nothing, in way of Causality. *The Subterfuge of the* Atheistick Ionicks, *out of* Aristotle; *That* Matter *being the onely* Substance; *and* Life, Sense, *and* Understanding, *Nothing but the* Passions, Affections, *and* Dispositions *thereof*; *the Production of them out of* Matter, *no Production of any new* Reall Entity. Page 759

Answer; Atheists *taking it for granted, That there is no other* Substance *besides* Body *or* Matter, *therefore falsly conclude*, Life, Sense, *and* Understanding, *to be* Accidents *or* Modes *of* Matter; *they being indeed, the* Modes *or* Attributes *of* Substance Incorporeal *and* Self-Active. *A* Mode, *That which cannot be Conceived, without the Thing whereof it is a* Mode; *but* Life *and* Cogitation *may be Conceived, without* Corporeal Extension; *and indeed cannot be Conceived with it.* 759, 760

The chief Occasion of this Errour, *from* Qualities *and* Forms; *as, Because the* Quality of Heat, *and* Form of Fire, *may be* Generated *out of* Matter; *therefore* Life, Cogitation, *and* Understanding *also*. *But the* Atomick Atheists *themselves*, *Explode* Qualities, *as things Really distinct from the* Figure, Site, *and* Motion *of Parts, for this very reason, Because* Nothing can be made out of Nothing Causally. *The Vulgar Opinion of such* Real Qualities *in* Bodies, *onely from mens mistaking their own* Phancies, Apparitions, Passions, Affections, *and* Seemings, *for things* Really Existing *without them. That in these* Qualities, *which is distinct from the* Figure, Site, *and* Motion *of Parts, not the* Accidents *and* Modifications *of* Matter; *but of Our* own Souls. *The* Atomick Atheists *infinitely Absurd*; *when exploding* Qualities, *because* Nothing can come out of Nothing, *themselves bring* Life, Sense, *and* Understanding, out of Nothing, in way of Causality. *That* Opinion, *That* Cogitation *is Nothing but* Local Motion, *and* Men *themselves meer* Machines, Prodigious Sottishness, *or* Intolerable Impudence. 760, 762

Very Observable here, *That* Epicurus *himself, having a Mind to assert* Contingent Liberty, *confesseth, that he could not doe this, unlesse there were some such thing in the* Principles; *because* Nothing can be made out of Nothing, *or* Caused by Nothing: *and therefore does he Ridiculously feign a* Third Motion of Atoms, *to salve that* Phænomenon *of* Free-Will. *Wherefore he must needs be guilty of an* Impossible Production, *of* Something out of Nothing, *when he brings* Soul *and* Mind, *out of* Dead *and* Senseless Atoms. *Were there no* Substantial *and* Eternal Life *and* Understanding *in the* Universe, *there could none have been ever* Produced; *because it must have come from* Nothing, *or been* Made without a Cause. *That* Dark Philosophy *which Educes, not onely* Real Qualities *and* Substantial Forms, *but also* Souls *themselves, at least* Sensitive, *out of the* Power of the Matter, *Educes them* Out of Nothing, *or* Makes them without a Cause; *and so prepares a direct way to* Atheism. Page 762, 763

They who suppose Matter, *otherwise then by* Motion, *and by a kind of* Miraculous Efficiency, *to Produce* Souls, *and* Minds, *attribute that* Creative Power *to this* Senseless *and* Unactive Matter, *which themselves deny, to a* Perfect Being, *as an* Absolute Impossibility. *Thus have we Demonstrated, the* Impossibility *and* Nonsense *of all* Atheism, *from this very* Principle; *That* Nothing *can be made from* Nothing, *or without a* Sufficient Cause. 763, 764

Wherefore, *If no* Middle *betwixt these Two*; *but all things must either Spring from a* God, *or* Matter; *Then is this also a* Demonstration *of the* Truth of Theism, *by* Deduction to Impossible: *Either there is a* God, *or else all things are derived from* Dead *and* Senseless Matter; *But this Latter is Impossible*; *Therefore a* God. *Nevertheless, that the* Existence of a God, *may be further Directly Proved also from the same Principle, rightly understood*, Nothing out of Nothing Causally, *or* Nothing Caused by Nothing, *neither* Efficiently, *nor* Materially. 764

By these Steps; *First, That there was never* Nothing, *but Something or other did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, Un-made, and Independently upon any thing else*, Mathematically Certain; *from this Principle*, Nothing from Nothing. *Had there been once* Nothing, *there could never have been Anything. Again, Whatsoever did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, must have so Existed* Necessarily, *and not by any* Free-Will *and* Choice. *Certain therefore, That there is Something Actually in Being, whose Existence Is, and always Was* Necessary. *Now that which Exists* Necessarily, *Of It Self, must have* Necessity of Existence *in its* Nature; *which Nothing but a* Perfect Being *hath. Therefore there Is a* Perfect Being; *and Nothing Else besides this, did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, but All other things whatsoever (whether* Souls *or* Matter*) were Made by it. To suppose any thing to Exist Of It Self* Necessarily, *that hath no* Necessary Existence *in its Nature, is to suppose that* Necessary Existence *to have* Come from Nothing. 764, 765

The Contents.

Three Reasons, why some Theists *have been so* Staggering *and* Scepticall *about the* Necessary Self-Existence of Matter. *First, From an* Idiotical Conceit, *That because* Artificiall Things *cannot be made by men, but Out of* Præ-Existent Matter, *therefore Nothing by God, or a Perfect Being, can be otherwise Made. Secondly, Because some of them have supposed* ὕλην ἀσώματον, *an* Incorporeal Hyle, *or* First Matter Un-made; *an Opinion Older then* Aristotle. *Whereas this Really Nothing, but a* Metaphysical Notion *of the* Potentiality *or* Possibility *of* Things, *respectively to the* Deity. *Lastly, Because some of them have conceived,* Body *and* Space *to be Really the same thing; and* Space *to be* Positively Infinite, Eternal, *and* Necessarily Existent. *But if* Space *be not the* Extension *of the* Deity *it Self, as some suppose; but of* Body, *onely considered* Abstractly, *from This or That, and therefore* Immoveably; *then no Sufficient Ground, for the* Positive Infinity, *or the* Indefinity *thereof, as* Cartesius *Imagined: we being certain of no more then this, That be the World and its* Space, *or* Extension, *never so* Great, *yet it might be still* Greater *and* Greater Infinitely; *for which very Cause, it could never be* Positively Infinite. *This* Possibility *of more* Body *and* Space, *further and further* Indefinitely, *or* Without End, *as also its* Eternity, *mistaken, for* Actual Space *and* Distance Positively Infinite *and* Eternall. *Nor is there perhaps any such great Absurdity, in the* Finiteness *of* Actual Space *and* Distance, *(according to this* Hypothesis,*) as some conceive.* Page 765, 766

Moreover, the Existence of a God *may be further proved, from this* Common Notion, Nothing from Nothing Causally; *not onely because were there no God, that* Idea *which we have of a* Perfect Being, *must have* Come from Nothing, *and be the* Conception of Nothing; *but also all the other* Intelligible Idea's *of our* Minds, *must have* Come from Nothing likewise, *they being not Derived from* Sense. *All* Minds, *and their* Intelligible Idea's, *by way of* Participation, *from* One Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it Self. 766, 767

However, Certain from this Principle, Nothing from Nothing, *or* Nothing Caused by Nothing; *That* Souls *and* Minds *could never have Emerged out of* Dead *and* Sensless Matter; *or from* Figures, Sites, *and* Motions: *and therefore must either have all Existed Of Themselves,* Necessarily *from* Eternity; *or else be Created by the Deity, out of* Nothing Præ-Existing. *Concluded, That the* Existence of a God *is altogether as certain, as That our* Humane Souls *did not all* Exist *from* Eternity, Of themselves, Necessarily. *Thus is the Second* Atheistick *Argumentation against* Omnipotence *or* Divine Creation, *from that False Principle,* Nothing out of Nothing, *in the* Atheistick *Sense, (which is, That* Nothing *could be brought out of* Non-Existence *into* Being, *or* No Substance *derive its* Whole Being from another Substance; *but all was* Self-Existent *from* Eternity*) abundantly Confuted. It having been Demonstrated, That unless there be a* God, *or a* Perfect Omnipotent Being, *and* Creatour, Something *must have* Come from Nothing *in the* Impossible Sense; *that is, have been* Caused by Nothing, *or* Made without a Cause. Page 767

SECT. III.

THE Six *following* Atheistick Argumentations, *driving at these* Two things, *(The Disproving, First of an* Incorporeal, *and then of a* Corporeal Deity) *next taken all together. In way of Answer to which, Three Things. First, To Confute the* Atheistick Argumentations *against an* Incorporeal Deity, *being the* Third *and* Fourth. *Secondly, To Shew, That from the very* Principles *of the* Atheistick Corporealism, *in their* Fifth *and* Sixth Arguments, Incorporeal Substance *is* Demonstrable. *And Lastly, That therefore the* Two following Atheistick Arguments, *(built upon the Contrary Supposition) are also* Insignificant. 767

Before we come to the Atheistick Arguments, *against an* Incorporeal Deity, Premised; *That though all* Corporealists *be not* Atheists, *yet* Atheists *universally, meer* Corporealists. *Thus* Plato *in his* Sophist; *writing of those who maintained, That* Nature Generated all things without the Direction of any Mind; *affirmeth, That They held,* Body and Substance to be One and the Self-same thing. *From whence it follows, That* Incorporeal Substance, *is* Incorporeal Body, *or* Contradictious Nonsense; *and That whatsoever is not* Body, *is* Nothing. *He likewise addeth, That they who asserted the* Soul *to be a* Body, *but had not the Confidence, to make* Prudence, *and other* Vertues Bodies, *(or* Bodily.*) quite overthrew the* Cause *of* Atheism. Aristotle *also representeth the* Atheistick Hypothesis *thus, That there is but* One Nature, Matter; *and this* Corporeal, *(or endued with* Magnitude) *the onely* Substance; *and all other things, the* Passions *and* Affections *thereof.* 767, 769

In Disproving Incorporeal Substance, *some Difference amongst the* Atheists *themselves. First,*

First, *Those who held a* Vacuum, (*as* Epicurus *and* Democritus, &c.) *though taking it for granted, That what is* Un-extended *or* Devoid *of* Magnitude, *is* Nothing; *yet acknowledged a* Double Extended Nature; *the First* Impenetrable *and* Tangible, Body; *the Second* Penetrable *and* Intangible, Space *or* Vacuum; *To them the Onely* Incorporeal. *Their Argument thus*; *Since* Nothing Incorporeal *besides* Space, (*which can neither* Doe *nor* Suffer *any thing*) *therefore no* Incorporeal Deity. *The* Answer. *If* Space *be a* Real Nature, *and yet not* Bodily; *then must it needs be either an* Affection *of* Incorporeal Substance; *or else an* Accident without a Substance. Gassendus *his Officiousness here, to help the* Atheists; *That* Space *is neither* Accident, *nor* Substance, *but a* Middle Nature, *or* Essence *betwixt* Both. *But, whatsoever Is, must either* Subsist by it Self, *or else be an* Attribute, Affection, *or* Mode *of Something that* Subsisteth by it Self. Space, *either the* Extension *of* Body, *or of* Incorporeal Substance, *or of* Nothing: *but* Nothing *cannot be* Extended; *wherefore* Space, *supposed, not to be the* Extension of Body, *must be the* Extension *of an* Incorporeal Substance Infinite, *or the* Deity; *as some* Theists *Assert.* Page 769, 770

Epicurus *his Pretended* Gods, *Such as could neither* Touch, *nor be* Touched, *and had not* Corpus, *but* Quasi Corpus *onely*; *and therefore* Incorporeals *distinct from* Space. *But Granted, that He Colluded or Juggled in this.* 770

Other Atheists *who denied a* Vacuum, *and allowed not* Space *to be a* Nature, *but a meer* Imaginary thing, *the* Phantasm *of a* Body, *or else* Extension *considered* Abstractly, *Argued thus. Whatsoever is* Extended, *is* Body, *or* Bodily; *But whatsoever Is, is* Extended; *Therefore whatsoever Is, is* Body. 770, 771

This Argument against Incorporeal Substance, *Answered Two manner of ways: Some Asserters of* Incorporeal Substance *denying the Minor*, Whatsoever Is, is Extended; *others the Major of it*, Whatsoever is Exended, is Body. *First, The Generality of* Ancient Incorporealists *realy maintained, That there was* Something Un-Extended, Indistant, Devoid of Quantity, *and of* Magnitude, Without Parts, *and* Indivisible. Plato, *That the* Soul *is before* Longitude, Latitude, *and* Profundity. *He also Denies, That whatsoever is* in no Place, *is* Nothing. Aristotle's *First* Immovable Mover *also*, Devoid *of* Magnitude. *So likewise is* Mind, *or That which* Understands, *to him. He also denies* Place, *and* Local Motion *to the* Soul, *otherwise then by* Accident *with the* Body. 771, 773

Philo's Double Substance, Distant *and* Indistant. God *also to him, both* Every-where, (*because his Powers Extend to all things*) *and yet* No-where, *as in a* Place; Place *being Created by him, together with* Bodies. Plotinus *much concerned in this Doctrine. Two Books of his upon this Subject, That* One and the same Numerical thing, (*viz.* the Deity) *may be* All, *or the* Whole Every-where. *God to him*, Before all things that are in a Place; *therefore* Wholly *Present to whatsoever Present. This would be prove also from* Natural Instincts. *He Affirmeth likewise, That the* Humane Soul *is* Numerically the Same, *both in the* Hand, *and in the* Foot. Simplicius *his Argument for* Un-Extended Substance; *That* Whatsoever is Self-Moving, *must be* Indivisible *and* Indistant. *His* Affirmation, *That* Souls, Locally Immovable, Move *the* Body *by* Cogitation. Page 773, 775

None more full and expres in this, then Porphyrius. *His Assertion, That* were there such an Incorporeal Space, (*as* Democritus *and* Epicurus *supposed*) Mind, *or* God, *could not be* Co-Extended *with it*; *but onely* Body. *The whole Deity*, Indivisibly *and* Indistantly Present, *to every* Part *of* Divisible *and* Distant things. 775, 776

Thus Origen *in his Against* Celsus. *Saint* Austine, *That the* Humane Soul *hath no Dimensions, of* Length, Breadth, *and* Thickness, *and is in it Self* Illocabilis. Boëtius *reckons this amongst the* Common Notions, *known onely to wise men, That* Incorporeals *are in* No Place. 776

This therefore no Novel *or* Recent Opinion, *That the* Deity *is not* Part *of it* Here, *and* Part *of it* There, *nor Mensurable by Yards and Poles*; *but the* Whole Undivided, Present to every Part of the World. *But because many Objections against this*; *we shall further Shew, how these* Ancient Incorporealists *endeavoured to Quit themselves of them. The* First Objection; *That to suppose the* Deity, *and other* Incorporeal Substances, Un-Extended, *is to make them* Absolute Parvitudes, *and so* Contemptible things. Plotinus *his Answer*; *That what is* Incorporeal, *not so* Indivisible *as a Little thing*; *either a* Physical Minimum, *or* Mathematical Point; *for thus* God *could not* Congruere *with the whole* World, *nor the* Soul *with the whole* Body. *Again*, God not so Indivisible, *as the* Least, he being the Greatest of all, *not in* Magnitude, *but* Power. *He so* Indivisible, *as also* Infinite. *This an Errour proceeding from* Sense *and* Imagination; *That what* Un-Extended, *therefore* Little. Incorporeal Substance, *the Whole of which is Present to every Part of* Body, *therefore* Greater then Body. Porphyrius *to the same purpose, That God is neither to*

The Contents.

be look'd upon as the Leaſt, *nor as the* Greateſt, *in a way of* Magnitude. Page 776,778

The Second Objection; *That what neither* Great nor Little, *and poſſeſſes* no Place, *a* Non-Entity. *This according to* Plato, Plotinus, *and* Porphyrius, *a Miſtake, proceeding from mens adhering to* Senſe *and* Imagination. *They Grant, That an* Un-Extended Being, *Is* ἀφάντασον Un-Imaginable. Porphyrius, *That* Mind *and* Phancy *are not the ſame, as ſome maintain. That which can either* Doe, *or* Suffer, *not* Nothing, *though it ſwell not out into* Diſtance. Two Kinds *of* Subſtances *to* Plotinus; Bulky Tumours, *and* Un-bulky Active Powers. *Which latter, ſaid by* Simplicius, *to have nevertheleſs a certain* Depth *or* Profundity *in them. Something* ἀφάντασον Un-imaginable, *even in* Body it ſelf. *We cannot Poſſibly* Imagine *the* Sun *of ſuch a* Bigneſs, *as Reaſon Evinces it to be. Urged alſo by* Plotinus, *That an* Un-ſtretcht-Out Duration, *or* Timeleſs Eternity, *as difficult to be Conceived, as an* Un-Extended Subſtance; *and yet muſt this needs be Attributed to the* Deity. 778,781

That God *and* Humane Souls, *no otherwiſe* Incorporeal, *then as* σῶμα λεπτομερὲς, *a* Thin *or* Subtile Body, *Falſe. Becauſe the Difference of Groſſeneſs and Subtilty in* Bodies, *according to* True Philoſophy, *onely from* Motion. *That the moſt* Subtile Body, *may poſſibly be made as* Groſſe *as* Lead *or* Iron; *and the* Groſſeſt, *as* Subtile *as* Æther. *No* Specifick Difference *of* Matter. 781

The Third Argument, *againſt* Un-Extended Subſtance; *That to be All in the Whole, and All in every Part, a* Contradiction, *and* Impoſſibility. *This Granted by* Plotinus *to be* True of Bodies, *or that which is* Extended, *That it cannot be* ὁμοῦ πᾶν· *but* Impoſſible, *that what hath no* Parts, *ſhould be a* Part here, *and a* Part there. *Wherefore the word* ὅλον *(in that,* Whole *in the* Whole, *and* Whole *in* every Part) *to be taken onely in a* Negative Senſe, *for* μὴ μεμερισμένον, Undivided. The Whole Undivided Deity *Every-where; and not a* Part *of it* Here *onely, and a* Part There. 782,783

The Laſt Objection *is againſt the* Illocality *and* Immobility *of* Finite Created Spirits, *and* Humane Souls *onely. That this not onely Abſurd, but alſo Contrary to that Generally* Received Tradition *amongſt* Theiſts, *of* Souls Moving Locally *after Death,* into another Place, *called* Hades. Two Anſwers *of* Plotinus *to this. Firſt, That by* Hades, *may be meant onely the* Inviſible; *or the* Soul's *Acting without the* Body. *Secondly, That if by* Hades, *be Meant a* Worſer place, *the* Soul *may be ſaid to be there, where* its Idol *is. But when this ſame* Philoſopher, *ſuppoſeth the* Soul *(in Good men) to be ſeparable alſo from this* Idol, *he departeth from the Genuine* Cabbala *of his own* School. *That* Souls alwaies united to ſome Body or other. *This aſſerted here by* Porphyrius; *That the* Soul *is never quite naked of all* Body; *and therefore may be ſaid to be there, whereſoever its* Body *is.* Page 784, 785

Some Excerptions *out of* Philoponus; *wherein the* Doctrine *of the* Ancients, *concerning the* Soul's Spirituous *or* Airy Body, *(after Death) is Largely declared.* 785, 787

Intimated here by Philoponus, *That, according to ſome of theſe* Ancients, *the* Soul *hath ſuch a* Spirituous Body *here in this Life, as its* Interiour Indument, *which then adheres to it, when its* Outer Garment *is ſtript off by Death. An Opinion of ſome, That the* Soul *may in this* Spirituous Body, *leave its* Groſſer Body *for ſome time, without* Death. *True, That our* Soul *doth not immediately* Act *upon* Bones *and* Fleſh; *but certain* Thin *and* Subtile Spirits, *the* Inſtruments *of* Senſe *and* Motion. *Of which* Porphyrius *thus;* The Bloud is the Food of the Spirit, and the Spirit the Vehicle of the Soul. 787, 788

The ſame Philoponus *further Addeth, That according to the* Ancients, *beſides both the* Terreſtrial, *and this* Spirituous *or* Airy Body, *there is yet a* Third kind *of* Body, *peculiar to ſuch as are* Souls, *as are more thoroughly purged after* Death; *called by them a* Luciform, *and* Heavenly, *and* Ætherial, *and* Starre-like Body. *Of this* Proclus *alſo, upon the* Timæus, *(who affirmeth it to be* Un-organized;) *as likewiſe* Hierocles. *This called the* Thin Vehicle *of the* Soul, *in the* Chaldee Oracles, *according to* Pſellus *and* Pletho. *By* Hierocles, *a* Spiritual Body, *in a Senſe agreeable to that of the Scripture: by* Syneſius, *the* Divine Body. *This Diſtinction of* Two Interiour Vehicles, *or* Tunicles *of the* Soul, *beſides the* Terreſtrial Body, *(called by* Plato *the* Oſtreaceous) *no Invention of Latter* Platoniſts *ſince* Chriſtianity; *it being plainly inſiſted upon by* Virgil, *though commonly not Underſtood.* 788, 790

That many of theſe Platoniſts *and* Pythagoreans, *ſuppoſed the* Soul, *in its Firſt* Creation, *when Made pure by* God, *to be Clothed with this* Luciform *and* Heavenly Body; *which alſo did alwaies Inſeparably adhere to it, in its* After-Deſcents, *into the* Aërial *and* Terreſtrial; *though* Fouled *and* Obſcured. *Thus* Pletho. *And the ſame Intimated by* Galen; *when he calls this, the* Firſt Vehicle *of the* Soul. *Hence was it, that beſides the* Moral *and* Intellectual Purgation *of the* Soul, *they recommended alſo, a* Myſtical *or* Teleſtick way *of Purifying the* Ætherial Vehicle, *by* Diet *and* Catharms. *This much Inſiſted on by* Hierocles. *What* Pliny's,

Dying

The Contents.

Dying By Wiſedom, *or the* Philoſophick Death. Page 790, 792

But this not the Opinion of all, That the Same Numerical Ætherial Body, *always adhereth to the* Soul; *but onely, that it every where either Finds, or Makes a* Body, *ſuitable to it ſelf. Thus* Porphyrius. Plato *alſo ſeems to have been of that Perſwaſion.* 792, 793

This Affirmed by Hierocles, *to have been the Genuine* Cabbala *of the Ancient* Pythagoreans, *which* Plato *afterwards followed.* Hierocles *his Definition of a Man,* A Rational Soul together with a Cognate Immortal Body; *he declaring, This enlivened* Terreſtrial Body, *to be but the* Idol *or* Image *of the* True man, *or an Acceſſion to him. This therefore the* Anſwer *of the Ancient* Incorporealiſts, *to that Objection againſt the* Illocality *and* Immobility *of* Created Incorporeals; *That theſe being all* Naturally *United to Some* Body *or other, may be thus ſaid to be in a* Place, *and* Locally Moved. *And, That it does not follow, that becauſe* Created Incorporeals *are* Un-extended, *they might therefore inform the whole* Corporeal Univerſe. 793, 794

That it would be no Impertinent Digreſſion *here, To Compare the forementioned* Pythagorick Cabbala, *with the* Doctrine *of* Chriſtianity; *and to conſider their* Agreement *or* Diſagreement. *Firſt therefore, A* Clear Agreement *of theſe moſt* Religious Philoſophers *with* Chriſtianity *in this, That the* Higheſt Happineſs, *and* Perfection *of* Humane Nature, *conſiſteth not, in a* Separate State *of* Souls, Un-united *to any* Body; *as ſome High-flown Perſons have Conceited. Thus* Plotinus; *who ſometimes runs as much into the other Extream, in ſuppoſing* Humane Souls *to Animate, not onely the* Bodies of Brutes, *but alſo of* Plants. *Thus alſo* Maimonides *amongſt the* Jews; *and therefore ſuſpected for denying the* Reſurrection. *His* Iggereth Teman, *written purpoſely to purge himſelf of this Suſpicion. The* Allegorizers *of the* Reſurrection, *and of the* Life to come. 794, 795

Again, Chriſtianity *Correſpondeth with the* Philoſophick Cabbala, *concerning* Humane Souls, *in this, That their* Happineſs *conſiſteth not, in Conjunction with ſuch* Groſs Terreſtrial Bodies, *as theſe we now have:* Scripture, *as well as* Philoſophy, *complaining of them, as a* Heavy Load, *and* Burthen *to the* Soul; *which therefore not to be taken up again, at the* Reſurrection. *Such a* Reſurrection *as this, called by* Plotinus, *a* Reſurrection to Another Sleep. *The Difference betwixt the* Reſurrection-Body, *and this* Preſent Body, *in Scripture. The* Reſurrection-Body *of the Juſt, (as that of the* Philoſophick Cabbala) Immortal *and* Eternal; Glorious *and* Lucid; Star-like *and* Spiritual; Heavenly *and* Angelical. *Not this Groſs* Fleſhly Body, *Guilded and Varniſhed over in the outſide onely, but Changed throughout. This the* Reſurrection of Life, *in Scripture, Emphatically called* The Reſurrection. *Our* Souls, Strangers *and* Pilgrims *in theſe* Terreſtrial Bodies; *Their proper* Home *and* Country, *the* Heavenly Body. *That the Groſſeſt* Body *that is, according to* Philoſophy, *may meerly by Motion be brought into the* Purity *and* Tenuity *of the* Fineſt Æther. Page 795, 799

But whether Humane Souls *after Death, alwaies United to ſome* Body, *or elſe quite Naked from all* Body, *till the* Reſurrection; *not ſo Explicitly determined in* Chriſtianity. Souls *after* Death, Live unto God. *According to* Origen, *This a Priviledge Proper to the* Deity, *to* Live and Act alone, without Vital Union *with any* Body. *If* Natural *to the* Soul, *to* Enliven *a* Body; *then not probable, that it ſhould be kept ſo long in an* Unnatural State *of* Separation. 799, 800

Again; Probable from Scripture, That wicked Souls *after* Death, *have Puniſhment of Senſe or Pain, beſides* Remorſe of Conſcience: *which not eaſily Conceivable How they ſhould have, without* Bodies. *Thus* Tertullian. *He adding, That Men have the ſame* Shape, *or* Effigies, after this Life, *which they had here. Though indeed he drive the buſineſs too far, ſo as to make the* Soul *it ſelf to be a* Body, Figurate *and* Colourate. 800, 801

But Irenæus *plainly ſuppoſed, the* Soul *after* Death (*being* Incorporeal) *to be* Adapted to a Body, *ſuch as has the ſame* Character *and* Figure, *with its* Body *here in this* Life. 801, 802

Origen *alſo of this Perſwaſion, That* Souls *after* Death, *have certain* Subtile Bodies, *retaining the ſame* Characterizing Form, *which their* Terreſtrial Bodies *had. His Opinion, That* Apparitions *of the* Dead *are from the* Souls *themſelves, ſurviving, in that which is called a* Luciform Body. *As alſo that Saint* Thomas *did not doubt, but that the* Body *of a* Soul *departed, might appear, every way like the Former: onely he disbelieved our* Saviour's *appearing in the Same* Solid Body, *which he had before* Death. 802, 804

Our Saviour *telling his* Diſciples, *That a* Spirit had no Fleſh and Bones, *that is, no* Solid Body, *as himſelf then had; ſeems to Imply, them to have* Thinner Bodies, *which they may Viſibly Appear in. Thus in* Apollonius, *its* Touch *made the* Sign, *to diſtinguiſh a* Ghoſt Appearing, *from a* Living Man. *Our* Saviour's Body *after his* Reſurrection, *according to* Origen,

Origen, *in a* Middle State, *betwixt This* Grosſ *or* Soſid Body *of ours, and That of a* Ghoſt. Page 804

A place of Scripture, which as interpreted by the Fathers, *would Naturally Imply, the* Soul *of our* Saviour *after* Death, *not to have been quite Naked* of all Body, *but to have had a* Corporeal Spirit. Moſes *and* Elias, *Viſibly appearing to our* Saviour, *had therefore* True Bodies. 804, 805

That the Regenerate here in this Life, have a certain Earneſt *of their Future Inheritance, (which is, their* Spiritual *or* Heavenly Body) *Gathered from Scripture by* Irenæus, *and* Novatian. *Which* Prælibations *of the* Spiritual Body, *cannot ſo well conſiſt with a* Perfect Separation *from all* Body, *after Death, till the Day of Judgement.* 805, 806

This Opinion of Irenæus, Origen, *and others, ſuppoſed by them, not at all to Claſh with the* Chriſtian Article *of the* Reſurrection. *Nothing in this Point determined by us.* 806

The Laſt thing in the Pythagorick Cabbala, *That* Dæmons *or* Angels, *and indeed all* Created Underſtanding Beings, *conſiſt, as well as* Men, *of* Soul *and* Body, Incorporeal *and* Corporeal, *United together. Thus* Hierocles, *Univerſally of all the* Rational Nature; *and that no* Incorporeal Subſtance, *beſides the* Supreme Deity, *is Compleat, without the* Conjunction of a Body. God *the Onely* Incorporeal *in this Senſe; and not a* Mundane, *but* Supra-Mundane Soul. 806, 808

Origen's *full Agreement with this Old* Pythagorick Cabbala, *That* Rational Creatures *are neither* Body, *nor yet* without Body; *but* Incorporeal Subſtances, *having a* Corporeal Indument. 808, 809

Origen *miſrepreſented by* Huetius, *as aſſerting* Angels *not to* Have Bodies, *but to* Be Bodies: *whereas he plainly acknowledged the* Humane Soul *to be* Incorporeal, *and* Angels *alſo to have* Souls. *He proveth* Incorporeal Creatures, *from the Scriptures; which though themſelves not* Bodies, *yet always* Uſe Bodies. *Whereas the* Deity *is neither* Body, *nor yet clothed with a* Body, *as the Proper* Soul *thereof.* 809, 810

Some of the Fathers, *ſo far from ſuppoſing* Angels *altogether* Incorporeal, *that they ran into the other* Extream, *and concluded them altogether* Corporeal; *that is, to be* All Body, *and Nothing elſe. The* Middle *betwixt both theſe, the* Origenick *and* Pythagorick Hypotheſis, *That they conſiſt of* Incorporeal *and* Corporeal Subſtance, Soul *and* Body *Joyned together. The Generality of the* Ancient Fathers, *for neither of thoſe Extreams. That they did not ſuppoſe* Angels *to be perfectly* Unbodied Spirits; *Evident from their affirming* Devils, *as the* Greek Philoſophers *did* Demons, *to be* Delighted *with the* Nidours *of* Sacrifices; *as having their* Vapourous Bodies, *or* Airy Vehicles, *refreſhed thereby. Thus* Porphyrius, *and before him* Celſus. *Amongſt the* Chriſtians, (*beſides* Origen) Juſtin, Athenagoras, Tatianus, &c. *S.* Baſil, *concerning the* Bodies *of* Demons *or* Devils, *being* Nouriſhed *with* Vapours; *not by* Organs, *but throughout their* whole Subſtance. Page 810, 812

Several of the Fathers *plainly aſſerting, both* Devils *and* Angels *to conſiſt of* Soul *and* Body; Incorporeal *and* Corporeal Subſtance, *Joyned together. Saint* Auſtine, Claudianus, Mamertus, Fulgentius, Joannes Theſſalonicenſis; *and* Pſellus, *who* Philoſophizeth *much concerning this.* 812, 814

That ſome of the Ancients, *when they called* Angels Incorporeal, *underſtood Nothing elſe thereby, but onely that they had not* Groſſe, *but* Subtile Bodies. 814, 815

The Fathers, *though herein Happening to Agree with the* Philoſophick Cabbala, *yet ſeemed to have been led thereunto by* Scripture. *As from that of our* Saviour, *They who ſhall obtain the* Reſurrection of the Dead, *ſhall be* ἰσάγγελοι, Equal to the Angels; *that is, according to Saint* Auſtine, *ſhall* have Angelical Bodies. *From that of Saint* Jude, *That* Angels *Sinning, loſt their* Own Proper Dwelling-Houſe; *that is, their* Heavenly Body, (*called* ἰδιητήριον *by Saint* Paul) *which made them Fit Inhabitants of the* Heavenly Regions; *and thereupon Caſt down into the* Lower Tartarus; *interpreted by Saint* Auſtine, *to be this* Caliginous Air *or* Atmo-Sphear *of the Earth. Again, From that* Fire *ſaid to have been* Prepared for the Devils: *which being not to be taken* Metaphorically, *therefore (as* Pſellus *concludeth) Implies them to be* Bodied; *becauſe an* Incorporeal Subſtance *alone, and not Vitally United to any* Body, *cannot be* Tormented with Fire. 815, 817

Now if all Created Incorporeals, *Superiour to Men, be* Souls *vitally United to* Bodies, *and never quite Separate from all* Body; *then Probable, that* Humane Souls, *after Death, not quite Naked from all* Body, *as if they could Live and Act compleatly without it; a Priviledge Superiour to that of* Angels, *and proper to the* Deity. *Nor is it at all Conceivable, How* Imperfect Beings *could have* Senſe *and* Imagination *without* Bodies. Origen Contra Celſum, *Our* Soul in its own Nature Incorporeal, *alwaies Standeth in need of a* Body, *ſuitable to the place wherein it is. And* accordingly, Sometimes Putteth Off what it had before; *and* Sometimes *again* Putteth On ſomething New. *Where the following words being vitiated;* Origen's *Genuine Senſe*

The Contents.

Senſe reſtored. Evident that Origen *diſtinguiſheth, the* Τὸ Σκῆνος *in S.* Paul, *(Tranſlated,* Tabernacle,*) from the* Earthly Houſe; *he underſtanding by the former, a* Thin Spirituous Body, *which is a Middle betwixt the* Earthly *and the* Heavenly, *and which the* Soul *remaineth ſtill clothed with, after* Death. *This Opinion of* Origen's, *That the* Soul *after* Death, *not quite* Separate *from all* Body, *never reckoned up in the* Catalogue of his Errours. Origen *not Taxed by* Methodius, *for aſſerting* Souls *to* Have Bodies, *but for not aſſerting them to* Be Bodies; *there being no truly* Incorporeall Subſtance, *according to* Methodius, *but the* Deity. *This One of the Extreams mentioned. And the* Origenick Hypotheſis, *to be preferred before that of* Methodius. Page 817, 820

Already Obſerved, That Origen *not* Singular, *in this Opinion concerning* Humane Souls; Irenæus, Philoponus, Joannes Theſſalonicenſis, Pſellus, *and others, aſſerting the ſame. S.* Auſtine *in his* De Gen. ad Lit. *Granteth, That* Souls after Death *cannot be carried to any* Corporall Places, *nor* Locally Moved, *without a* Body. *Himſelf ſeems to think, the Puniſhment of* Souls, *before the Reſurrection, to be* Phantaſticall. *But gives Liberty of thinking otherwiſe. In his Book* De Civ. D. *He Conceives, that* Origenick Opinion *not Improbable, That ſome* Souls *after* Death, *and before the* Reſurrection, *may Suffer from a certain* Fire, *for the conſuming and burning up of their* Droſs: *which could not be without* Bodies. 820, 822

Hitherto ſhewed, How the Ancient Aſſerters of Unextended Incorporealls, *Anſwered all the Objections made againſt them; but eſpecially that of the* Illocality *and* Immobility *of* Created Incorporealls; *namely, That by thoſe* Bodies, *which they are always* Vitally United *to, they are* Localized, *and made* Capable of Motion; *according to that of* Origen, *The* Soul ſtands in need of a Body for Locall Motions. *Next to be conſidered, their Reaſons for this Aſſertion, of* Unextended *and* Indiſtant Subſtance, *ſo repugnant to* Imagination. 822

That whatſoever Arguments do Evince other Subſtance *beſides* Body, *the Same againſt the* Atheiſts Demonſtrate, *that there is Something* Unextended; *themſelves taking it for granted, that whatſoever is* Extended, *is* Body. *Nevertheleſs, other Arguments propounded by theſe Ancients, to prove directly,* Unextended Subſtance. Plotinus *his* Firſt; *To prove the* Humane Soul *and* Mind *ſuch. Either every Part of an* Extended Soul, is Soul; *and of* Mind, Mind; *or* Not. *If the Latter, That* no Part of a Soul, *or* Mind, *is by* it Self Soul, *or* Mind; *then cannot the* Whole, *made up of* all thoſe Parts, be ſuch. *But if* every ſuppoſed Part of a Soul, be Soul, and of a Mind, Mind; *then would* all but One be Superfluous; *or* Every One be the Whole; *which cannot be in* Extended things. Page 822, 824

Again, Plotinus *endeavours to Prove, from the Energies of the* Soul, *that it is* Unextended; *Becauſe it is One and the Same* Indiviſible thing, *that Perceiveth the whole* Senſible Object. *This further purſued; If the* Soul *be* Extended, *then muſt it either be* One Phyſicall Point, *or* More. *Impoſſible That it ſhould be* but One Phyſicall Point. *If therefore* More, *then* muſt every one of thoſe Points, *either* Perceive a Point of the Object, and no more, or elſe the Whole. *If the Former, then can nothing Perceive the Whole, nor compare one Part of it with another: If the Latter, then would every man have innumerable* Perceptions *of the whole Object at once. A* Fourth Suppoſition, *That the whole* Extended Soul, *Perceives both the* Whole Object, *and all the* Parts thereof; *(no Part of this* Soul *having any* Perception *by it Self) Not to be Made; Becauſe, the Whole of an* Extended Subſtance, *nothing but All the Parts: and ſo if no Part have any* Perception, *the Whole can have none. Moreover, To ſay, the Whole* Soul *Perceiveth all, and no Part of it any thing, is indeed to acknowledge it* Unextended, *and to have no* Diſtant Parts. 824, 826

Again, This Philoſopher *would prove the ſame thing, from the* Sympathy *or* Homopathy, *which in* Animals; *it being* One and the Same thing, *that perceives Pain in the Head, and in the Foot; and Comprehends the whole Bulk of the* Body. 826

Laſtly, He diſputes further, from the Rationall Energies. *A* Magnitude could not Underſtand, *what hath no* Magnitude, *and what is* Indiviſible: *whereas we have a* Notion, *not onely of* Latitude Indiviſible *as to Thickneſs, and of* Longitude *as to Breadth, but alſo of a* Mathematicall Point, *every way* Indiviſible. *We have* Notions *of things alſo, that have neither* Magnitude *nor* Site, *&c. Again, all the* Abſtract Eſſences *of things* Indiviſible. *We conceive* Extended things *themſelves,* Unextendedly; *the Thought of a* Mile, *or a* Thouſand Miles Diſtance, *taking up no more room in the* Soul, *then the Thought of an* Inch, *or of a* Mathematicall Point. *Moreover, were that which perceiveth in us, a* Magnitude, *it could not be* Equall to every Senſible, *and alike Perceive things Greater and Leſſer, then it ſelf.* 827, 828

Beſides which, they might Argue thus; That we, as we can Conceive Extenſion *without* Cogitation, *and again* Cogitation *without* Extenſion, *(from whence their* Diſtinction *and* Separability

ty *is Inferrible:) ſo can we not Conceive* Cogitation *with* Extenſion; *not the Length, Breadth, and Thickneſs of a* Thought; *nor the Half, or a Third, or Twentieth Part thereof; nor that it is* Figurate, Round, *or* Angular. Thoughts *therefore muſt be* Non-Entities, *if whatſoever is* Unextended *be* Nothing; *as alſo* Metaphyſicall Truths, *they having neither* Dimenſions, *nor* Figure. *So* Volitions *and* Paſſions, Knowledge *and* Wiſedome *it ſelf*, Juſtice *and* Temperance. *If the things belonging to* Soul *and* Mind, *be* Unextended, *then muſt themſelves be ſo. Again, If* Mind *and* Soul *have* Diſtant Parts, *then could none of them be* One, *but* Many Subſtances. *If* Life *Divided, then a* Half *of it would not be* Life. *Laſtly, no reaſon could be given, why they might not be as well Really, as Intellectually* Diviſible. *Nor could a* Theiſt *deny, but that* Divine Power *might* Cleave a Thought, *together with the* Soul *wherein it is, into many Pieces.* Page 828, 829

The Senſe *of the* Ancient Incorporealiſts *therefore this; That in Nature, Two kinds of* Subſtances. *The Firſt of them* Paſſive Bulk, *or* Diſtant *and* Extended Subſtance; *Which is all,* One thing without Another; *and therefore as* Many Subſtances, *as* Parts, *into which it can be divided. Eſſentially* Antitypous; *one Magnitude Joyned to another, always Standing without it, and making the Whole ſo much Bigger.* Body *all Outſide, having nothing Within, no* Internall Energy, *nor any* Action *beſides* Locall Motion; *which it is alſo* Paſſive *to.* 829

Were there no other Subſtance *beſides this, there could be no* Motion, Action, Life, Cogitation, Intellection, Volition; *but All would be a* Dead Lump; *nor could any one thing* Penetrate *another. Wherefore* Another Subſtance, *whoſe Character* φύσις ἀρρενικὸς, *the* Active Nature; Life, Self-Activity, Cogitation: *which no* Mode *or* Accident *of* Extenſion; *it having more of* Entity *in it. Nor are theſe Two,* Extenſion *and* Life, Inadequate Conceptions, *of One and the Same Subſtance. A Thinker a* Monad; *or One* Single Subſtance. *Not Conceiveable, how the Severall Parts of an* Extended Subſtance, *ſhould Joyntly* Concurre *to Produce One and the* Same Thought. 829, 830

The Energies *of theſe* Two Subſtances, *very different. The one Nothing but* Locall Motion, *or* Tranſlation from Place to Place; *a meer* Outſide Thing: *The other* Cogitation, *an* Internall Energy; *or in the* Inſide *of that which* Thinks. *Which* Inſide *of the* Thinking Nature, *hath no Length, Breadth, or Profundity, no* Out-ſwelling Tumour; *becauſe then it would be* Outſide *again. Were a* Cogitative Being Extended, *yet muſt it have beſides this* Extended Outſide, *an* Unextended Inſide. *But One and the Same* Subſtance *cannot be* Extended, *and* Unextended. *Wherefore in this Opinion of* Extended Incorporealls, *a* Complication *of* Two Subſtances, *and a* Confuſion *of them together into One. True nevertheleſs, That all* Finite Incorporeall Subſtance, *is always Naturally united with ſome* Extended Body, *as its* Outſide. Page 831

All Summed up Together. 832

Hitherto the Senſe of the Ancient Aſſerters of Unextended Incorporealls, *repreſented to the beſt Advantage. Nothing Aſſerted by us; but that theſe, and other Arguments, do* Demonſtrate *againſt the* Atheiſts, *ſome* Other Subſtance *beſides* Body: *but whether or no, they Prove this to be* Indiſtant *and* Unextended; *left to others to make a Judgment. The* Atheiſts *who deny this, muſt acknowledge every* Thought, *to be not onely* Mentally, *but alſo* Phyſically Diviſible *and* Separable; *together with the* Soul: *as alſo deny* Internal Energy; *and conſequently make* Cogitation, *Nothing but* Locall Motion: *and Laſtly, Hold That no* Subſtance *can* Co-Exiſt *with Another* Subſtance, *more Inwardly, then by* Juxta-Poſition. 832, 833

This the Firſt Anſwer *to the Forementioned* Atheiſtick Argument *againſt* Incorporeall Subſtance; *made by the* Ancients, *By denying the* Minor; *That though whatſoever is* Extended *be* Body, *yet Every thing is not* Extented. *But the Argument otherwiſe Anſwered, by ſome* Learned Aſſerters *of* Incorporeall Subſtance, *By denying the* Major; *That though every thing be* Extended, *or what* Unextended Nothing; *yet what-ever is* Extended, *is not* Body; *they aſſerting another* Extenſion Incorporeall, *which is both* Penetrable, *and not made up of Parts* Phyſically Separable *from one another; to which belongeth* Life, Self-Activity, *and* Cogitation. Probable, *That ſome would Compound both the Forementioned* Hypotheſes *together; by ſuppoſing the* Deity *to be altogether* Unextended, *and* Indiviſibly *all every-where; but* Souls, *or* Created Incorporealls, *to have an* Unextended Inſide, *Diffuſed, as it were, into an* Extended Outſide. *Our ſelves here onely to Oppoſe* Atheiſts; *and Dogmatize no further, then to Aſſert, what all* Incorporealiſts *agree in, That beſides* Body, *there is Another* Subſtance, *which conſiſteth not of Parts* Really Separable *from one another; which is* Penetrable of Body, *and* Self-Active, *and hath an* Internall Energy, *diſtinct from* Locall Motion. *All which is* Demonſtratively *Certain. This the Full* Anſwer *to the Firſt* Atheiſtick Argument, *Againſt* Incorporeal Subſtance; *That either there is Something* Unextended, *or at leaſt* Extended *otherwiſe,*

The Contents.

wise then Body, *so as to be* Penetrable *thereof, and* Indiscerpibly *One with it self, and* Self-Active. Page 833, 834

The Second Atheistick Assault *against* Incorporeall Substance; *By Pretending the Originall of this Mistake, to have sprung from the* Scholastick Essences, *Distinct from the things themselves; and the* Abuse *of* Abstract Names *and* Notions, *they being made to be* Substances *Existing by themselves. For, though the Opinion of* Ghosts *and* Spirits, *(whereof* God *is the Chief) sprung first from* Fear; *yet that these should be* Incorporeall, *could never have entered into the* Minds *of men, had they not been* Enchanted *with these* Abstract Names *and* Separate Essences. 834

The First Generall Reply *to this, That it is all but* Romantick Fiction. *That the Opinion of the* Deity, *sprung not from* Fear, *and That all* Invisible Ghosts *are not* Phancies, *already sufficiently Proved; as also The* Existence *of a* God Demonstrated by Reason. *That* Apparitions *are* Reall Phænomena; *and Reasonable to think, That there may as well be* Invisible Aeriall, *and* Ætheriall; *as there are* Visible Terrestriall Animals. *Sottishness to conclude, That there is no* Understanding Nature, *Superiour to Man.* 834, 835

The Second Particular Reply, *That the Opinion of* Spirits Incorporeall, *sprung not from the* Scholastick Essences, *whether considered* Concretely *as* Universals *onely, or* Abstractly. *No man supposing, these to be Things* Really *and* Substantially Existing *without the* Mind; *either an* Universall Man *and* Universall Horse, *or else* Humanity *and* Equinity: *and that these walk up and down in* Airy Bodies; *they being onely* Noemata, *or the* Intelligible Essences *of Things, as Objects of the* Mind. *These* Essences *of* Things, *said to be* Eternall, *as their* Verities. *The meaning of these* Eternall Essences; *not, That they are so many* Eternall Substances Incorporeall; *but, That* Knowledge is Eternall, *and, That there is an* Eternall Unmade Mind, *that comprehends them; which all other* Minds *Partake of.* 835, 836

Again, That another Atheistick Dream, *That the* Abstract Names *and* Notions *of the* Meer Accidents *of* Bodies, *were* Made Substances Incorporeall; Souls, Minds, *and* Ghosts. Conscious Life, *no* Accident *of* Bodies, *as* Atheists *Suppose; but the* Essentiall Attribute *of Another* Substance, *which* Incorporeall; *as* Magnitude, *or* Extension, *is the* Essentiall Attribute *of* Body. 836

The following Atheistick Arguments *to be dispatched with more Brevity. That the* Four Next, *Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth, proceed onely upon this Supposition, That there is no Other* Substance *in the World, besides* Body *or* Matter; *and therefore signify* Nothing, *to the* Asserters *of an* Incorporeall Deity. Stoicks, *and the like, onely concerned to Answer them. Nevertheless, From the* Impossibility *of these* Atheistick Corporealisms, *contained in the Fifth, and Sixth, a* Necessity *of* Incorporeall Substance *will be Evinced.* Page 836

Here two Atheistick Corporealisms, *Founded upon these Suppositions, That all is* Body *or* Matter; *and, That* Matter *as such, is devoid of* Life *and* Understanding. *The First in the way of* Qualities *and* Forms, Generable *and* Corruptible, *called the* Hylopathian. *This the most Ancient* Atheistick Form, *as we learn from* Aristotle; *viz. That* Bulky Extension, *the onely* Substantiall *and* Unmade thing, *and all other things, but the* Passions, Qualities, *and* Accidents *thereof*; Makeable *out of it, and* Destroyable *into it. The Consequence from whence; That there is no* Substantiall Unmade Life *and* Understanding: *And, That no* Mind *could be a* God, *or* Creator; *it being all* Accidentall, Factitious, *and* Creature. 836, 837

This Hylopathian Atheism, *called also by us,* Anaximandrian. *Though we are not Ignorant, That* Simplicius *conceives,* Anaximander *to have held an* Homœomery, *or* Similar Atomology, *of* Eternall Unmade Qualities, *as* Anaxagoras *afterwards: onely, that he acknowledged no* Unmade Life *or* Mind, *but* Generated *it all, from the* Fortuitous Commixture *of those* Qualified Atoms. *(Which no Improbable Opinion, though not Certain.) Because however,* Anaximander *supposed* Life *and* Understanding, *to be at least* Secondary Qualities, *and* Accidents of Body, Generable *and* Corruptible. *And not Fit, to multiply* Forms of Atheism. 837

The Second Atheistick Corporealism, *in the way of* Unqualified Atoms, *producing all things, even* Life, *and* Understanding; *from* Figures, Sites, Motions, *and* Magnitudes *of* Parts. *From whence it will also follow, That* Mind *is no* Primordial Thing, *but* Secondary, *Compounded, and Derivative*; Creature, *and no* Creator. *This called* Democritick; *not because* Democritus *was the First Inventer of the* Dissimilar Atomology; *but because he was the First* Atheizer *of it, or the First, who made* Dissimilar Atoms, *the* Principles *of* All *things whatsoever, even of* Life *and* Understanding. ibid.

Not to be Denied, But that from these Two things Granted, That All is Body, *and, That the First* Principles *of* Body *are devoid of* Life *and* Understanding; *it would follow unavoidably, That there is* no God. *Therefore the* Stoicks, *who were* Corporeal Theists, *denied the* Latter; *they*

they ſuppoſing an Underſtanding Fire, Eternal *and* Unmade, *the* Maker *of the whole* Mundane Syſtem. *Truly Obſerved by* Origen, *That this* Corporeal God *of the* Stoicks, *was but by* Accident Incorruptible, *and* Happy; *and onely becauſe Wanting a Deſtroyer. This no Genuine* Theiſm. Page 837, 838

But an Abſolute Impoſſibility, *in both theſe* Atheiſtick Corporealiſms; *not onely, becauſe they ſuppoſe no* Active Principle; *but alſo, becauſe they bring* Life *and* Underſtanding, *that is*, Something, out of Nothing; *or* Make *them* without a Cauſe. *Where the* Atomick Atheiſts, *of the Two, moſt to be Condemned; becauſe ſo groſly Contradicting themſelves. From that* True Principle, *That* Matter *as ſuch, is devoid of* Life *and* Underſtanding; *an* Abſolute Neceſſity *of another* Subſtance Incorporeal, *which is Eſſentially* Vital *and* Intellectual. *That All* Life, *cannot poſſibly be* Factitious *and* Accidental, Generable *and* Corruptible; *but there muſt be* Subſtantial Life; *and alſo* ſome Eternal. 838,839

The Truth of this Underſtood and Acknowledged by the Hylozoiſts; *That there muſt of Neceſſity be, both* Subſtantial *and* Unmade Life *and* Underſtanding: *who therefore Attribute the ſame to all* Matter *as ſuch; but without* Animality; *which, according to them, is all* Factitious *and* Accidental. *Wherefore, this* Hylozoick Atheiſm *alſo, brings* Conſcious Life *and* Animality *out of* Nothing; *or* Makes *them* without a Cauſe. *The Argument of the* Epicurean Atheiſts, *againſt* Stratoniſm *or* Hylozoiſm, Unanſwerable: *That upon this Suppoſition, there muſt be, in every* Man *and* Animal, *a* Heap *of* Innumerable Percipients, *as many as there are* Atoms *of* Matter; *and ſo no* One Thinker. *The* Pretence *of the* Hylozoiſts, *That all the* Particles *of* Matter, *in every Animal, do* Confederate; Ridiculous, *and* Impoſſible. 839, 840

Thus the Fifth *and* Sixth Atheiſtick Argumentations, *fully Confuted; and from that* True Suppoſition *in them, That* Matter, *as ſuch, is Devoid of* Life *and* Underſtanding, Incorporeal Subſtance *plainly* Demonſtrated: *Which was our* Second Undertaking. 840

The Third *and* Laſt; *That there being Undeniably*, Subſtance Incorporeal, *the* Two *Following* Atheiſtick Argumentations, *(built upon the Suppoſition of the Contrary) altogether Inſignificant. The* Seventh *not properly directed againſt* Theiſm, *but againſt a* Religious kind *of* Atheiſm *or* Theogoniſm; *which ſuppoſed a* God *or* Soul *of the World*, Generated *out of* Senſleſs Matter; *and the Offſpring of* Night *and* Chaos. *A* Sober *and* True Senſe, *of the* World's Animation; *That there is a* Living, Sentient *and* Underſtanding Nature, *Preſiding over the whole World. But the* Senſe *of* Pagan Theiſts, *That the Whole* Corporeall World Animated, *is a* God, *Exploded by us. This Argument therefore being not againſt* Theiſm, *but* Theogoniſm; *the Confutation thereof might be here well Omitted, without any Detriment to our* Cauſe. *But becauſe the denying of a* Living Underſtanding Nature, *preſiding over the World, is* Atheiſticall; *the Ground of this* Aſſertion *briefly Declared; That* Life *and* Underſtanding *are* Accidents of Bodies, *reſulting onely from Such a* Contexture of Atoms, *as produce* Fleſh, Bloud, *and* Brains, *in* Bodies Organized; *and, That there is no Reaſon to be found any-where, but onely in* Humane Form: *which alſo Confuted. A* Brutiſh Paſſage, *of a* Modern Writer, *That it is Unconceivable by Men*, How God can Underſtand without Brains. Page 840, 841

The Next, (*which is the* Eighth Atheiſtick Argumentation) *That there can be no* Living Being Immortall, *nor* Perfectly Happy; *built upon that* Falſe Suppoſition *alſo, That all* Life *and* Underſtanding *reſults from a* Contexure of Dead *and* Senſleſs Atoms, *and therefore is* Diſſolvible *and* Annihilable. *But that there is* Life Eſſentiall, *and* Subſtantiall, *which* Naturally Immortall: *as alſo a Neceſſity, of an* Eternall Life, *and* Mind Unmade, *and* Unannihilable; *which* Perfectly Happy. 841, 842

SECT. IV.

THE Epicurean Atheiſts *further Endeavour, to Diſprove* a God, *from the* Phænomena *of* Motion, *and* Cogitation; *in the* Three *Following* Argumentations, *the* Ninth, Tenth, *and* Eleventh. *From* Motion, *thus*; *That from this Principle*, Nothing can move It Self, *but* Whatſoever is Moved, is moved by Another, *it will follow, That there can be no* Firſt Cauſe, *and* Unmoved Mover; *but One thing* Moved *Another, from Eternity* Infinitely; *Becauſe Nothing could* Move Another, *which was not It Self* Firſt Moved *by Something elſe.* 842, 843

Anſwer: *The meaning of this* Axiome; *Not, That* Nothing can Act from It Self, *as the* Atheiſt *Suppoſes*; *he taking it for granted, that every Thing is* Body, *and that all* Action *is* Local Motion; *but, That no* Body *Reſting, could ever* Locally Move It Self. *A Falſe* Suppoſition *of the* Atheiſts, *and ſome* Carteſians; *That were there but once* Motion *in the* Matter, *this would of it Self continue to all* Eternity. *True, that of* Ariſtotle; *That to make an* Infinite Pro-

The Contents.

Progreſs *in the* Cauſes of Motion, *and no* Firſt Mover; *is all one as to ſay That there is* No Cauſe at all thereof; *or, That all the* Motion *in the World, is a* Paſſion *without an* Agent, *or Comes from* Nothing. *Clearly Impoſſible, That there ſhould be any* Motion *at all, were there* Nothing Self-Moving *or* Self-Active. Page 843

Wherefore from this Principle, *That no* Body *can* Move It Self, *it follows Undeniably; That there is Some other* Subſtance *in the World beſides* Body, *that hath an* Active Power *of* Moving Body. 843, 844

Another Corollary *from the ſame* Principle; *That there is another Species of* Action, *diſtinct from* Locall Motion, *and which is not* Heterokineſy, *but* Autokineſy. *That the* Action *by which* Local Motion *is firſt Cauſed, could not be it ſelf* Local Motion. *All* Local Motion *Cauſed Originally by* Cogitation. *Thus the* Ninth Atheiſtick Argument *from* Motion *Confuted; and from hence,* That no Body can Move it Self, Demonſtrated, *That there is Something* Incorporeal, *the* Firſt Cauſe of Local Motion, *by* Cogitation. ibid.

But the Atheiſts *further Pretend to Prove, That* Cogitation it ſelf *is* Heterokineſy, *the* Paſſion *of the* Thinker, *and the* Action *of ſome other* External Agent *upon him; Becauſe,* Nothing taketh Beginning from It Self; *and,* No Cogitation can riſe of It Self, without a Cauſe. *That therefore,* Thinking Beings *themſelves are* Machines, *and* Cogitation Local Motion. *And, No* Underſtanding Being, *a* Firſt Cauſe, *nor Perfectly* Happy; *becauſe* Dependent *upon ſomething elſe.* 844, 845

Anſwer. True, *That no* Subſtance taketh Beginning *from it Self; as alſo, That no* Action Cauſeth *it Self. But* Falſe, *That* No Action taketh Beginning *from the* Immediate Agent; *or, That* Nothing can Act otherwiſe, then as Acted upon by Something elſe. Atheiſts *here Affirm onely, what they ſhould Prove, and ſo Beg the Queſtion. If* Nothing Self-Active, *then all the* Motion *and* Action *in the* Univerſe, *muſt* Come from Nothing, *or be* Made without a Cauſe. 845

True *alſo, That our* Humane Cogitations *are frequently occaſioned from* Externall Objects, *and that the* Concatenations *of* Thoughts *and* Phantaſms, *often depend upon* Mechanick Cauſes. *But* Falſe, *That all* Cogitations *are* Obtruded *upon us from without; and, That no* Tranſition *in our* Thoughts, *which was not Before in* Senſe. *The* Humane Soul *a* Principle of Actions, *and therefore alſo of* Cogitations. *This a* Bubbling Fountain of Thoughts. *But that there is ſuch a* Perfect Mind, *as at once Comprehends all* Truth, *and was Before* Senſibles. 845, 846

This a Prodigious Paradox, *and* Falſity of Atheiſts; *That* Cogitation, Local Motion; *and* Thinking Beings, Machines. *Here a* Correction *of what we wrote before,* P. 761, *and a* Change *of our* Opinion, *upon further Conſideration; That not onely a* Modern Writer, *but alſo the Ancient* Atheiſtick Atomiſts, *did conclude,* Cogitation *to be Really nothing elſe but* Local Motion. *Nevertheleſs, theſe men troubled with the* Phancy *of* Cogitation; *which becauſe they cannot make* Local Motion, *they would perſuade us to be no* Reality, *or* Nothing. Atheiſts *aware, That if there be any* Action *beſides* Locall Motion, *there muſt then be ſome other* Subſtance *acknowledged beſides* Body. *They who make* Cogitation Local Motion, *and* Men, Machines, *no more to be diſputed with, then* Senſleſs Machines. Page 846, 847

To Affirm, That no Underſtanding Being *can be* Happy, *nor a* God, *becauſe Dependent upon Something without it; all one as to Affirm, That* Senſleſs Matter *is the Moſt* Perfect *of all things; and, That* Knowledge, *as ſuch, ſpeaking* Imperfection, *is but a* Whiffling *and* Phantaſtick thing. *But of this more afterwards. Thus the* Tenth Atheiſtick Argument *Confuted.* 847

Another Atheiſtick Argument, *From the* Nature *of* Knowledge *and* Underſtanding, *That the World could not be made by an* Underding Being, *Becauſe there was no* Knowledge *before* Things, *which are the* Objects *of it; and the onely* Things *are* Senſibles, *which* Knowledge *a* Paſſion *from. Therefore all* Mind, *as ſuch, a* Creature, *and none a* Creatour. ibid.

This already fully Anſwered, Page 729, *and ſo forwards. Where Proved, That* Singular Bodies *are not the Onely* Things, *and* Objects *of the* Mind, *but that it containeth its* Intelligibles *within it Self. And, That* Knowledge, *is* Archetypall to the World, *and the* Maker *of All. So the* Exiſtence of a God, Demonſtrable, *from the* Nature *of* Knowledge *and* Underſtanding. 847, 848

That the Atheiſts *can no more* Salve *the* Phænomenon *of* Cogitation, *then that of* Locall Motion; *Evident from their Many* Hallucinations *concerning it; whereof a Catalogue ſubjoyned. Firſt, That all* Life *and* Underſtanding, *a meer* Accidentall thing, Generable *and* Corruptible, *and no* Life *nor* Mind Subſtantiall *or* Eſſentiall. *This before Confuted.* 848

Again, That Life *and* Mind, *no* Simple *and* Primitive Natures, *but* Compounded Syllables *of things; and therefore none* Immortall, *nor* Incorruptible. *Anſwer; That* Life *and*

Understanding *are* Active Powers, *and could never result from meer* Passive Bulk; *nor can any Composition of* Dead *and* Senseless Matter, *possibly beget* Life *and* Understanding. *Though no Necessity, That there should be any* Eternal Unmade Red *or* Green, *because these might be Made out of things not* Red *nor* Green; *nor That there should be* Eternal Motion, *because* Motion *might be produced from a* Self-Active Principle; *nor That there should be any* Eternall Unmade Matter, *because were there none, it might notwithstanding be Created, by a* Perfect Incorporeal Being: *yet an* Absolute Necessity *of* Eternal Unmade Life *and* Mind; *because had there been once none, there could never have been any.* Page 848, 849

Another Atheistick Hallucination, *That there is* Nothing of Self-Activity *in* Cogitation; *nor any thing could* Act *otherwise, then as it is* Made *to* Act *by* Something else. *This to bring all* Action *from* Nothing, *or to suppose it without a* Cause. 849, 850

Another Madness of theirs already mentioned, That Cogitation, Locall Motion; *and* Thinking Beings, Machines. *This Equall* Sottishness *or* Impudence, *as to affirm,* Number *to be* Figure, *&c.* 850

Another Paradox *of the* Epicurean *and* Democritick Atheists, *That* Mentall Cogitation, *as well as* Sensation, *the meer* Passions *of the* Thinker, *and the* Actions *of* Bodies Existing *without him: Some of them supposing* Thoughts, *to be* Caused *by certain* Finer Images, *then* Sensations; *Others, that they are the* Remainders of the Motions of Sense, *formerly made.* Answer: *That* Sensation *it self, is not a meer* Corporeal Passion, *but the* Perception *of a* Passion, *in a way of* Phancy; *much less* Mental Cogitations *such; and least of all* Volitions. 850, 851

But Consentaneously hereunto, these Atheists *Determine, all* Knowledge *and* Understanding, *to be Really the same thing with* Sense. *From whence follow Two* Absurdities. First, *That there can be no such thing as* Errour, *because all* Passion *is* True Passion, *and all* Sense, True Sense; *that is,* True Seeming *and* Appearance. *This Absurdity owned by* Protagoras. Epicurus *Endeavoured to avoid this, but in vain, and contradictiously to his own* Principles. 851, 852

A Second Absurdity *consequent thereupon; That there is no* Absolute Truth *nor* Falsehood, *but all* Knowledge Private *and* Relative, *and nothing but* Opinion. *This freely owned likewise by* Protagoras. *Sometimes also by* Democritus. *Who therefore but a* Blunderer *neither, in the* Atomick Philosophy; *which plainly Supposes a* Higher Faculty *of* Reason *and* Understanding, *that judges of* Sense, *and discovers the* Phantastry *thereof; it reaching to* Absolute Truth. Page 852, 853

Another Atheistick Errour; *That* Singular Bodies *are the onely* Objects *of* Mentall Conception, *as well as of* Sensation. *This imputed by* Aristotle, *to* Democritus *and* Protagoras. *But sufficiently before Confuted.* 853, 854

The better to maintain this Paradox, *Added by a* Modern Atheistick Writer, *as his own Invention; That* Universals *are Nothing else but* Names, *by which Many* Singular Bodies *are called;* Axiomes *or* Propositions, *the* Addition *and* Substraction *of* Names; *and* Syllogistick Reasoning, *the reckoning the Consequences of them: and that therefore besides the* Passions of Sense, *we know Nothing at all of any thing, but onely the* Names *by which it is Called. Whence it would follow, That* Geometricall Truths, *not the same in* Greek *and in* Latine, *&c.* 854

That the Atheists, *according to these premised* Principles, *endeavour to* Depreciate Knowledge *and* Understanding, *as that which speaks no Higher* Perfection, *then is in* Senseless Matter. *Thus the* Atheists *in* Plato, *make it but a* Ludicrous, Umbratile *and* Evanid thing; *the meer* Image *of* Bodies, *the onely* Realities. *Their Design in this, to take away the* Scale, *or* Ladder of Entities. 855, 856

All the Grounds *of this again briefly* Confuted; *and Particularly, that* Opinion *so much favouring* Atheism, *That there is* Nothing in the Understanding, *which was not Before in* Sense; *out of* Boëtius. Just *and* Unjust, *Greater* Realities *in Nature, then* Hard *and* Soft, *&c. Unquestionably, a* Scale *or* Ladder *of* Entities; *and therefore Certain, that the* Order of Things *must be in way of* Descent, *from* Higher Perfection *to* Lower, *and not of* Ascent, *from* Lower *to* Higher. *The* Steps *of this* Ladder *not* Infinite: *the* Foot *thereof,* Inanimate Matter; *the* Head, *a* Perfect Omnipotent Being, *Comprehending in It self all* Possibilities *of Things.* Mind *by Nature* Lord over all; *and* Sovereign King *of* Heaven *and* Earth. 856, 859

The Reason why we so much Insist upon this; Because Atheists *Pretend, not onely to* Salve *the* Phænomenon *of* Cogitation *without a* God; *but also from thence to* Demonstrate *the* Impossibility *of his* Existence. *Though* Modern Writers *not so much aware hereof; yet is the* Controversy *betwixt* Theists *and* Atheists, *thus Stated by* Plato; *Whether* Soul *and* Mind Juniors *to* Senseless Matter, *and the Offspring thereof; or else* Substantiall Things, *and in* Order *of* Nature *Before it. Accordingly* Plato *confuteth* Atheism *no otherwise, then by proving* Soul *not to be* Junior *to* Inanimate Matter *and*

The Contents.

pnd Generated *out of the same.* *Evident, That* Iato *by* Soul *here understood, not onely the* Mundane Soul, *but also that Whole Rank of* Beings, *called* Soul ; *and, That no* Life *was* Generated *out of* Matter. Page 859,860

Those professed Christians, *who* Generate Rationall Souls *out of* Sensless Matter, *plain* Betrayers *of the* Cause *of* Theism. 860, 861

Nor is the Case much different, as to others ; who, though they professedly Generate *onely* Sensitive Souls, *yet making the* Rationall, *but meer* Blanks, *which have Nothing in them, but what was* Scribbled *upon them by* Sense ; *and so* Knowledge, *in its own Nature,* Junior *to* Sense *and* Sensibles ; *Highly Gratify the* Atheists *hereby.* 861

If any Life *and* Cogitation *may be* Generated *out of* Dead *and* Sensless Matter, *then can no good Reason be given, why All should not be.* Life *not partly* Accidental, *partly* Substantiall: *but either All* Conscious Life, Accidental, Generable *and* Corruptible ; *or else None at all.* ibid.

The Doctrine of Reall Qualities Generable *and* Corruptible, *favourable to* Atheism *also. And though the* Atheistick Atomists *Explode all the other* Qualities, *Because,* Nothing can come from Nothing ; *yet, contradicting themselves again, do they make* Life *and* Understanding, Reall Qualities, Generated *out of* Matter, *or* Caused *by* Nothing. 861, 862

There being a Scale *or* Ladder *of* Entities *in* Nature, *to Produce a* Higher Rank *of* Beings, *out of a* Lower ; *as* Life *and* Cogitation, *out of* Matter, *and* Magnitude ; *is to* Invert *the* Order *of this* Scale, *from* Downwards, *to* Upwards ; *and so to lay a* Foundation *for* Atheism. *Wherefore great Reason, to maintain this Post, against the* Atheists ; *That no* Souls *can be* Generated *out of* Matter. 862, 863

The Grand Objection *against the* Substantiality *of* Sensitive Souls, *from that Consequence of their* Permanent Subsistence *after* Death. Cartesius *so Sensible thereof ; that he would rather make* Brutes *to be* Sensless Machines, *then allow them* Substantiall Souls ; *which he granted they must have, if* Thinking Beings. *What clearly Demonstrable by Reason, not to be abandoned, because attended with some* Difficulties, *or seemingly* Offensive Consequences. 863

The Pythagorick Hypothesis ; *That* Souls *all* Created by God, *not in the* Generation *of* Animals, *but in the* Cosmogonia. *These therefore, first* Clothed *with* Thin *and* Subtile Bodies, Aeriall *or* Ætheriall Ochemata, *wherein they* Subsist, *both before their* Ingress *into* Terrestriall Bodies, *and after their* Egress *out of them. Thus* Boëtius *and* Proclus. Ammonius *his* Irrationall Demons Mortall ; Brutish Souls, *in* Aeriall Bodies. *Since the First* Creation, *no* New Substantiall thing Made, *or* Destroyed, *and therefore no* Life. *This looked upon by* Macrobius *as a Great* Truth. Page 863, 865

That the Pythagoreans *would Endeavour to gain some Countenance for this* Hypothesis, *from the* Scripture. 865, 867.

But if these Aeriall Vehicles *of* Brutish Souls *be exploded for a* Whimsey, *and none but* Terrestriall Bodies *allowed to them ; though after Death they will not* Vanish *into* Nothing, *yet must they needs remain in a* State of Insensibility, *and* Inactivity, *till re-united to other* Terrestriall Bodies. *Wherefore these in one Sense* Mortall, *though in another* Immortall. *Silkworms dying, and reviving in the Form of* Butterflies, *made an* Emblem *of the* Resurrection, *by* Christian Theologers. 867, 868

But no Absolute Necessity, *That the* Souls *of* Brutes, *though* Substantiall, *should have a* Permanent Subsistence *after Death, either in a* State *of* Activity, *or* Inactivity ; *Because, whatsoever* Created *by* God, *may Possibly by him be* Annihilated. *The* Substantiality *onely of the* Rationall Soul, Demonstrable *by Reason ; or that it will not of it Self vanish into* Nothing ; *but not that it is Absolutely* Impossible, *for it to be* Annihilated ; *The assurance of this Depending upon a* Faith *in the* Divine Goodness. Porphyrius *his Assertion, That* Brutish Souls *are Resolved into the* Life of the Universe. *The whole Answer to this* Objection, *against the* Substantiality *of* Brutish Souls ; *That they may notwithstanding, Possibly be* Annihilated *in the* Deaths *of* Animals, *as well as they were* Created *in their* Generations ; *but if they do Subsist (without* Aeriall Vehicles,) *they must remain in a* State of Inactivity *and* Insensibility. 868, 869

That this the Doctrine *of the* Ancient Pagan Theologers, *That no* Life, *or* Soul, Generated *out of* Dead *and* Sensless Matter ; *but all Produced by the* Deity, *as well as* Matter ; *Proved out of* Virgil : *though sundry other* Testimonies *also, might be added thereunto.* 869, 870

The Hylozoick Atheists *themselves, so Sensible hereof, That there must be some* Substantiall *and* Unmade Life, *(from whence the* Lives *and* Minds *of all* Animals *are Derived) That they attribute the same to* Matter ; *and conclude, That though the* Modificated Lives *of* Animals, *and* Men, *be* Accidentall, Generated *and* Corrupted, *yet the* Fundamental Life *of them, is* Substantiall, *and* Incorruptible. *These also asserted, a* Knowledge *before* Sense, *and Underived from* Sensibles. 870, 871

This Hylozoick Atheism *again* Confuted. Absurd

Abſurd *to ſuppoſe*, Knowledge *and* Underſtanding, *without* Conſciouſneſs; *as alſo, That the* Subſtantiall *and* Fundamentall Life, *of* Men *and other* Animals, *ſhould never Periſh, and yet their* Souls, *and* Perſonalities, *Vaniſh into* Nothing. *That no* Organization *can produce* Conſciouſneſs. *Theſe* Atheiſts *not able poſſibly to give an Account, whence the* Intelligible Objects *and* Idea's, *of this their* Knowledge *of* Matter, *ſhould ſpring. This* Hylozoick Atheiſm, *Nothing but the* Crumbling of the Deity *into* Matter. Page 871

Concluded, That the Phænomenon *of* Mind *and* Underſtanding, *can no way poſſibly be Salved by* Atheiſts, *without a* God; *but affordeth a* Solid Demonſtration *of his* Exiſtence. 871, 872

SECT. V.

THERE *now Remaining onely, the* Atheiſtick Objections *againſt* Providence, *their* Queries, *and* Arguments from Intereſts; *Their* Firſt Objection, *From the* Frame of the World, *as Faulty. Or, Becauſe* Things are Ill Made, *that therefore not made by a* God. *This directed againſt the* Senſe *of the* Ancient Theologers; *That* God *being a* Perfect Mind, *therefore made the World after the* Beſt manner. *Some* Modern Theologers *Deviating from this, as if the Perfection of the* Deity *conſiſted not at all in* Goodneſs, *but in* Power *and* Arbitrary Will *onely. The Controverſy betwixt theſe and* Atheiſts; *but Whether* Matter Fortuitouſly Moved, *or a* Fortuitous Will Omnipotent, *be the Originall of all things. No Ground of* Faith *in a meer* Arbitrarious Deity. *To have a Will Undetermined to* Good, *no* Liberty, *nor* Soveraignty, *but* Impotency. God *to* Celſus, *the* Head *or* Preſident *of the* Righteous Nature. *This not onely the* Senſe *of* Origen, *but of the* Ancient Chriſtians *in Generall.* Plotinus; *The* Will *of* God *Eſſentially*, That which Ought to be. God *an* Impartiall Balance, *Weighing out* Heaven *and* Earth. *The* Deity, *not* Servilely Bound *to doe the* Beſt; *but this the* Perfection *of its* Nature. *No* Atheiſt *able to prove, The World to be* Ill Made. 872, 874

Not to be Concluded, That whatſoever we cannot find out the Reaſon *or* Uſe *of, is therefore* Ineptly Made. *For example; The* Inteſtinum Cæcum, *though ſeemingly an* Odd Appendix, *and which the Generality of* Anatomiſts *give little Account of; yet that, with the* Valve *at its Enterance, both together, an* Artificiall Contrivance *of* Nature, *to hinder the* Regurgitation *of the* Fæces. 874, 875

The Firſt Atheiſtick Inſtance *of the* Faultineſs *of things; In the* Diſpoſition *of the* Æquator *and* Ecliptick, *Interſecting each other in ſuch an* Angle, *whereby the* Terreſtrial Globe *rendered not ſo Habitable as it might have been. This Objection Founded upon a* Falſe Suppoſition, *That the* Torrid Zone Uninhabitable. *But this the Beſt Diſpoſition; which being Contrary to* Mechanick Cauſes, *therefore its Continuance, together with the Conſtant* Parallelism *of the* Earth's Axis, *a manifeſt Eviction of* Providence; *and that the* Τὸ Βέλτιστον, The Beſt, *is a* Cauſe in Nature. Page 875

In the next place; The Atheiſts *would prove againſt ſome* Theiſts, *That All things not Made for the* Sake *of* Man. *This at Firſt but the Doctrine of* Streight-laced Stoicks *onely; recommended afterward by mens* Self-Love. *Whereas* Plato's Doctrine, *That the* Whole *not made for any* Part; *but the* Parts *for the* Whole. *Nevertheleſs, Things in the Lower World, made Principally (though not Onely) for Man.* Atheiſts *no* Judges *of the* Well *or* Ill-Making *of* Worlds, *they having no Standing* Meaſure of Good. *That* Nature *a* Step-Mother *to* Man; *but a froward Speech of ſome diſcontented Perſons, ſeeking to Revenge themſelves, by Railing upon* Nature, *that is*, Providence. 875, 876

Evils *in Generall, from the* Neceſſity *of* Imperfect Beings, *and* Incompoſſibility *of things.* 876

Men Afflicted more from their own Phancies, *then* Reality *of things.* Pain (*which a* Real Evil *of* Senſe) *often Link'd with* Pleaſure, *according to the* Socratick Fable. *This not the* Evil *of the* Whole Man, *but of the* Outſide *onely. Serviceable, to free men from the* Greater Evils *of the* Mind. Death, *according to the* Atheiſtick Hypotheſis, *an* Abſolute Extinction of all Life; *but according to* Genuine Theiſm, *onely a Withdrawing into the* Tiring-Houſe, *and putting off the* Terreſtriall Cloathing. *The* Dead Live to God. Chriſtian Faith *gives aſſurance of a* Heavenly Body *hereafter. The* Chriſtian Reſurrection, *not the* Hope of Worms. *This the* Confutation *of the* Twelfth Atheiſtick Argument. 876, 877

The Thirteenth; *but* Second Objection *a-Againſt* Providence, *as to* Humane Affairs; *Becauſe all things Fall alike to all; and ſometimes* Vicious *and* Irreligious *Perſons, moſt* Proſperous. 877, 878

Granted, That this Conſideration hath too much Staggered weak Minds in all Ages. Some concluding from thence, That there is no God, *but that blind* Chance *Steereth all. Others, That though there be a* God, *yet he Knows nothing done here below. Others, That though he do know, yet he Neglecteth* Humane Affairs. 878

Unrea-

The Contents.

Unreasonable to require, That God *should Miraculously* Interpose *at* every turn; *or to think, That* every Wicked *person should presently be* Thunder-struck. *That which Steers the whole World, no* Fond *and* Passionate, *but an* Impartial Nature. *Yet, That there want not* Instances *of an* Extraordinary Providence. *Good Reasons for the* Slowness *of* Divine Vengeance. *The* Notoriously Wicked, *commonly met with at the long Run.* Page 878,879

The Sometimes Impunity *of Wicked Persons, so far from Staggering Good men, as to Providence; that it confirms them in their* Belief, *of* Future Immortality, *and* Judgement after Death. *The* Evolution *of* Humane affairs, *a kind of* Dramatick Poem, *and God Almighty the* Skilful Dramatist; *who always Connecteth that of Ours, which went before, with what of His follows after, into* Coherent Sense. *A* Geometrical Distribution *of* Rewards *and* Punishments. 879,880

That there ought to be a Doubtful *and* Cloudy State *of things, for the Exercise of* Faith, *and the more difficult Part of* Vertue. *Had there been no Monsters to Subdue, there could have been no* Hercules. *Here, we to Live* by Faith, *and not* by Sight. 880

But that to make a full Defence of Providence, *would require a large Volume. The Reader therefore referred to others for a Supplement. Onely some* Few Considerations *to be here propounded, not so much for the* Confutation *of* Atheists, *as* Satisfaction of Theists, *sometimes apt to call in Question the* Divine Goodness, *though the very* Foundation *of our* Christian Faith. ibid.

First; That in Judging of the Works of God, we ought not to consider the Parts of the World *alone by themselves, but in order to the* Whole. *Were Nothing made but the* Best, *there could have been no* Harmony, *for want of* Variety. Plotinus, *That a Limner does not make all* Eye, *nor place* Bright Colours *every-where; nor a* Dramatist *introduce onely* Kings *and* Hero's, *upon the* Stage. 880, 882

Secondly; That we ought not to Confine God's Creation *to the* Narrowness *of* Vulgar Opinion, *which Extends the* Universe, *but little beyond the Clouds; and* Walls *it in, with a* Sphear *of* Fixed Stars. *The* World *Uncapable of* Infinity *of* Magnitude, *as well as of* Time. *Nevertheless, as the Sun is much Bigger then we can Imagine it, so much more may the World be. The* New Celestiall Phænomena, *widen the* Corporeal Universe, *and make those Phansied,* Flaming Walls *thereof, to fly away before us. Not reasonable to think, That all this Immense* Vastness, *should be* Desert *and* Uninhabited. 882,883

Thirdly; That we cannot make a Right Judgement, *of the* Ways of Providence, *without looking both Forwards, upon what is Future; and Backwards, upon what is Past; as well as upon the* Present. *That the* Platonists *and* Pythagoreans, *salved many* Phænomena, *from the τὰ προβεβιωμένα,* Things done in a Præ-Existent State. *Our Common Christianity supposeth but a kind of* Imputative Præ Existence; *to Salve the* Pravity *of* Mankind, *and the* Evils *of this* State. *The different* Fates *and* Conditions *of Men here in this Life, to be resolved into a* Just, *though* Occult Providence. Page 883

The Third Objection *against* Providence; *or Fourteenth* Atheistick Argument. *That it is Impossible, for any One Being, to* Animadvert *and* Order *all things: and if it were Possible, that it would be* Distractious, *and* Inconsistent *with* Happiness. *Moreover, That an* Irresistibly Powerfull *and* Happy Being, *would not concern it self in the welfare of others:* Benevolence *arising onely from* Imbecillity. 883 884

The Reply; That because our Selves have but a Finite Animadversion, *and* Narrow Sphear *of* Activity; *to measure the* Deity *accordingly, is but an* Idol *of the* Cave *or* Den. *Certain, that were there Nothing, but what we could fully Comprehend, there could be no* God. *Had the Sun* Life, *Equally* Coextended *with its* Rays, *it would perceive every thing touched by them.* Creatures *but the* Rays *of the* Deity. *Men able to manage affairs, in many distant places, without* Distraction. *And innumerable* Notions, *lie together in our Minds, without Crowding one another, or any Disturbance to us.* 884

But for the easing the Minds of weak Mortals, already Suggested; That there is no Necessity, God should Himself Immediately do all things; *be having* Ministers *Under him,* Executioners *of his* Providence: *as, an* Artificial, Plastick Nature, *(for this reason partly before insisted on;) Instincts also in Animals, a Part of that* Divine Fate, *which is the* Servant *of* Providence. *Above which, other* Knowing *and* Understanding Ministers *of the* Deity, *appointed to Preside over* Humane Affairs. *But all over-look'd by the watchfull Eye of* God Almighty, *who may Himself Extraordinarily Interpose.* 884, 885

Wherefore no need to Confine Providence, *to a Few* Greater *things onely; to free the* Deity *from* Distraction. Small *things (upon which* Greater *often depend) not Neglected by it. Nevertheless the Chief Employment of* Divine Providence, *in the* Oeconomy of Souls, *by* Plato *Reduced to this Compendium; The* Translating *of them into Better or Worser States, according to their* Demeanours. *Thus may the slow wits of Mortals,*

more easily conceive, Providence *not to be* Laborious *and* Distractious to the Deity. Page 885

But that all Benevolence arises *from* Imbecillity, *and that what is Perfectly Happy, would be* troubled *with no* Business, *but enjoy its own Ease*; Idols *of the* Atheists Den. *These other, The* Narrow Contractedness *of their Minds, by* Vice and Immorality. 885,886

The Atheistick Queries, *next to be Answered. The* First Querie. *If there were a God, who was Perfectly Happy in himself, Why would he go about to make a World?* Answ. *The Reason of God's making the World, was from his* Over-flowing *and* Communicative Goodness, *That there might be other Beings Happy, besides Himself. This consistent with God's making the World, for his own* Glory. *The reason why* Plotinus *would explode that. True, that God did not make the World, meerly to* Ostentate *his* Skill *and* Power; *but to* Display *his* Goodness, *which is Chiefly his* Glory. *The* Atheists *further Demand; What hurt would it have been for us, never to have been Made?* Answ. *No other then this, That we could never have Enjoyed* Good, *nor been Capable of* Happiness. *If no hurt not to have been Made, then none to be Annihilated; the Distance being as great, from Nothing to Something, as from Something to Nothing.* 886

The Second Atheistick Querie. *If God's* Goodness *were the Cause of his making the World, Why then was it not made Sooner? This* Question *capable of a* Double Sense. *First, Why was not the World from* Eternity? *The* Reply; *This not from any Defect in the* Divine Goodness, *but because there is an* Impossibility of the Thing *it self; the* Necessity *and* Incapacity *of such an* Imperfect Being *Hindering it. Our selves Prone to Think, That Could the World have been from Eternity, it should have been so. Thus* Philoponus, *in his Confutation of* Proclus *his Arguments, for the World's Eternity. And now no place left, for those* Atheistick Cavils, *against the* Novity *of the* Creation; *as if God must therefore have Slept from Eternity; or had Contracted a Satiety of his former Solitude. Another Sense of the* Question; *Why, though the World could not be from Eternity, yet was it not made Sooner?* Answ. *The World could not Possibly have so been made in Time, as that it should not have been once, but a Day Old; and also once, no more then five or six Thousand years Old.* 886, 887

The Third Atheistick Querie. *How could God move the* Matter *of the whole World; especially if Incorporeal?* Answ. *That all things being derived from the Deity, and Essentially depending on him, they must needs be* Commandable *by him, and* Obsequious *to him. And since no Body can Move it self, that which first Moved the Matter, must be* Incorporeal, *and not* move *it by* Machines *and* Engines, *but by* Cogitation *or* Will *onely. That Conceit, That an* Incorporeal Deity, *could not Move Matter, because it would Run through it; Absurd; This moving not* Mechanically, *but* Vitally. *That* Cogitative Beings *have a* Naturall *Power of* Moving Matter, *Evident from our own Souls,* Moving *our Bodies, not by* Machines *or* Engines, *but meerly by* Thought. *More easy for the Deity, to move the Whole World, by* Will *and* Cogitation; *then for us our Bodies.* Page 887,888

The Last Head *of* Atheistick Argumentation, *From Interest. First; That it is the* Interest *of* Particular *Persons, there should be no being* Infinitely Powerfull, *who hath no Law but his own Will. The First Reply;* Wishing *is no* Proving. *Nor will any man's Thinking, make Things otherwise then they are.* 888

But Secondly; This Wish *of* Atheists, *Founded upon a* Mistaken Notion *of* God Almighty, *That he is nothing but* Arbitrary Will Omnipotent. *God's* Will, *not meer* Will; *but* Law *and* Equity; Ought it self Willing. *Nor does* Justice *in God, clash with* Goodness; *but is a* Branch, *or Particular* Modification *thereof. The* Interest *of none, There should be no God, unless perhaps of such, as are Irreclaimably Wicked, and wilfully abandon their own True* Good. 888,889

To be Without God; *to be* Without Hope. *No* Faith *nor* Hope *in Senseless* Matter. *According to the* Atheistick Hypothesis, *no Possibility of* Happiness, *nor* Security *of* Good. 889

God *such a Being, as If he were not, Nothing more to be* Wished for. *To* Believe a God, *to* Believe the Existence of all Good *and* Perfection; *and that things are all* Made *and* Governed *as they* Should be. Peccability, *from the* Necessity of Imperfect Free-Willed Beings. Infinite Hopes *from a* Being Infinitely Good, *and* Powerfull. Democritus *and* Epicurus, *however cried up so much of late; but* Infatuated Sophists, *or* Witty Fools, *and* Debauchers of Mankind. 889,890

The Last Atheistick Argumentation. *That* Theism *or* Religion *is Inconsistent with the* Interest of Civil Sovereigns. *Their* First Pretence *for this, That the* Civil Sovereign *Reigns onely in* Fear; *and therefore there must be no* Power, *nor* Fear, *Greater, then that of the* Leviathan. 890

In Answer *to this, The* Atheistick Ethicks *and* Politicks *to be Unravelled. Their* Foundation *laid, in the* Villanizing of Humane Nature. *That there is no* Natural Justice, Equity, *nor* Charity. *No* Publick *nor* Common Nature

in

The Contents.

in Men, but all Private *and* Selfish. *That every Man by* Nature, *hath a* Right *to every thing, even to other Mens Bodies and Lives. That an* Appetite *to* Kill *and* Torment, *by* Nature, *gives* a Right. *That* Nature *hath brought men into the World, without any* Fetters *or* Shackles, *of* Duty *and* Obligation; *the* Hinderances *of* Liberty. *Lastly, That* Nature *absolutely* Dissociates *and* Segregates *Men from one another, by reason of the* Inconsistency *of* Appetites, *and* Private Good. *Every Man by* Nature, *in a* State of War, *against every Man.* Page 890, 891

But in the next place, They adde, That though this State of Nature, *which is* Belluine Liberty, *and* Lawless Freedom *to every thing, be in it self the* Best; *yet by* Accident, *and by reason of mens Imbecillity, does it prove the* Worst. *Wherefore, when Men had been weary of* Hewing *and* Slashing, *they then bethought themselves at length of Helping* Nature *by* Art; *By Submitting to a* Lesser Evil, *for the* Avoiding of a Greater; *Abating their* Infinite Right, *and Yielding to Terms of* Equality *with others, and* Subjection *to a* Common Power. 891

Where, these Atheists *First* Slander Humane Nature; *and then* Debase Justice *and* Civil Authority, *making it the* Ignoble *and* Bastardly Brat *of* Fear; *or a* Lesser Evil *Submitted to, out of Necessity, for the avoiding of a* Greater. *According to which* Atheistick Hypothesis, No man is Willingly Just. *This no New* Invention *of the Writer* De Cive, *but the old* Atheistick Generation *of* Justice, *and of a* Body Politick, *Civil* Society, *and* Sovereignty; *(before* Plato's *time:) it being fully described, in his Second Book of a* Common-wealth. *Where the Philosopher concludes,* Justice, *according to these, to be but a* Middle thing, *betwixt the* Best, *and the* Worst; *Loved, not as* Good *in it Self, but onely by Reason of Mens* Imbecillity: *Or, That* Justice *is indeed,* Another man's Good, *and the* Evil *of him that is* Just. *The same* Hypothesis *also, concerning* Justice, *as a* Factitious thing, *that sprung onely from* Fear and Imbecillity, *and was chosen but as a* Lesser Evil; *Insisted on by* Epicurus. 891, 893

The vain Attempts of our Modern Atheistick Politicians, *to* Make Justice by Art, *when there is* None by Nature. *First, by* Renouncing *and* Transferring *mens Right, by* Will *and* Words. *For If Nothing* Naturally Unlawfull, *then can no man, by* Will *and* Words, *make any thing* Unlawfull *to himself. What* Made *by* Will, *may be* Destroyed *by* Will. *The Ridiculous Conceit of these* Atheistick Politicians, *That* Injustice *is nothing but* Dati Repetitio, *and such an* Absurdity in Life, *as is in* Disputation, *when a man* Denies *a* Proposition, *he had before* Granted; *No* Real Evil *in the* Man, *but onely a* Relative Incongruity *in him as a* Citizen. *Again, These* Justice-Makers *and* Authority-Makers, *pretend to derive their* Factitious Justice, *from* Pacts *and* Covenants. *But* Pacts *and* Covenants, *without* Naturall Justice, *(as themselves confess) Nothing but* Words *and* Breath; *and therefore can have no* Force *to* Oblige. *Wherefore they make another Pretence also, from certain Counterfeit* Laws of Nature, *of their own Devising, that are Nothing but meer* Juggling Equivocation; *they being but the Laws of* Fear, *or their own* Timorous *and* Cowardly Complexion. *They Ridiculously Dance Round in a Circle, when they Derive the* Obligation *of* Civil Laws *from* Covenants; *of* Covenants *from* Laws of Nature; *and of* Laws of Nature *again, from* Civil Laws. *Their vain Attempt, by* Art *to* Consociate, *what* Nature hath Dissociated, *like tying Knots in the* Wind *or* Water. *Their* Artificial Obligation, *or* Ligaments, *by which the Members of their* Leviathan *are held together, more slender then Cobwebs.* Page 893, 895

These Artificiall Justice-Makers *and* Obligation-Makers, *Sensible of the Weakness of these* Attempts, Artificially *to* Consociate, *what* Nature *hath* Dissociated; *therefore fly at last from* Art, *to* Force *and* Power; *making their* Sovereign, *to* Reign *onely in* Fear. *This the True meaning of that* Opinion, *That all* Obligation *is derived from* Law; *that is, the* Command of him who hath Power to Compell. *If* Obligation, *to Obey* Civil Laws, *onely from* Fear of Punishment, *then is no man Obliged to hazard his* Life *for the* Safety *of his* Prince; *and whoever can promise themselves* Impunity, *may* Justly Disobey. *If Civil Sovereigns Reign onely in* Fear, *then is their* Authority *Nothing but* Force; *and* Power *would* Justify Rebellion. *Lastly, If* Civil Right *or* Authority, *Nothing but* Force *and* Violence, *then could it not last long: What* Naturall, *prevailing against what is* Violent. 895

Wherefore since Civil Authority *and* Bodies Politick, *can neither be meerly* Artificiall, *nor yet* Violent *things, there must be some* Naturall Vinculum, *to hold them together; such as will both* Oblige Subjects *to* Obey the Commands of Sovereigns, *and* Sovereigns *in* Commanding, *to seek the* Good *of their* Subjects: *Something of a* Common, Publick *and* Conglutinating Nature: *Which, no other then* Naturall Justice. *The* Authority *of* God *himself, Founded in* Justice; *of which* Civil Authority, *a* Participation. Sovereignty, *no* Creature *of the* People, *and of* Mens Wills; *but hath*

The Contents.

a Stamp *of* Divinity *upon it. Had not God made a* City; *Men, neither by* Art, *or* Political Enchantment, *nor by meer* Force, *could have made any. The* whole World, One City, *of* God and Rational Beings. *The Civil Sovereign no* Leviathan; *that is, No* Beast, *but a* God. *He Reigns not in meer* Brutish Force *and* Fear, *but in* Naturall Justice *and* Conscience, *and the* Authority *of God himself. Nevertheless, need of* Force *and* Fear *too, to compell Some to their* Duty; *nor is the* Sovereign's Sword *here alone Sufficient, but he must* Reign *also in the* Fear of God Almighty. Page 895,896

The Second Atheistick Pretence, *to Make* Religion Inconsistent *with* Civil Sovereignty; *Because it Limits and Confines that, which in its own Nature Is, and Ought to be* Infinite. *The* Reply; *That the* Atheists Infinite Right *and* Authority *of Civil Sovereigns, is nothing but* Belluine Liberty: *But true* Right *and* Authority *is Essentially Founded in Natural Justice; there being no* Authority *to* Command, *where there is not an* Obligation *to* Obey; *and* Commands *not* Creating Obligation, *but Presupposing it, without which they would signify Nothing. The* First Originall Obligation *not from* Will, *but* Nature. *The Errour of those* Theists *who derive all* Obligation *to* Morall Things, *from the* Will *and* Positive Command *of* God, *as Threatning Punishments, and Promising Rewards. From whence it would follow, that no man is Good and Just, but* By Accident *onely, and for the* Sake of Something else. *Justice a different* Species *of* Good, *from that of* Private Utility. Infinite Justice, *as Absurd, as an* Infinite Rule *or* Measure. *If no* Infinite Justice, *then* no Infinite Right *and* Authority. *God's own Authority bounded by* Justice: *His* Will *ruled by* Justice; *and not* Justice *by his* Will. Atheists, *under a Pretence of giving* Civil Sovereigns Infinite Right, *Really Devest them of all* Right *and* Authority, *leaving them nothing but* Brutish Force. *Proved here, That the* Summæ Potestates, *must of necessity be* ἀνυπεύθυνοι. Page 896,898

The Last Atheistick Pretence, *for the* Inconsistency *of* Religion *with* Civil Power; *Because Conscience is* Private Judgement *of* Good *and* Evil. Answer. *That not Religion, but Atheism, introduceth such Private Judgement, as is Absolutely Inconsistent with* Civil Sovereignty, *it acknowledging nothing in Nature, that tends to* Publick *and* Common Good; *but making* Private Appetite *the onely Rule or Measure of Good; and* Utility, *of* Justice. *The Desperate Consequence from hence; That Private Utility may justify Rebellion and Parricide. The* Atheists *Professed Assertion, That they who have once* Rebelled, *may* Justly Defend *themselves afterward by Force. Though Private Persons must make a Judgement in* Conscience *for themselves, (the* Atheists Publick Conscience, *being Nonsense and Contradiction;) yet is the* Rule *of* Conscience, *not* Private, *but* Publick, *except onely to Mistaken Fanaticks; who therefore Sometimes make a* Pretence *of* Conscience *and* Religion, *in order to* Sedition *and* Rebellion. Religion *and* Conscience *Oblige Subjects, in all Lawfull things, Actively to* Obey *the Sovereign Powers; in Unlawfull,* Not to Resist. 898,899

The Conclusion of the Whole Book; That all the Atheistick Grounds *being fully* Confuted, *and the* Impossibility of Atheism Demonstrated; *it is certain, That the* Original *and* Head *of all things, is no* Blind *and* Inconscious Nature, *but a* Perfect Understanding Being, Self-Existent; *Who hath Made all that was fit to be Made, and after the Best manner, and Exerciseth a* Just Providence *over all.* To whom be All Honour and Glory, *&c.* ibid.

The End of the Contents.

ERRATA.

PAge 15. Line 2. read, XIV. Besides. p. 49. l. 9. to 16. read, (And thus—*Body*;) p. 61. l. 8. read. ὧν 63. 9. ἀγενής 66. 10. Unextended. 76. 25. dele, *but*. Lin. ult. read, To this purpose. 102. l. ult. dele, with. 103. l. 3, 4. read, *could not rise from an* Egg *of the* Night, *nor be the* Off-spring *of* Chaos, *but must be something*— 106. Title, r. *Hylozoist* 168. 19. r. *Irregularity* 173. 19, 20. *Reason* and *Und*— Line 37. a *Perfect* 201. 9. ῥέξαι 212. 34. read, Scholiast upon him, writing thus, 231. 27. *plures erunt* 251. 12. μηδ' τηϑ 276. 22. *Longinianus* 299. 36. δέϑ 300. 5. Σημαίνων 304. 30. Excerption 331. 9. Manifested 339. Title, r. Invisible 344. 17. *Phornutus* 351. (false printed 411.) l. 22. κάλη) 354. (f. pr. 414.) l. 27. τὸ τῆς ἀναφωνήμενον 355. 9. τελειώσεις 357. 37. ἀδὲ ὁμονοήσων 358. 21. γένεσιν, 363. 17. dele *Justin Martyr*, 364. 31. read, Third and Fourth Verses, 379. 31. χειρόκμητϑ 385. 31. ὑπὸ πείσα—νενεμημένον, 397. Title, read, Very Good. 404. Marg. l. ult. r. *L.* 10. 433. 30. ἀμειβώμεϑα 457. 18. παντοκράτωρ 461. 10. ἕξεσι. Lin. 30. συμφωνίᾳ 482. 29. *by him determined*, 508. 14. *respectively*, 516. 14. his Fecundity, 518. 4. adored 519. 30. *Nature, or Natures*— 543 29. ἴσως 549. 13. (*as an Image in a Glass*) 553. 37. χινόμενον 566. 34. ϑεσωπολήπτης, 582. 2. *The Word* 585. 18. τὸ λόγε ϑεὸς, 587. 6. Son, and Grandson, 620. 31. it is there— 624. Title, adde, Trinity 632. 31. if need be, for another 684. 17. therefore not— 696. l. ult. as it was 717. 39. and also 742. 5. *Similar Atoms* 745. 23. that their Souls cannot 752. 2, 3, 4. read, *Proclus*, and other *Platonists*, expressly denied it to have been ἀγέννητον, *Unmade*, or *Self-Existent*, and— 753. 8. no not that 765. 24. *Matter*, together 777. 37. ἐπὶ ὅλον ὑπὸ πᾶν τότε 787. 16. *Incrassated*, 794. 31. the *Unevenness* 798. 11. Earth, in— Line 33. dele, it 805. Marg. l. 14. *solveret* 815. 35. ought to be 831. l. penult. *Extended Outside*, and an *Unextended Inside*, 843. 38. dele, yet 883. Marg. l. 9. ἐρέλη) 884. 35. was One Reason.

FINIS.